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Social Structures of the High Atlas
[Structures sociales du Haut-Atlas]

Jacques Berque

Paris: 1955
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Translated from the French by Jane Bigwood

Human Relations Area Files
1973

[Title page]

/Pages i-iv are title pages./

/v/

Foreword

101 I wrote this book in collaboration with the tribes of the west-
114 ern Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, and particularly the Seksawa.
Nothing is more fierce, better preserved than these sons of the
824 black schist. The dizzy slope that goes up to one of their high
places, the Tichka, bears an isolated tree that they call *tasghart*
[856] *wawal*, something like "the tree of speech." They administer
122 its leaves in an infusion to children slow to speak. I have spent
a good deal of time myself in unraveling the language of the
Seksawa.

123 Abandoning the doubtful method of the "informant" and of
questionnaires, I would let the problems and the facts come to
124 me. A year passed before I reached the level of the accounts
composed, around 1925, at Imintanout by Lieutenant de La
Chapelle. I collected the best of my provender almost by chance,
by means of visits in the mountains, long talks on the roads, judicial debates, festivals, evenings. Thus friendships and knowledge deepened simultaneously.

I had the joy of sharing the one as well as the other with many visitors. They will recognize themselves here. Perhaps they will conjure up, in reading such and such a page, that brief and shining hour, the irreplaceable bit of life that momentarily united us in the history of the Atlas.

128 This book, therefore, was written in communication. Although it does not claim the authority of any of those who have read it in manuscript, by pieces or in its totality, it has greatly benefited from their remarks. All were valuable to it. But I could not say whether it has always profited from them as much as it should have. I can therefore neither hierarchize the gratitude nor have understood by it that I am acting on the authority of such and such of the masters who have expressly wished to advise me. The imperfections of my work will be alone, alas, to face the too-just criticism. I do, however, acknowledge my debt to MM. G. Davy, L. Gernet, R. Montagne, /vi/ J. Célérier,

/vi cont./

128 J. Dresch, F. Braudel, L. Milliot, H. Terrasse, E. Lévi-Proven-
çal, J. Despois, E. Laoust, J. Orieux, G. H. Bousquet, A. Adam.
The Institut des Hautes Études marocaines /Institute of Moroccan
Advanced-Studies/ has given me most substantial aid. M. L.
[122] Galand checked the Berbère /Berber/ writing, lessons in which,
by M. A. Basset, had given me a presentiment as to its exacting
niceties. I am indebted to Lucie Berque for her drawings, to
M. Leloup for his cartography, to M. J. Van den Hove for his
careful proofreading. To all, thanks. And thanks to all my col-
laborators from Imintanout, great and small, French and Moroc-
can, who participated in the research or in working it up. Many
names crowd under my pen here, names which I cannot mention
for lack of space and which I must leave in the anonymity of
friendship.

123 Most of all, it is to the Seksawa that my gratitude goes. Mixing in their life for several years, I advanced slowly into their acquaintance, and perhaps into their confidence. Of course, I have not been to the end of the one or the other. In order to go further, it would have required a still longer stay and, to speak truthfully, a definitive naturalization, similar to that which, in the course of the centuries, brought so many distant sons to the little people of Lalla Aziza.

000 All was rightly so. As great as its ambitions were, analysis stops before intimacies which it could not infringe upon and which will be revealed only when they can be, when they need to be, if there is still time for it. The future in the Atlas, as elsewhere, will perhaps make the silent speak. We shall leave to it the task of completing our research, if it is worth the trouble, on the day when the Seksawa have tasted of the tree of speech.

Cairo, October 1, 1954.

/vii/ Note on the Transcriptions, Sigla, and Abbreviations

A) Transcriptions

121 104 Although based on a mass of names of places and groups, this research has no linguistic aims. It has therefore resigned itself to a summary system of transcriptions, those used, for example, by the "Bibliotheca arabica" of the Université d' Alger /University of Algiers/, the periodical Ibla of Tunis, etc. Some of the sounds peculiar to the Chleuh /Schluh/ are therefore rendered only very roughly. It is considered that as a general rule the local speech disregards the long vowels and that, on the other hand, the laryngeal fricative, characteristic of Arabic (where we render it by the rude character ᶜ), was so little stressed that it could be transcribed, as E. Laoust does in some of his work, by an ā.

[191] As modest as they may be, these ambitions did run into certain difficulties, from the time that one had to note the distinctive manner of the Berbère /Berber/ speech of the Seksawa, the Arabic vernacular that they occasionally use (and the citations in which we have preceded by the sigla ar), and their notarial language with its technological turn and classical pretensions. And these distinctions sometimes force their way through for the same word, which it is therefore necessary to transcribe differently a few lines apart.

The truth is that a contradiction lay between the importance conferred on the linguistic material by our inquiry and the impossibility of rigorously rendering all these names and all these words, with which we were met for lack of typographic means and, above all, of specialization.

128 104 Finally, the circumstances that took me away from the Atlas and from Morocco at the time of the printing of the book kept me from the final verifications and prevented my taking from the dedicated checking by M. L. Galand all the profit that might have been expected from so valuable a contribution.

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B) Sigla

a.	aît /a Berber word that frequently precedes the name of a tribe; see p.584 , n. 1/	I.A.A.	Institut Agricole d'Algérie /Agricultural Institute of Algeria/
ar.	Arabic	I.	Idaw
arch.	archives	Im.	Imintanout
art.	article	in.	inédit /unpublished/
b.	ibn	R.	Revue /Review/
B. N.	Bibliothèque Nationale	t.	tome
chl.	Chleuh /Shluh/	tr.	translation
c. r.	compte rendu /report/	Ud.	Awlâd
éd.	edition	vol.	volume

/viii/

C) Abbreviations

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They refer to the following collections and periodicals:

Afr. fr., "l'Afrique française" (1891...), Paris.

A. M. or Arch. mar., "Archives marocaines," Paris (1904-1936), then Rabat.

Ann. géo., "Annales de géographie" (1891...), Paris.

Ann. hist. soc., "Annales d'histoire économique et sociale" (1930-1939), then "Annales d'histoire sociale" (1939-41 and 1945), "Mélanges d'histoire sociale" (1942-1944), becoming in 1946 "Annales (économies-sociétés-civilisations)," this latter series sometimes being specified "Ann. E. S. C.," Paris.

Ann. soc., "L'Année sociologique" (1st series 1923-1924, 2nd series 1939-1940, "Annales sociologiques," 3rd series 1948-1949), Paris.

Bull. E. P. M., "Bulletin de l'enseignement public du Maroc," Rabat.

CHEAM, "Documentation du Centre de Hautes Études d'administration musulmane," Paris.

Hesp., "Hesperis," Berbère /Berber/ archives and bulletin of the Institut des Hautes Études marocaines (T. I: 1924...), Paris.

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113 /viii cont./

R. afr., "Revue africaine" (T. I: 1856), Algiers.

R. al., "Revue algérienne, tunisienne et marocaine de législation et de jurisprudence" (1886...) (a continuation of "Revue algérienne et tunisienne de législation et de jurisprudence," 1885), Algiers.

Rens. col., "Renseignements coloniaux," appendix to the bulletin of l'Afrique française, Paris.

R. E. I., "Revue des Études islamiques" (T. I: 1927), Paris.

R. J. C., "Revue des jurisprudence coutumière," unpublished periodical of the management of Affaires chérifiennes, Rabat.

Sour. in., "Collection des sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc /Collection of unpublished sources on the history of Morocco/," Paris (followed by initials and figures indicating the series and the country being considered).

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First Part

First Approach to the Country and the People

/Page 2 is blank./

/3/

I. The Country

A Name

101 The existence of Seksawa, or Iseksawan, is attested to for at
least eight centuries in the same valley of the Haut-Atlas /High
Atlas/. By this name, now, are recognized among themselves,
and distinguished from others, some dozen little communities
101 grouped in the same fluvial basin. These syllables evoke a multi-
619 tude of traits of character, of tradition, of institutions: hence a
personality. But no genealogical synthesis at all to account for
it. Although the Seksawa legend is not unaware of the theme of
the hero, or even of the eponymous ancestor, no explanation of
this kind is alleged for the ensemble. The diversity of ancestry,
a proclaimed heterogeneity are inseparable from the profession of
Seksawa.

101 Hence the name does not imply here any rule of kinship. It is reduced to a simple verbal notation with a content that is

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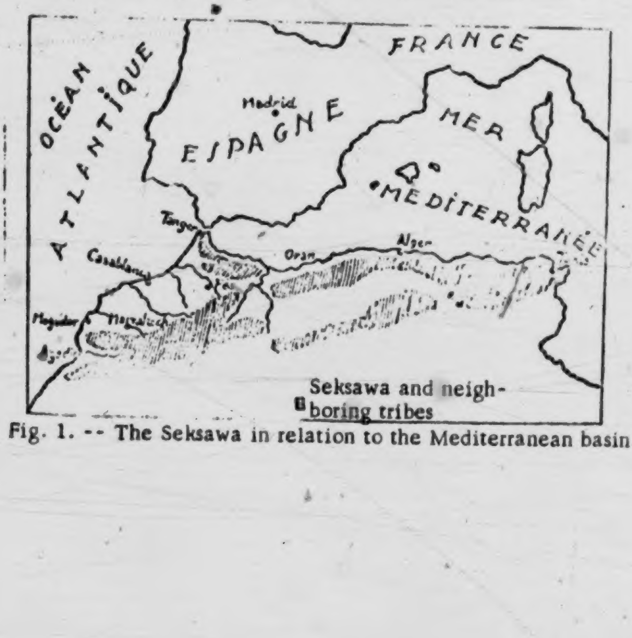
OCÉAN ATLANTIQUE
FRANCE
Madrid
ESPAGNE
MER MÉDITERRANÉE
Tanger
Casablanca
Oran
Alger
Fès
Mogador
Marrakech
Agadir
Seksawa and neighboring tribes

Fig. 1. -- The Seksawa in relation to the Mediterranean basin.

/3 cont./
101 limited and at the same time /4/ fleeting. Signifying but not
signified /Fr.: signifiant sans signifié/, we should say, if we
dare resort to a convenient terminology. But these syllables, on
the other hand, convey exact topographical correspondences. The
perimeter of the lands that they cover has remained nearly fixed
since the twelfth century, date of the oldest written testimony;
and undoubtedly that is not the beginning. In the disorders of this
[175] history in full motion, a history of nomads, of transfers of races
and of ethnic conquerors, here in a corner of the Atlas is a people
who very likely have not budged, whose existence in the same
place is attested to for nearly a thousand years. And that is not
peculiar to it. The same thing or nearly so could be said of its
[361] Maçmûda cousins. We certainly knew that we were in a society
of sedentary peoples, that it was even a matter of the oldest sed-
entary peoples of the Maghreb. But where the matter becomes
complicated is that, if the name itself has remained immutable
and localized, this immutability was only formal.

619 Just as certainly as the Seksawa have preserved themselves
144 here, as such, since the Almohade epic, which found them and
101 left them in the same place, today 90 % perhaps, or even more,
are nothing more than allogeneous. This is not a matter of those
imperceptible transformations, inherent in the life of a people,
and which mean that there are no pure races, in the biological
sense of the term. It is a matter of replacements, catalogued in
popular memory and which, over the four centuries embraced by
local traditions, assert themselves as the most unimpeachable
fact, and almost as a basic datum of this personality.

121 It is a great debate to seek out, for a given peopling, what
619 has been the determining factor, of the group or of the territory
174 (1).
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1. A. Moret and G. Davy, Des clans aux empires /From Clans to Empires/. 1923, pp. 64 sq.

One Berberist has put forth the hypothesis that appellations such as

/4 cont./

121 Seksawa, Urika, Gedmiwa, etc., have above all a topographic
619 content (2).
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2. E. Laoust, "Contribution à une étude de la toponymie du Haut Atlas /Contribution to a study of the toponymy of the High Atlas/," *R. E. I.*, 1939, III-IV, and 1940, I-II, off-print, p. 150. Foucauld, *Reconnaissance au Maroc* /Reconnaissance in Morocco/, 1888, pp. 90 sq., had already judiciously distinguished three kinds of groups: the tribe, the village, and the district. He made much use of this last idea, pp. 268 sq. M. Quedenfeldt, *Division et répartition de la population berbère au Maroc* /Division and distribution of the Berber population in Morocco/, H. Simon tr., p. 131, notes that between H'âh'a and Ntifa "live tribes that bear all the same names as their principal establishments."

A large part of the sedentary peoples of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ happen to fit the case. These populations are the only ones of the Maghreb, perhaps, whose permanence of settlement can be affirmed over as extended a lapse of time, hence the only ones who offer some guarantee for this kind of supposition.

121 101 /5/ Posed in this way, the problem is insoluble. In order to clarify it, it is necessary to resort to units far more modest than these names of peoples, the only ones known from the chronicle. It is necessary to resort, on the topographical plane, to the name for the ground; on the human plane, to that of the agnatic group. These are two leading realities there. They will not cease to guide us in all this research. And already, any first analysis of a term like that of Seksawa makes felt the combination that it effects between a geographic value and and a historic value.

101 The name can deliver more. Today it is perpetuated in its present form. This one seems to have prevailed since the Sâadians.

/5 cont./
101 Sâadians. Earlier texts, that of Ibn Khaldûn, for example, give
114 Saksîwa, where the vocalization of the second syllable is that of
127 analogous names, such as Damsîra, Ganfîsa, Gadmîwa (1).

> 1. This is the orthography that de Slane gives, on the evidence of mss. that he used, for example, ms. 1521 of the Bibliothèque nationale, pp. 235 v, 1-2 de fine sq. A genealogical tree, which the translator has not kept in his edition (p. 365, 1. 16 sq.), even gives an eponym Saksîw b. Ganfîs b. Maçmûd. The ms. of Rabat, D. 14, 98, Uns al-faqîr by Ibn Qunfûdh, likewise knew Saksîwa, p. 41 a, 1. 2 sq. On the other hand, al-Baydhâq wrote Saksâwa, E. Lévi-Provençal, Documents inédits d'histoire almohade /Unpublished documents of Almohade history/, 1928, p. 65, and Arabic text, p. 43.

But the Berbère /Berber/ system seems too far removed, at least
at present, from the long vowel for us to be able to base anything
101 on it. In any case, one now hears only Seksawa, doublet of the
name used by the ones concerned themselves: Iseksawan (with
sometimes redoubling of the sibilant). The sing. Iseksiwi seems
reworked from the Arabic. One would rather expect an Aseksu,
101 as one elsewhere has an Admu, an Aglawu. But, not only is this
171 ethnic not understood by members of the group studied here, but
it exists paradoxically elsewhere as a Jewish name, and even
Oranie /Oran/ Jewish (2).

> 2. Information furnished by L. Brunot, who very kindly consulted some Moroccan rabbis for me. Cf. also I. Hamet, Les Juifs dans le Nord de l'Afrique /The Jews in the North of Africa/, 1928, p. 57; dictionary by M. Eisenbeth, Les Juifs de l'Afrique du Nord,

/5 cont./

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/footnote 2 continued/ 1936, p. 174. In the Mellah of Imintanout, an Israelite family from Ilutjan bore in Seksawa the curious name of Elkeslasi, pronounced Lkslasi, a name close to that of the place called Amskslan in Mtugga-Ud Bessebâ^{c}.

What is remarkable is not that Jews bear the same name as a Berbère /Berber/ group. It is, on the one hand, that the singular ethnic had been lost by the ones concerned themselves, and, on the other hand, and above all, that the name of the Seksawa is isolated in the anthroponymy of Maghrebi groups (3).

3. One should compare it, for example, to the veritable cluster of similar names that the ensemble furnishes: Mtugga, a. Atig, Tigguga, Tuggana, etc. Among the old names of the Mussulman Occident, however, one finds Sakâsik, Saksâkf. A legendary ancestor of the Berbères was so named. Ibn H'azm, Jamhara, Lévi-Provençal ed., p. 462, 1. 21. It is again found designated as an ancestor of the Howwâra by Ibn Khaldûn, tr. Histoire des Berbères, 1925, t. I, pp. 170, 185, 273. Cf. ms. Bibliothèque Nationale, 1520, p. 108 v, 1. 11. That would
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point toward /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ a root S. K., with redoubling. But one can also think of a root S. W., where the redoubling would have differentiated the second element. This hypothesis would draw, not likelihood, but some support from a coincidence of sounds: that of Iseksawan and of Ichefchawan, that is to say, Chîchâwa. One knows that it is a matter of the same watercourse, or of the same system of irrigation, the one below the other, and that the extension of

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/footnote 3 continued/ the Seksawa domain to the plain during the Middle Ages and up to Mérinide times offers a certain probability.

A. Basset wishes to indicate to me that it is not a linguistic impossibility that these two names, Iseksawan and (I)chefchawan, go back to a two-letter root with complete redoubling, and respective passage from w to k and from w to f. But he specifies that it would be necessary to be able to justify the presence of these different treatments in the desired word and at the desired place.

In a domain indeed far away, but one in which the curious linguistic changes /Fr. *chassés-croisés*/ of North Africa do not make the reminder so improbable, I mean among the Touareg /Tuareg/, one turns up, among the toponyms used in the sense of "valley, system of water points," a whole scale of forms where the imagination could find intermediate stages between Seksawa and Chîchâwa: Sessau, Aseksam, Seggâ, Ichaffen, Chawa. P. de Foucauld, *Dictionnaire abrégé touareg-français des noms propres* /Abridged French-Tuareg dictionary of proper names/, A. Basset ed., 1940, pp. 18, 19, 239, 244, 251. Let us also note the existence of Chuchawa in the Ouarsenis, and also, of course, the existence of a Chefchawen in the Jebâla.

For E. Laoust, Seksawa could amount to the factitive of a root k. s., "to graze." But "no document, outside of the examination of the form of the ethnic, bears out such a conclusion," *op. laud.*, p. 148. I shall point out, nevertheless, the existence of residual populations in the same domain whose name could go back to this same root: Ikessan, a. Tiksit, a. Gasa even. One thinks also of the Wâd

/5 cont./

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/footnote 3 continued/ Siksû of the Moyen /Middle/ Atlas,

M. L. Galand writes me: "In sg. Iseksiwi, pl. Iseksawan, the opposition of the singular to the plural belongs to a type known in Berbère /Berber/; the w would appear here as a radical element. In sg. Agdem (also Igedm), pl. Igedmiwen, is one dealing with a radical w that would have been lost in the singular, as in ameksa / imeksawan (cf. also inebgi / inebgiwen)? This hypothesis finds no support in the present forms of the name; Agdem, without a final vowel, corresponds poorly to the preceding examples, and particularly for the feminine, generally more conservative, I was given only Tagdemt as opposed to tameksawt (cf. also tinebgiwt). While waiting for more extensive research, I hestitate to see, therefore, in the w of Igedmiwen anything other than a suffixal element.

"Consequently the difference of structure that separates Iseksawan from Igedmiwen renders suspect the too-neat parallelism of the Arabic forms Saksîwa and Gadmîwa. The plural of the names of tribes is used more than the singular; it is what a foreigner learns first; have the Arabs felt that in Gadmîwa they were including a suffix and that in Saksîwa, perhaps under the influence of Gadmîwa, Damsîra, etc., they were mistreating the Berbère /Berber/ vocalism that they had respected in Saksâwa? One could question it."

/6/ First Co-ordinates of the Country

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[101]
A certain country, that is what in the end the name of Seksawa suggests, as much by the etymology as in the common usage. The essential thing for this country is and has always been, according to a mountain law that is read, for example, in the historical compartmentalization of the Pyrenees, the basin of

/6 cont./

133 a torrent, asif i-yseksawan, or Lwâd Sseksawa. This basin is circumscribed by an arête of high mountains, which encloses it on three sides (Fig. 2).[1] The Dir, then the plain called Bujmâda today form the outlet. The torrent loses its name there. Already it has become, from the little plain of Tuz'z'umt up to /7/ Bu^{c}anfir, in Ud Bessebâ^{c}, Lwâd n-Qihra or Wâd Lqîhra. The limits, from this side, have all the haziness of a past that informs us poorly on the limitation of the Seksawa adventure toward the North.

Here then is a country being identified, partially no doubt, but definitely, with a fluvial basin. This completely classical identification is followed, in great detail, by the division of the basin into cantons, which correspond at the same time to a secondary personality and to the unity of an affluent torrent. This valley forms the last opening of the great chain toward the W. It interrupts this mountainous façade, which its indigenous denomination of Dir qualifies admirably by evoking the breaststrap of a harnessed horse (1).

1. The deciphering of the country is greatly facilitated by the "Croquis orographique du Grand Atlas occidental, depuis l'oued ait Mousi jusqu'à la chaîne Igdet-Erdouz /Orographical sketch of the western Great Atlas, from the Ait Mousi wadi to the Igdet-Erdouz chain/" at 1/100,000, drawn up initially by J. Dresch (in color), and by the series of maps at 1/200,000 appended to his Documents sur les genres de vie de montagne dans le massif central du Grand Atlas /Documents on the kinds of mountain life in the central massif of the Great Atlas/, 1941. [126] This documentation, which we have always kept present on our journeys, and which we have filled in chiefly with regard to the toponymy and reinterpreted with the aid of aerial coverage carried out since 1950, is the basis of our own

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[1] [For figure 2, see pp. 15-16--Analyst]

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133 [126] /footnote 1 continued/ investigation and of all the cartography of this study.

Moreover the term lacks precision. It indistinctly indicates the slope and its piedmont. In the landscape this slope is neither continuous nor unique. When one looks at the Atlas from the route from Mogador to Marrakech, a little beyond Chichaoua, or, better still, when one observes it from the camel pasturage of the Lmjjûn, in Ud Bessabâ^{c}, one perceives a first ripple running in the vanguard: in the present case it is that of Talamenzu. This defense along a preliminary rampart is accentuated as one goes toward the E. It is striking from several points along the imperial route long before and long after Marrakech. At the height of the Seksawa, on the other hand, from Chichaoua to Bul^{c}wân, there is no denivellation. This is what the S.-N. descent of the thalweg of the river indicates, which is accompanied on its right as well as on its left by divergent séguias /water conduits/, some common to the Seksawa, to the Dwiran, and to the Ud Bessebâ^{c}. This solidarity, or this continuity, is not without incidence. The same lay of the land rises again, a little more to the W., toward another "bouche" /mouth, opening/, that of Imi n-Tanut, commanding the access to the Sous by the Tizi Umachchô and the Bwibaun. The old sultanian route makes use of it after having skimmed over the Dir from E. to W. (2). [487]

2. One can find an already considerable mass of information on this itinerary in E. Renou, Description géographique de l'empire du Maroc /Geographical description of the empire of Morocco/, 1846, pp. 187, 190, 204, which condenses a great number of travel accounts.

-000 Let us imagine the Mussulman traveler of the thirteenth century coming from Fès /Fez/ or Andalousie /Andalusia/ and whom the lure of trade or the quest of knowledge

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 17]

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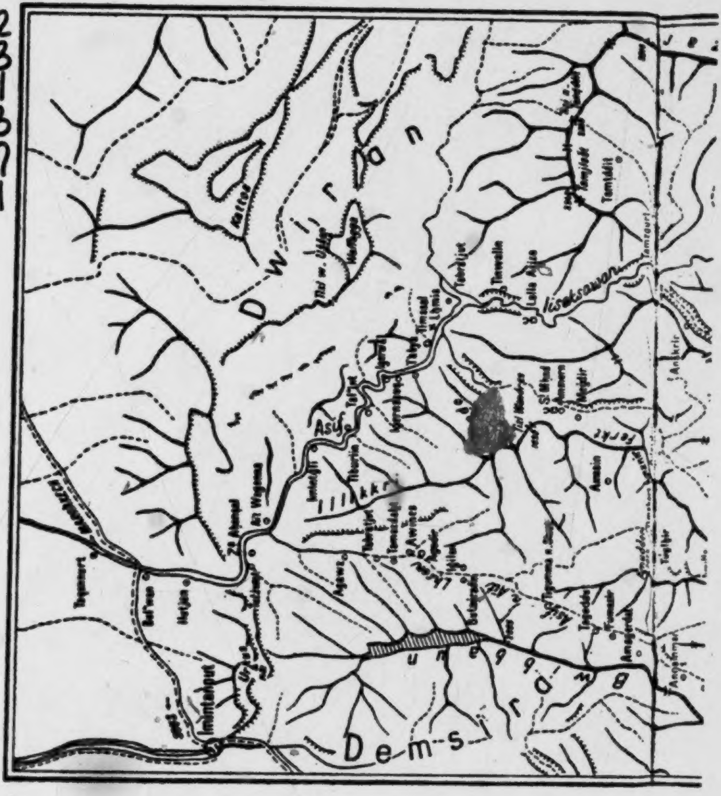
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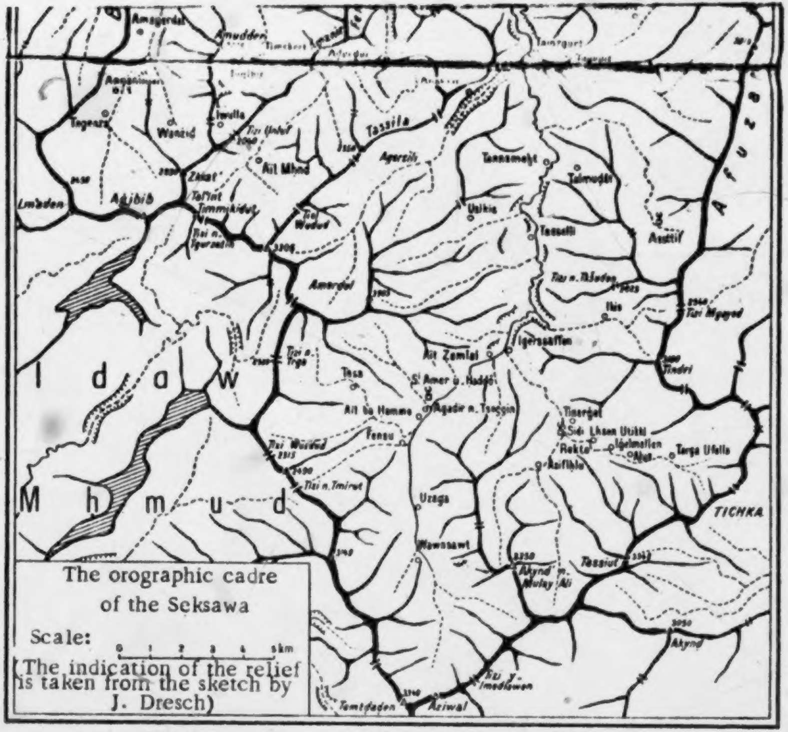
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St Amer u. Hadd
Ait ba Hamma
Agadir n. Tsaggin
Tinergat
Sidi Lhsen Utikti
Rekta
Iglmallen
Targa Ufella
Afifiblo
Tizi Wudud
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2490
Tizi n. Tmirut
Uzaga
Idaw
Mhmud
TICHKA
Wawnsawt
3050
Akynd n. Mulay Ali
Tassiut
3050
Akynd
Tizi Y. Imedlawen
Tamtdaden
Aziwal
The orographic cadre of the Seksawa
Scale:
0 1 2 3 4 5km
(The indication of the relief is taken from the sketch by J. Dresch)

Fig. 2. -- The orographic cadre of the Seksawa.

000 /10/ takes wandering over the whole face of the known world. These "bouches," yawning in a mysterious hinterland, will cause him a thousand anxieties. Perhaps on the passage of the Seksawa he has been fleeced. He thinks, with devout fear, of the old inexpugnable practices: adoration of the ram (1),

> 1. G. Germain is led by several indications, one of which is the actual presence of Idaw i-yzimmer, to locate in our region these heretics denounced by al-Bakrî in the twelfth century. "Le culte du bélier en Afrique du Nord /Ram worship in North Africa/," *Hesp.*, 1948, p. 113

sexual freedom (2),

> 2. It is known that this theme, both legally and polemically, has not yet been abandoned.

that are told of the montagnards. But the purchase of almonds, olives, and nuts, made in this illicit background, the kind of panic that seizes him before the swarming of the hordes in ambush on the heights, will enliven his passage and later his recollections, his *Rih'la*, whose high-flown arrangement he is already practicing, not from disdain, but from uneasiness and from covetousness.

133 It will not be fruitless to have thus located, in the perspective of orthodoxy, that is to say, the total sum of authenticity up to here -- since our only accessible historical sources are Arabic -- the Seksawa country. It opens up, as the last impasse on the left side, to the one that reaches the Sous from Marrakech. Previously the valleys of the Nffis and of the asif el-Mâl similarly

485 opened up. Immediately afterward, having scaled the threshold of
794 Imintanout (900 meters), our traveler will be able to rest in a
621 bourg with weekly sermons, that is, in a *madi[illegible]*. He will
savor there the auxiliaries of prayer, which are the steam room
000 and the intercourse of pious people. Simultaneously he will

/10 cont./ Simultaneously he will
437 devote himself to some business with severe personages, whom
441 he will call chuyûkh, without analyzing too much the legal
[191] character of their calling, and who will lend to the limited partnership and to the subsequent purchases the aid of their bilingualism.
[426 Several Israelites, meek usurers, cultivate discreet commissions.
563] Having thus renewed his forces, the believer plunges
133 toward the S. Here he is branching off in the direction of the col of the Bwibaun, now dethroned in our nomenclature by the Tizi Umachchô (3).

[823] 3. Such is in fact the local pronunciation, which is related to the Stephâno-Triassic red sandstone of the col: it is called amachchô, "cat rock" (allusion to the color). But the naming of the rocks in the region absolutely lacks rigor. I cite the explanations that were given to me.

And from there toward the Sous, through the valley of the Issen. In the distance, the scholarly delights of a capital, Taroudant.

174 But let us leave this imaginary periplus; one amuses oneself in outlining it only in order to make felt better perhaps the contradiction that it will bring to the story. This Mussulman traveler is intemporal: one is not sure that his Imintanout existed before the
174 sixteenth century and the /11/ decline of the Maçmûda. As for
137 the almond trees and olive trees, it is difficult to state precisely in what measure they have survived or, on the other hand, taken the place of the forest of argan trees, which perhaps extended to to asif el-Mâl in the fifteenth century. And what is to be thought of elements as characteristic of a landscape as the thuya, the gum tree, or the associations of the oléolentiscetum could have been in this piedmont deforested today.

133 Let us return then to the map, still imperfect. These valleys, these gaps, the Nffis, the asif el-Mâl, the Seksawa, all

/11 cont./

133 diverging from the same water-tower, the massif of the Tichka (1).

an important historic site, and which, with its enormous granite mole, forms a buffer to the Seksawa country toward the S. With the neighboring peaks rising to 3,000 and 3,400 meters high, a ressaut of approximately a thousand meters gives rise to the old massif above the Permo-Triassic depression and the subtabular zone of the W. It is the first barrier against the winds of the [132] Atlantic, hence a heavy condensation of the clouds coming generally from the S.-W. It is also, when one comes from the E., the last affirmation of high mountains. After that, one will find only the causses, the Mtugga and H'āh'a hills.

The Seksawa, the Nffis, the assif el-Māl, and two of the larger tributaries of the Issen come directly from the Tichka. The other tributaries of the Issen, several tributaries of the Sous flow from the South versant of the axial chain. All these sources mark a distance of at least 30 km. Hence there is an important hydrogeographical center there, hence a sedentary culture, hence a historical constancy. This role of the Tichka, or more exactly of the ridge that it flanks, has been perceived by Mussulman authors. Ibn Khaldūn mentioned it in a passage in which the precise correspondences preserve the metaphorism. The marabout of Tasaft is even more precise. He compares these fluvial basins, hanging on the crest, to goatskin bottles, the high cantons of which are the feet. The Tichka, he said, is "the balance of the waters,"

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1. Cf. our study on the "Antiquités Seksawa," Hesp., 1953, p. 363. The first to have underlined the importance of this mole of history, of pastoral economy, and of tribal sociology is R. Montagne, "L'Aghbar et les hautes vallées du Grand Atlas /The Aghbar and the high valleys of the Great Atlas/," Hesp., 1927, p. 16.

/*11 cont.*/

133 *mîzân al-miyâh*, the reservoir of the mountain (2).

> 2. Justinard, *La Rihla du marabout de Tasaft* /The Rihla of the marabout of Tasaft/, 1940, p. 91.

Reservoir of many other things as well, as one knows.

/*12*/ Limitation of the Seksawa World

One understands how this ridge has struck imaginations. For anyone going upstream, it constitutes a continuous rampart toward the S., the E., and the W.

One should imagine two walls, oriented N.-S. They are the Bwibaun to the W., Demsira side, the Afuzar to the E., Gedmiwa side. Between the two, the valley of the Seksawa, going back toward the S., bisecting, up to the angle of a concave V, whose point, directed toward the Sous, would be the Temt'daden (3,340 meters). One of the branches of the V goes off toward the N.-W. The continuous chain (3,000 meters) is notched with several cols: [175] the Tizi n-Tmirût, the T. Uzdud, and especially the T. n-Trga, [167] which Brives crossed, and which is of great historical importance because it is by way of it that the immigrants from the Sous arrived. There, a displacement toward the N.: here is the Tabgurt (3,210 meters), pivot of the Seksawa landscape. From the Tabgurt, the chain bends boldly toward the W.: it will be joined, toward the Wagrarat, to the southern prolongation of the W. wall. The other stroke of the V rejoins the very complex high levels of the Tichka, where the E. wall is rooted. On this course the anticlinal culminates at the geometric dome of the Ras Mulay Ali (3,400 meters). With the Ikis, like a "camel's hump" or "cock's comb," according to observers (3,180 meters), and the Tabgurt, the *Ras*, "the head" (or better, the *Akyud'*, "the tress"), Mulay Ali, presents itself to view from very far away on the plain. And from all the high surfaces separating the valleys, lie bare all at once, to the E. as well as to the W., these "long walls" of the Seksawa landscape, which are the Bwibaun and the Afuzar. On

/12 cont./

133 all this contour, closed at the S. by formidable masses, the barrier never descends below 2,000 meters: a well-delimited caisson which, to the S. of Imintanout, the Urkus finishes blocking up. It is only toward the N.-E., after the massif of the Tamejlocht, on the side of the Dwiran, that the plateaus of the Imlilen come to raise a cliff on the calcareous entablatures, the Waffagga. On this side, access is easy to the shallow basins of the high Dwiran, Tissekht, Aduz. Here one is within the confines.

What impression is to be drawn from this delimitation of the Seksawa country? First of all, that of its orientation from N. to S., orthogonic in relation to the chain of the Atlas. Hence the importance of the slope. Orographic levels, vegetation horizons, degrees of distance from the plain and from the central power, progression of the montagnard particularism: all that contributes to a simple gradation starting from the outlet of Bul^{c}wân (740 meters to the ford of the route from Marrakech), up to the highest
133 villages (1,900 meters to Wawnsawt). This firmness of contour
181 will permit, in favorable circumstances, a life /13/ of the whole well defended from the outside. But by no title will it form a natural limit toward the S.: it is from there that all the modern
[443] existence of the Seksawa has come. And certainly, it will be superfluous to say here that these peaks, cut by cols, never create an obstacle between montagnards, even to the weekly relations of a souq /sook/; it is what one indeed sees in our day with the frequentation, by the Idaw Geryun, of the market of the Imed-
[571] lawen. In addition, an important part of the activity of these populations lies precisely in the brokerage of the cols and in an intense circulation, though difficult, dangerous, and involving a whole context of agreements between groups, and scarcely of individual initiation. The barrier is a conventional obstacle. For others, never for oneself, and only when one wishes it.

It is true that several times in their history, and for long periods, the Seksawa have desired this isolation.

/13 cont./

Measure of This Space

804 Nothing would be more erroneous than to appraise the mass of the country according to our metric system. The real unit, which is the man's very same measure, is the duration of the effort of the agile walker or the notable perched on a mule at a lively trot. Moreover, it would be necessary that this duration be appraisable quantitatively. It is not, of course, in hours and 805 minutes. At the very most, the interval between prayers, themselves marked by the positions of the sun, could serve as a standard. But one hardly prays. To tell the truth, it is even looser measurements: morning, noon, evening, *ççbah'*, *zziwal*, *lçfirar*, which would be the most sympathetic to the heart. But we shall not repeat here the reflections of Lucien Febvre on the "temps flottant" /fluctuating time/, the "temps dormant" /dormant time/ of societies of "médiéval" type (1).

1. L. Febvre, *Le problème de l'incroyance au XVI^e^ siècle* /The problem of unbelief in the sixteenth century/, 1942, pp. 426 to 434, and G. Friedmann, "L'homme et le milieu naturel /Man and the natural milieu/," *Ann. hist. soc.*, 1945, II, pp. 109 sq.

804 805 Moreover, it being a question of mechanical time, I mean very precisely time serving to measure or to divide up an effort very precise and of constant duration, it is indeed hours that we shall avail ourselves of in order to measure Seksawa space, just as the officers of the penetration did.

184 804 Let us disregard the immense confines which, beyond the villages, on the Tichka side, as on that of the Ras Mulay Ali, extend much farther still. Seksawa life, the life of the valley bottom, which is the municipal life, the dense life with full potential, is measured by /14/ very slight durations. We shall see, in fact: the intercalary spaces correspond to other rhythms, entablatures separating the valleys, rounded summits, and, with

/14 cont./

184 804 stronger reason, intertribal pasturages. The shepherd's measure is not that of the village horticulturist; it is hardly that of the citizen. If one wanted to subtilize, one would also contrast to this measure of honest people that of the mule tracks, that of the military expedition. The latter disregards the beaten paths, arrives in lightning fashion, having crossed forests and escarpments. In the recent period a great warrior, Caïd Lmokhtar of the a. Lh'sen, would be a man of these unforeseen events, of these topographical lightning flashes, one might say. Measure of the shepherd, measure of the warrior: these variants, the one enlarging, the other taking up to excess Seksawa space, have their value as indices of the individual psychology and the social rhythms; one can eliminate them, however, in a careful analysis based on a certain civic constancy.

487 484 804 823 The rose of distances appearing in the sketch below (Fig. 3),[1] and whose heart is Lalla Aziza, suggests various reflections which will not be fruitless for understanding the milieu. These durations, calculated in walking time on the path that follows the bed, certainly reflect different factors, such as the difficulty of the terrain, the meanders, the multiplicity of fords, etc. But even more they express, and very exactly, the idea that the Seksawa of all times were able to have about the size of the cantons. And through this we are given most truly the dimensions of a history. What is manifest is the disproportion between the upper branches and the lower part of the rose. One view, based on the concepts of the plain -- and, let us take care here, on what others would the observers, from Ibn Khaldûn to us, base themselves on? -- stresses, be it in knowledge or action, the nearest sectors. The man of the plain loses his zeal to understand or to intervene in the same proportion as the distance increases and his eyes become weary on the snowy background. But one authentic view, the one that this society itself has, places the main point, on the contrary, high above, in the inviolate lair, the best defended in any case from intelligence /in the original text, double quotation marks follow the word *renseignement*, intelligence, information/ by the relief, legend, and an uncertainty

[1] [For figure 3, see p.24--Analyst]

/14 cont./

487 gradually becoming opaque. The low valley will be only a cor-
484 ridor, an outlet, an appendix, or any other metaphorical equiva-
804 lent that one might wish to apply to it.
823 Consequently, how much is not explained by either the his-
tory of the fourteenth century, which shows us the expansion
coming from the highlands, or the more recent history, which
has reconstituted on these same altitudes, thanks to the conquering
177 afflux of people from the South, new bases of expansion! /15/ In
178 the same way, the true Seksawa life will only keep its accuracy,
804 in a space with its measure and according to its heart, far from

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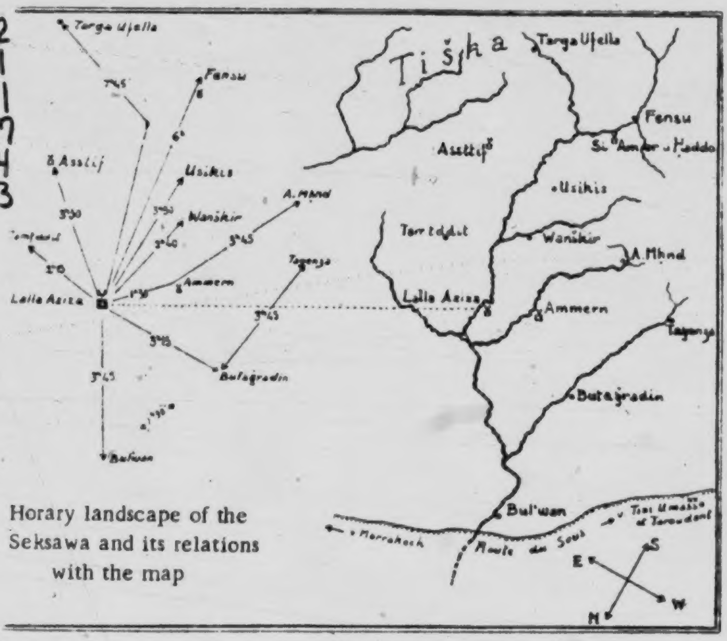
Targa Ufella
7h45
Fensu
6h
Asslif
Usikis
5h30
5h50
Wanikir
5h40
A. Mhnd
5h45
Tamfasat
2h0
Tagensa
Ammern
1h30
Lalla Asiza
5h45
5h45
Bulagradin
5h45
Bulwan
Tiška
Targa Ufella
Fensu
Si Amor u Haddo
Asslif
Usikis
Terrddit
Wanikir
A. Mhnd
Lalla Asiza
Ammern
Tagensa
Bulagradin
Bul'wan
Tizi Umasso et Taroudant
Marrakech
Route du Sous
S
E
W
N

Horary landscape of the
Seksawa and its relations
with the map

FIG. 3

/15 cont./

177 the contaminations and meannesses of the plain, on this side of
804 this radius of two to three hours' walk upstream from Lalla Aziza.
178 Everything beyond, that is to say, everything downstream, will be
subject to the influence of the powers and agitators from below.
484 Thus, zone of adventure, of hesitation, of mixtures. Still far-
804 ther, in the plain, other ensembles, subject to other measures,
can appear: what matters here is the horseman's journey, from
bivouac to bivouac. But how this perspective of the horseman,
that is to say, in the type, and for five hundred years, of the
Arab, removes us from the montagnard world, this world so much
more concentrated, more vigorous. One day's /16/ march, and
one goes up the valley from end to end. The Idma domain, from
the zaouia /Moslem monastery and school/ of Ammern to that of
Assttif, covers, along its longest diagonal, five hours. About the
same as from Iguntar to the Seksawa: the conquests of Caïd
Lmokhtar are also registered at five hours on the diagonal. And
scarcely more from Amerdul to the base of the Tichka: all the
kingdom of the a. H'adduyws.

World of a density quite Mediterranean.

133 Survey of the Structure of the Country (1)

(127) 1. This whole paragraph owes much to J. Dresch, *Recherches sur l'évolution du relief dans le massif central du Grand Atlas, le Haouz et le Sous*, 1941.

The traveler who, from the heights dominating the Tizi Umachchô, contemplates the panorama North notices that it is divided into three sections of different color: a white country, a red country, a black country.

Light limestones, Jurassic and above all Cretaceous, spread toward the N.-W. the stony causses of the Mtugga. Jurassic likewise, on the W., the long cylinder of the Lemgo. And

/16 cont./

133 the layer extends toward the E. to form elements which are not yet apparent from this belvedere, but which we shall rediscover later: the dome of the Urkus, crushing at its feet the center of Imintanout, the low valley of the Seksawa, and the entablatures of the high Dwiran, which slope gradually up to the elevated level stretch of the Azzeq, common for the flocks of Dwiran, Mez'ûd'a and Gedmiwa. Here immediately under our eyes is a glowing tablecloth. It is the Stephano-Trias, found between the primary and secondary rocks and which, thin on this side of the col, spreads out greatly on beyond toward Bigud'in. To the N. and to the E., everywhere, a black country with Cambrian and Ordovician schists. Its squat mass makes up almost all of the upper Seksawa, if one excepts the axial limestones and granites of the Tichka, which one does not see here. These schists shine in the sun, on slopes and ridges, to the point of giving from a distance the illusion of a sweating, of a cascade. From close by, one sees that they are layered, split, divided into leaves and needles. But from a distance their relief is powerful and heavy: a mass morose and without grace, where nothing betrays the bucolic valleys by which it is cut.

Let us transport ourselves to another belvedere, in the heart of Seksawa country this time, on the N. side of the brows of the Mzawt. From there the eye always follows the three hues of the landscape. The view goes down to the basin of the a. Musa, to rise again then to the tabular border of the Dwiran country: Wawmright, Waffagga, and, farther /17/ still, Kattos. At mid-height of these white or golden layers appears the red rock *tafzza*, which then falls on the marl of Imlilen. At 1,000 meters downward, the river, largely still among the tamarisks of the little plain (940 meters), again finds, immediately after passing the former Suq Lkhmis, toward T'abya, the same heights and somber cliffs as upstream.

The tectonic analysis explains several of the present features by the altering that the folding of the Atlas brought about on a Hercynian relief in the Tertiary. But it is not always easy to determine in the present structures the contributing part of the

/17 cont./

133 two phases, even though their respective style is very different. In fact, the intervention of fractures perpendicular to the axis of the folds can bring more confusion of reading because the general direction of the two movements appears roughly orthogonic: meridian for the socle, W.S.W.-E.N.E. for the altering.

From the Hercynian relief there stands out a parallel series of three anticlinals and especially the action of erosion cycles which have denuded the red lands of the Permo-Trias and leveled the Cretaceous foreland. The existence of the latter, more abundant than in the rest of the Dir, is in fact an important feature. This formation outlines a large cut toward the high Dwiran and Mez'ûd'a.

The Atlasic tectonics is "brutal and simple ... Austere architecture of rigid blocks which climb by successive stages to the N., more brutally to the S., up to the high massive crests." One would recognize it today in Seksawa by "a series of blocks; more or less balanced and separated by brutal accidents [and rising] toward a high chain vigorously folded" (1).

1. Id., op. laud., p. 67.

In a general way, one is struck by the contrast between the heaviness of these high reliefs and the mordant youth of the versants and valleys. At 1,500 meters, then at 2,000, and again at 2,500, a panoramic view reveals little more than levels, very flattened domes, mature and compressed crests. In a large piece of the country, roughly all the middle Seksawa, it is almost a homogeneous surface, in spite of the interruption of valleys, which displays its perspective around 2,000 meters: Azur, Tassila, Amudder, Ibuban. Surface of ante-Cretaceous leveling, whose important role on the life forms is still legible and with which there paradoxically contrasts the upstroke of an axial crest, hanging over it more than 1,000 meters with its hard and sharp limestone.

The morphology here directly concerns the humanity. The role of these surfaces of less slope has been major, whatever

133 /18/ their origin may be: Cretaceous structural plateaus, today, however, almost entirely outside the Seksawa domain; preserved surfaces in the process of erosion; much lower, fluvial terraces; between the two, level stretches formed on a declivity by an unequal resistance of the outcropping rocks. These planes or "replats" have been an essential factor in the constitution of a system of life and of a rural landscape. Another structural element of great stir: the maturing of the valleys by successive degrees, an evolution that seems to have shown pauses and awakenings, and, combined with the unequal hardness of the layers passed, to have cut them into sections. The general orientation of the river, conforming to that of the asif el-Mâl and of the Nffis, roughly follows the direction of the Hercynian relief: it was therefore made, or maintained, in the opposite direction of the Atlasic folding. Where the rock is hard, as between Z'init' and Tamezgurt, between Tasselli and Igerssafen, between Sekrat and Iguntar, dizzy gorges are encased, with abrupt walls. Elsewhere, the existence of soft schist or an encounter with a synclinal, as in several places of the asif n-a. Lh'sen, enlarges the valley, indeed creates, as below a. Musa, a string of small basins. Another consequence of this contrary direction is that it conspires with the plane of surrection itself to fraction the country at right angles. Everything co-operates from then on for a cantonal partition, the clearer sometimes because the fluvial erosion has not yet harmonized its profile and the latter breaks off often in level stretches. Profile by fits and starts, if I may venture to say it. Relatively mature sections are sometimes widely spread out -- thus in a. H'adduyws, at Tuz'z'umt -- but are sharply separated from one another. Finally, with this spreading out taking place over certain sections of the bed, while erosion softens the heights, a striking correspondence finally becomes established: deep troughs downward, flattened summits overhanging. Hence characteristic pairs of forms: chaif, "bombement" /swelling, bulge/ of the Illikkri, above the basin of the a. Mh'and; chaif of Azur above that of the a. Musa. These ensembles are favorable for pastoral

/18 cont./

133 and agricultural life. They contrast nobly with forms more inhospitable, such as that of the steep ravine of Usikis, heroically notched with steps, or even repugnant to any utilization. The ambition of mountain societies will always be to hold at the same time the small fluvial delta and the high brows of hills with pasturage, woods, and rye. It even happens that these expansions of the bed are simple enough to reveal, as downstream from Tuz'z'umt or in the asif n-a. Lh'sen, a succession of several levels parallel lengthwise. They are, as J. Dresch says, "des banquettes naturelles" /natural benches/; and it /19/ is really remarkable that there, too, geology has, with its broad hand, traced almost a model for the labor of man.

One has perhaps pushed too far this inquiry -- still only summary, and with a borrowed technicality -- on the structure of the Seksawa country. But, for our own research, important data have been extricated. First, the clear demarcation of a country, a kind of impasse with door half open on the plain and on the N. Then its simple material, proceeding from N. to S., in a direction which is that of a geological cut. This progressive deepening will also be that of the originality of the institutions and of the preservation of an authenticity. In particular, the age of the soils, increasing in inverse proportion to the force of the last tectonic arrangements, leads to a mole of geological archaism, and also of sociological signification, the Tichka. And also this right-angle partitioning, resulting from the crossed directions of the Hercynian and Atlasic reliefs. Hence a cantonal structure that lays bare the coexistence of mature level stretches and abrupt obstructions. Finally a whole middle-mountain horizontality, presenting flats /Fr. relais/ on the heights, and almost a pre-established classification for a life which, from stage to stage, amidst the harshness which presses on it from all sides, finds slopes to cling to, and even surfaces to expand on.

/20/

II. A Rural Landscape

Vegetation Levels

137
133 This rising by tiers is confirmed when one examines the plants that are arranged in echelons from the 740 meters of the ford of Tagoyyamt up to the 3,400 meters of the Ras Mulay Ali (1).

> 1. Note of L. Emberger on "La végétation du massif des Seksawa /The vegetation of the massif of the Seksawa/," in *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Sciences*, meeting of November 5, 1934. Other than the explorations (in progress) of MM. Sauvage and Quézel, it is the only information peculiar to the Seksawa. Nevertheless, on the general level, I profitably consulted L. Emberger, *Aperçu général sur la végétation du Maroc* /General survey of the vegetation of Morocco/, 1938; Ch. Sauvage, "La richesse de la flore marocaine /The richness of Moroccan flora/," *Bull. de l'Enseignement public du Maroc*, No. 216, 1952; on a neighboring domain, R. Maire, *Etudes sur la végétation et la flore du Grand Atlas et du Moyen Atlas marocains* /Studies on the vegetation and the flora of the Moroccan Great Atlas and Middle Atlas/, 1924. Finally my own -- and certainly inexpert -- attempts at herborization have been greatly helped by the botanical identifications of MM. Sauvage, Vindt, and Nègre, who might be pleased to find here an expression of my gratitude. [126]

133 Between these differences of altitude, the exposure plays a more decisive role as the habitat and the irrigation huddle at the bottom of the valleys, and the meridian orientation of the principal axis increases the effects of insolation. As in all mountain

133 [192] /20 cont./ As in all mountain societies, one again finds even in the toponymy the distinction between the adret /flank of a valley oriented toward the south/ and the ubac /flank of a valley oriented toward the north/, annammer and amalu. Another influence of the relief: from a
[132] [137] botanical viewpoint, it is not unimportant that despite the Saharan sultriness of these peaks, the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ is "a Mediterranean peninsula in a country of steppes and deserts" (2).

2. R. Maire, op. cit., p. 10.

182 Is this character of the flora found to the same degree in the techniques and other social forms? Let us be satisfied for the moment and, without prejudging anything, note a characteristic which is rendered visually and suggests certain kinds of life. Now here, in many respects, the Mediterranean reminder is archaism. In the civilization of the steppes, imposed by the climate on the surrounding low plains, and amidst the generalization of the unstable forms of life throughout the Maghreb since the lower Middle Ages, the Atlas has set up a conservative bastion. It has repressed modes that we would call European. These qualificatives, vague and literary when it is a matter of societies, draw from the language of the botanist a completely /21/ different preciseness.
132 133 (137) [182] Moreover, the oceanic exposure of these last high mountains of the Atlas toward the W. brings, as L. Emberger observes, a relative mildness, which sets them off from the contiguous sectors to the E., from the Gedmiwa, for example, and brings them closer, with regard to the flora, to the high calcareous summits of the eastern Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and even of the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/. Great factor of originality for the Seksawa domain in relation to its immediate neighbors.

137 245 Below, the characteristic cultivated tree is the olive tree, which with its plaques alternatively dark or ashen, depending upon the veering of the wind, covers the bottom of the valleys as far as Z'init' and Meghdir (1,100 meters). The almond tree, whose soft green populations contrast with the olive, in like

/21 cont./

137 masses, superposed one upon the other, at Tuz'z'umt, for ex-
245 ample, climbs much higher: up to more than 1,800 meters at
Targa Ufella, at the foot of the ascent of the Tichka. But the limit of the olive tree is not extremely sharp. The specialist will have to determine the reasons for sporadic cases found much higher than the limit of 1,100 meters, as at Ad'erd'ur, Wanchkrir. Local conditions permit the olive tree to grow vigorously even there, but without bearing any fruit. Inversely, the walnut tree is bound up with the high valleys, where, beginning in June, it masses its cool and fragrant foliage. It likes the axis of the ravines. Seen from above, it emphasizes it by a dense and narrow trail of foliation, forming a covered street. Thus at Iguntar. Thus also from Ad'er'ur to a. Mh'nd, or in the bucolic thicket that a. Zemlal dominates. Certainly the walnut tree is everywhere, even at Tuz'z'umt, but in an isolated state. Its true domain is affirmed beginning at 1,400 meters. Still rare at Tannsmekht, it is displayed in populations of more than 500 at once at Tasselli and especially Usikis; by the thousands in a. H'adduyws and I. Geryun. Then it climbs up to 2,350 meters.

137 Another immediately legible feature is the existence of an
133 alfa steppe which covers the red-soil plateau of the Imlilen between 800 and 1,600 meters. This vast piece of land, forming confines between Seksawa and Dwiran, is without analogue in the
[361] rest of the country that we are studying. Void of human habita-
[241] tion, it contains some scattered cultivations. It is used above all
by the herds of the Idma, who are thus spared the winter descent.
[233] A varied and fragrant pasturage, but teeming with thorns (1).

(1). Plants characteristic of this horizon: *Peganum Harmala*, *Launaea arborescens*, *Pulicaria mauritanica*, *Atriplex Halimus*, *Carex*, *Ballota hirsuta*, *Juncus maritimus*, *Lavandula maroccana*, *Salsola vermiculata*, *Stipa retorta*, *Artemisia herba-alba*. The *auri* is not really one of the alfa. It is the spart, *Lygeum spartum*.

/21 cont./

137 At one point the /22/ bushy vegetation rises up to trees: a scattered population of gum trees puts its pungent foliage with characteristic pods on calcareous outcrops which rise above the marls. It is a residual forest. The sovereign plant here is the alfa, in two types designated by the names: *tanalt* and *auri*. Only the *auri* climbs up to the higher level stretches: it is found at all altitudes, up to the col of the Tabgurt, where, quite stunted itself, it is accompanied by other, more paltry Graminaceae, such as *izggri* or *targha* (1).

1. At this horizon: *Bupleurum*, *Euphorbia*, *Ononis atlantica*, *Alyssum spinosum*, *Stipa retorta*, *Isatis tinctoria*, *Astragalus Ibrahimianus*, *Erinacea Anthyllis*, *Descurainia sophia*.

At 500 meters above the plateau of the Imlilen, overhanging the lowest part of Z'init' by an incline of about a thousand meters, the forest of Mzawt begins (2).

2. At this horizon: *Tragopogon porrifolius*, *Roemeria hybrida*, *Leucanthemum maroccanum*, *Silene Cucubalus*, *Hypochaeris radicata*, *Scorzonera laciniata*.

It prevails without interruption on the enormous dome of earth which separates the principal valley from that of Ammern: preliminary entresol to the Tabgurt. The vertical ascent above Z'init' permits noting successively the almond tree, then the wild jujube vegetation attaining arborescent form. Then *Juniperus oxycedrus*, particularly dense on the north face of the folds. Beginning at 1,400 meters, the holm oak, which is studded only at great intervals by the juniper. At the Mzawt, on the other side of the Seksawa, the mountainous block of the Azur, much more deforested, forms a counterpart. The two forests are very degraded up to 1,500 or 1,600 meters, then strengthen their character as one approaches the figure 2,000. But here and there

137 [241] [824] /22 cont./ But here and there they are interrupted by cultivated clearings, which seem to seek the highest brows, as above Lalla Aziza. From below, the rugose green of the forest seems to have been pierced by these areas, as though polished by a finger. The tier is essentially that of the holm oak, Quercus ilex, chl. /Shluh/ tasaft, sought for its wood and its fruit. It is the classical tree par excellence: the veritable forest "fond de teint" /color base/ of the mountain. Toward Tabgurt it climbs up to 2,800 meters and there constitutes, a fact unique in Morocco, the upper limit of the forest. Another characteristic tree, the juniper, tiqqi. It is the oxycedrus that is represented here. Its dark needles, never dense, stud the grove of oaks. Elsewhere, the thurifer /incense bearer/ reaches 3,150 meters. In Seksawa, it does not perform this role of greater margin of altitude.

The great mass of trees stops short above Inraren Z'dinin in a border of visible deforestation, which seems to have been at the expense of the thuriferous juniper. More to the S., the North reverses of the folds dominating the valleys of Wanchkrir and Usikis on one hand, /23/ of Assttif on the other (Tizi n-Tkchchudin), offer more important, but isolated timbering. The denudation of the Tabgurt slopes is striking. All this tier is that of pasturage. The factors that have played a role here are contradictory. On one hand, the drying influence of increased ventilation and insolation; on the other, concentration of humidity in places originating from an abundant snow-covering: pools, oozings, wet az'mu meadows are frequent. The most remarkable az'mu is found at the summit of the Tichka (2,600 meters). This is a famous pasture. The general tonality of the flowers of these highlands in their late spring (May, June) is yellow: aghozzir, uchfud, anâghud, amater, aloggo, some of which are genista. The spongy clumps of the ifessi waghad' hardly allow a periwinkle violet to appear (1).

1. Alyssum spinosum.

The subalpine tier, which is easy to study at the Tizi n'Tbgurt

/23 cont./

137 (2,600 meters), is characterized by a vegetation sweeping the ground. Each plant becomes a miniature bush, in order to protect itself better from the cold and the wind. The plants, so to speak, put their backs up against the inclement conditions. They face outward in little clumps of arched and thorny felting.

Such are the principal phytogeographical tiers of the Seksawa country. But such a description, summary as it may be, would be inexact if, recalling our initial considerations, we did not note immediately to what extent the flora of the depths of the valley in fact escapes, both because of a different ecology and because of the contagion of man, a simplistic tiering. Not only is it shaded, complex, and sometimes paradoxical -- notably in the matter of fruit trees --, but further it reflects the conditionings of the altitude only in order also to accentuate its differences from the flora of slopes or summits. Concerning the valley of the Urika, R. Maire has enumerated the ripicolous associations crowded on the banks of the torrents, and which, joining their fixative effect for the gravels of the bed with the incidence of bank cultivations, succeed in certain cases in forming an undergrowth of tamarisks or of poplars. The underbrush shade of the prairies at mowing time: another type of *az'mu* differing profoundly both in origin and in utilization from the montagnard *az'mu*.

These influences, properly botanical, and those of the shelter, at each confluence, *imi*, of a ravine with the principal valley, develop coppices, each having its physiognomy: virgin forest of giant laurels at Imi w-Ussttif; virgilian vale of Imi y-Ikis, with its fig trees, its pomegranate trees, its blackberry brambles, and
[212] /24/ its gurgling waters. There one finds a small violet flower with a sweet smell, greatly in demand for tea, *afert'ʷkkʷel* (1).

1. *Salvia taraxacifolia*. Other plants: *Marrubium vulgare*, *Globularia Alypum*, *Rumex papilio*, *Satureja Hochreutineri*, *Catananche coerulea*, *Arrhenatherum elatius*.

/24 cont./

137 One feels that one is in a "vale of Arcadia" here. Should this comparison be not very exact, especially in these highlands solemnly shaded by the walnut tree, it nevertheless says something to the imagination and at least suggests a justifiable notion to it: that of the profound personality of these mountain recesses and of their immemorial charm.

A Constructed Landscape (2)

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> 2. J. Célérier, "Le paysage rural au Maroc /The rural landscape in Morocco/," Hesp., 1943, pp. 152 sq., a study full of the most penetrating notations, with regard to which our debt is great.

But it is the domain of vegetable groupings for which man is the major agent. A degree further in his action and we are at the cultivated plants, with their adventive or subspontaneous margins, which we have studied elsewhere (3).

> 3. In connection with a "Glossaire notarial arabo-chleuh du Deren (XVIII^{e} century)," R. afr., 1950, pp. 357 sq., we have studied in detail the biogeographical cadre of the field, the cultivated plants, and have given a list of nearly forty subspontaneous species which human alimentation uses accessorily (pp. 379 and 380).

Truthfully, this consideration of man, of his movements, of his foods must never be neglected. Many of the features, in this little development on the plant covering, led to man.

241 137 171 First, the Mediterranean cachet of this flora; the opposition between the depths of valleys and their higher walls or the summits; a tiering which, in broad strokes, explains, if it does not bring it about entirely, a pastoral life of the Pyrenean type.

/24 cont./

137 Finally, this absence of the upper layer of the forest, this lack of 500 to 600 meters of thuriferous juniper, which are observed elsewhere at the same tier and have disappeared here (4).

4. L. Emberger, Les arbres du Maroc /The trees of Morocco/, 1938, p. 68.

Such a lacuna, expressing the decline of the vegetable cadre, perhaps suggests distant epochs when the upper Seksawa, more wooded at this altitude, could also sustain a more powerful life: precisely the one that it sustained in the fourteenth century. And here we are suddenly plunged, by a simple comment on the landscape, into the depths of history.

241 These lands of the Atlas are the most "constructed" of the lands of the Maghreb. The mark of man, let us repeat, quite naturally stands out there from even a summary examination of the vegetable horizons. /25/ In fact, it is profound. Almond trees, olive trees, cereals, and, to a lesser degree, walnut trees attest to his work. The wear and tear on the forest, the richness of the pasturage in comestible or, on the contrary, thorny varieties, the density of the associations of subspontaneous species: all that further postulates it.

182 241 311 Reciprocally, what is striking in him is, if one may say it, his geological adherence. Not that it is necessary to speak with respect to his particular success in adaptation. Many discordances between the natural conditions, his techniques, the use that he makes of them, and even his conception of life will arise from time to time in the account. But what it is impossible not to be struck by, at the first sight of the inhabitant, is the rigor with which he sticks to his rock. That literally. A structural determinism, one would say, has shaped the very form of his life. In many cases, the earthworks that cut the banks only utilize, fashion, and prolong the successive level stretches that erosion has started to sculpture in the bed of the river. At Bulᶜwân, Tuz'z'umt, Ilutjan, a. Wagenna, even Tabratjut, the tiering of the cultivations by levels reproduces this natural schema. Seen

/25 cont./

182 from above, the villages, whose terraces slope up the length of
241 the incline in long and narrow series, recall exactly, with their
311 uneven and yellow color, the terraces of cultivation which neighbor them. The illusion is complete at the time of tillage. The roof of beaten earth is not treated any differently than the soil. The technique that joins it to the soil in order to resist the rain, snow, and wind better is a technique of embanking, of blockading. The village is connected to the rock. But the ground itself is architecture.

The Ground

241 Cultivations on the roof, cultivations on the balcony, culti-
311 vations even in the street: these three metaphors, referring to the Seksawa land considered as a city, will be contradicted neither by the reality of things nor by the vision that the customary genius has of it.

133 The roof, these are the vast planes /Fr. plans/ that crown the middle and even the high reliefs and perch at about 2,000 meters, in the silence of the mountain pastureland and of the forest, the tilled lands of man. Here is a characteristic form of this part of the Atlas. Its weak horizontality contrasts with the energy of the surrounding folding. Whether it results from erosions prior to the Tertiary movement or, on the contrary, from later alterings, this is what geologists are discussing. Nevertheless, the thing is there,
241 with all its geographical and social effects. These planes are
233 used for pasturage and /26/ cultivation. The former succeeds the latter after the removal of the harvests, or appropriates vast domains. The high sown-fields are called lbur, an Arab term that often occurs in the toponymy (and also the forms albur, ilburan, talburt, talburin, etc.). Above 2,000 meters, and higher and higher, rye prevails. To return to the words of our montagnards, it is the Pyrenean plâ or the Alpine replat. A series of Chleuh /Shluh/ words, tasila, agoni, agg^{w}mi, agodal, evoke, perhaps semantically, the same idea and correspond to the same, chiefly pastoral reality. But the pastoral movement is collective, while agriculture in the highlands is the business of some. It

241 233 556 /26 cont./ It involves transport, vast displacements, for which only the rich man is competent. It is therefore not for everyone that it will permit this incessant "remue" /moving/ so characteristic of our mountain peasants. Only the notable, fit for long-range conflicts, will launch out up there. Agricultural democracy reigns lower, very near the village, where it persists in its balcony horticulture. The rich man, through his associate, or his poor cousins, or his shepherds, tends the confines between cantons. On these heights, the accords, the dramas, and the truces of an international law are substituted for the valley-bottom law, narrowly municipal. Arising there from the contemplation of vast perspectives, necessary for the flocks, are strategies for expansion felt and sustained by the group the more because, along with the cultivations of the chief, it is the possession of the mountain pasturelands and the impluvium of the torrents that they put in play.

184 241 A completely different life style in the depths of the valley. From above, one would call it a patient design, all in curves of levels. To the fawn color of the walls contrast, depending upon the season, the bright ocher of the tilled lands, the green of the young shoots, or the gold of the crops. This whole world of bright colors and minute geometries, chessboards of parcels, parallels of terraces, breaks off abruptly toward the heights, at the groove of a séguia. Beyond, and to infinity, it is schistose rock, forest, pasturage. On this side bubbles a persevering and cloistered life. In this island formed by the mountains in the bosom of the steppe, the village is itself an island. It is the island of the island. Extraordinary values of synthesis, of concentration break through here.

241 The French word balcon /balcony/ quite naturally evokes the idea of these cultivations that we also speak of as on benches, or on terraces, or on steps. It expresses well these notches on a descending surface where a little vegetation is perched on a little earth, by dint of the man's labor. It is a matter of transforming into a broken line, into horizontal steps, however tenuous they may be, the straight inclination /27/ that constitutes the slope. Through that, simultaneously control of the soil and the

/27 cont./

24| distribution of the water for irrigation are possible, and only through that will the water and earth arise simultaneously for [171] tillage. The geographer is quite familiar with this kind of cultivation, classic examples of which can be found in the Orient as well as in Europe. It always evokes an idea of rustic virtues, courage, and work. Incessant labor to combat the descent of the soil, the fall of the water, slow remountings, basket on the shoulder, attentive management with the hoe and the "small tools," art of walls in dry stone: all that on hardly more space than a flower pot or than a flower box at the window of a building! The surprise here is that so much trouble leads only to a fistful of barley or maize. To the dismay of the economist, these "large-scale crops" paradoxically clash with such a minute, such a costly cadre. Is it not economic subversion?

Let us descend farther. The street, it is the torrent. In the best cases, its walls are tiered in successive level stretches, in natural terraces. There are also plains and suspended basins, sometimes quite wide: at Sidi Âmer u H'addô, at Tuz'z'umt. Elsewhere also, more poorly. But sometimes the bottom of the corridor amounts to the actual bed of the river. And then one finds that this bed itself is not neglected. Stone walls are erected perpendicular to the current. Comes the flood: there where they do not hold, all is carried away. Thus at Sekrat. Elsewhere, trenching operations try to take advantage of a general declivity, without worrying about the storm that will take away everything. Thus at Imt'ddan.

Infinite trouble, almost gratuitous work, total want of foresight, we would say. A whole torrent-bed agriculture builds and rebuilds defenses, destroyed several times each year. The stone is so familiar: it is displaced, it is replaced with such airiness! Cyclopean propensity, waste of human work. And the kindness of the water is believed in with a blind faith. One will thus make barley and maize with stone and water. The river becomes larger, pulls out everything. But sometimes one will have a windfall of a harvest: barley breaking through on the "shingle," a veritable vegetable explosion. And the montagnard braving the

/27 cont./

241 torrent: *ghwan izri, nezdagh nokni*, "it passes and we remain" (1).

1. Adage of the a. Lh'sen, who are in fact the ones who have best colonized their *asif*.

Strong maxim from an excess of courage. Through that, life is exalted, toils, and from time to time feasts miserably.

181 /28/ Because this life, so hard, has its flashes. A vigilant briskness animates it. No nonchalance here, none of this languor of the Atlantic plains, doubly influenced by the mildness of the air and the Bedouin fatalities. Everything in these mountains is harsh, contrasted, vigorous. Everywhere, corners and recesses delicately washed out, the depths of valleys chiseled by a hoe, a country cut into vales and cantons. As many signs of man, of a spirit with strong passions, with a patience no less strong. The Atlas is, as one has seen, botanically a Mediterranean island, isolated and anachronistic. It will not prejudge the rest of this study to say already that a certain history and certain social structures would conspire with this aspect of the country so that in the encirclement of the South a destiny apart was assumed.

/29/

III. Concerning the Men

The House (1)

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1. On the house of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, R. Montagne, "L'Aghbar et les hautes vallées du Grand Atlas /The Aghbar and the high valleys of the Great Atlas/," *Hesp.*, 1927, p. 4 sq., *Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le S. du Maroc* /The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco/, 1930, pp. 41 sq.; plates and captions in *Villages et kasbahs berbères* /Berber villages and casbahs/, 1930, pp. 5 sq.; J. Dresch and J. de Lepinay, *Le*

/29 cont./

361 342 [113] /footnote 1 continued/ guide alpin de la montagne marocaine, le massif du Toubkal /Alpine guide to the Moroccan mountains, the massif of the Toubkal/, 1938, p. 73 sq. In another Chleuh /Shluh/ domain, where the technical and linguistic reality appears richer than that of the Haut-Atlas, A. Adam, La maison et le village dans quelques tribus de l'Anti-Atlas /The house and the village in several tribes of the Anti-Atlas/, 1951, pp. 8 sq. Finally, one cannot not cite, in a very different geographical domain, E. Laoust, L'habitation chez les transhumants du Maroc Central /The habitation of the transhumants of Central Morocco/, 1935.

Country of bourgs. Despite the identity of the color and materials with the surrounding rocks, the house, because of its audacious verticality, its geometrical heap of cubes and terraces, opposes a keen contrast to the surrounding nature. This peasant, so close to his geological support, thus affirms an initiative that reveals the energy of the community.

361 [161] Approximately 80 agglomerations, presently grouping some 12,000 inhabitants, are strung out in the valley depths. They profit there from a type of inversion that here turns to advantages [133] [132] the habitual wastes of the montagnard economy. The low latitude, which makes the olive tree thrive up to Ad'erd'ur in mid-valley, remedies the rigors of the altitude. Shelter beneath steep walls, in place of repellent effects because of cold and shade, offers protection against the estival insolation. Other causes have also made this part of Morocco, caught between the steppes, a refuge rather than a hiding place /Fr. repoussoir/. Hence the density of life, which tends from the outset, because of the very forms of the habitat and of the architecture, toward an urban system.

The village displays almost continuous terraces. Very narrow lanes, sometimes opening into tunnels, barely separate them. A

361 /29 cont./ A
538 legend from Tinmel illustrates the antiquity of such a style. An escaped ram could, it is said, jump there a whole day from terrace to terrace (2).

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2. Justinard, *La Rihla du marabout de Tasaft* /The Rihla of the marabout of Tasaft/, 1940, p. 119.

Hyperbole undoubtedly, but instructive.

342 Consequently the incertitude is great as to the limits of the /30/ "house." There are, among others, necessities of defense that have inspired this architecture of masses and blocks. But let us take note that the word *tigemmi*, if it does designate the material aggregate of walled-up cubes, courtyards, horizontal bays, terraces pierced with a square hole, also means, in narrower fashion, the "dwelling," which is only a fraction of it and which itself is sometimes split up further into "apartments," *lbyut*. This dwelling is one. It is the "opening," *tiflut*, or even *imi*, "clearance, outlet," which defines it and gives it autonomy from those 342 592 613 with which it is agglomerated. Properly speaking, therefore, in Seksawa there are no *ikhs* /agnatic subgroup/ houses, although one can have there, as, for example, in the a. Mh'nd, more or less compact blocks squeezing in the dwellings of one and the same *ikhs*. But that is a special and nearly unique case. Generally only one part of the *ikhs* is agglomerated. And the contrast between an architecture that in certain respects remains agnatic and the habitat divided at the echelon of the conjugal family is striking.

341 184 Not only do the Seksawa build houses, but these houses are of stones and with stories: fine cause for astonishment for the first observers coming from this "practical Morocco" which the hut afflicts. A more attentive examination will permit shading this evaluation. Up to mid-valley the pisé architecture (1)

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1. E. Laoust, in the work cited above, examines, pp. 295 and 296, the problem posed by this pisé

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/footnote 1 continued/ technique, familiar to the Maghreb and to Spain. H. Terrasse, *Kasbahs berbères de l'Atlas et des oasis* /Berber casbahs of the Atlas and of the oases/. 1938, pp. 48 sq., sees in the pisé, "the precursor of another civilization," in the nature of urban influences (p. 79).

of the South is observed. This is the *lŏh'h'*, made by framing and
(634) "damage" /ramming/. The village of Bul^{c}wân, for example, proudly dominated by the house of an *amghar* /chief/, will not be moved lower in the plain. A plastering exterior to the limestone has even been practiced here. An exceptional act, because lordly. But the pisé architecture becomes rarer as one goes back up the river. Still in a. Musa, it greatly predominates: about two-thirds of the houses. But it becomes extremely rare (about one-tenth) at Z'init' and in Imt'ddan. Nonexistent in Idma and higher. It is not that earth is lacking: it still serves here for an interior, and sometimes exterior, plastering, but the stone architecture prevails more and more absolutely as one ascends.

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It is not only the materials that change. But naturally also the form of the house. It is now a raised house: with two or three stories. The first that strikes the eye is, within the limits, one would say, of the techniques peculiarly montagnard, /31/ but with a completely classical perfection, the agglomeration of Tigemmi y-Iggiz: a beehive assemblage of cells, which are individual dwellings: 7 households live there. Little by little, a
(634) monumental type becomes clear, which already includes beautiful examples, of almost urban appearance at Z'init', and culminates in a. H'adduyws with the five stories of the palace of the former *amghar* Umulid. Normally, the ground floor, *agrur*, serves as stable and for central heating. Above, the apartments *lbyut*, *tinwalin*; above, facultatively, the *tameçrit*, reception room or for masculine life; finally, the *asqqif*, the loft-veranda, picturesquely open on one of its faces, with wooden pillars sometimes being adjusted to the edge of the terrace by a sort of Doric. The

/31 cont./

342 house with asqqif appears in a. Musa, where it constitutes about
184 a third of the types. In the high valley it is general. The opening of all the verandas gives the same orientation. There is nothing more strking than these storied and architectured villages, with long parallel bays piercing the façade: Fensu appears so to one who descends from Uzaga.

All that is black and sad. It is built in schistose stone, with longitudinal fractures, with glossy planes, and joined with slimy mud. The roof, whose flaky composition has been described by R. Montagne for the Aghbar, J. Dresch for the Tubkal, is basical-
621 ly only soil. It makes a causeway. The houses, accumulating in a joined system where each new autonomous participant lives in its own stock of rooms, willingly arrange themselves in quarters, separated by lanes or tunnels. A good example of the genre at Igerssaffen, where the mule track following the valley has to borrow a covered passage.

355 These dwellings are locked well. The doors, conforming to
414 the Homeric type, do not turn on hinges fitted into a firm upright: but their axis, itself mobile, turns in sockets. It is from within that the lock functions. System with a complicated fingering, consisting of wooden or iron pins. A hole for the hand per-
(191) mits opening from the outside. Without wishing to make a comparison, one might recall this anecdote of the Apulian African on the misadventure of a thief: he stuck in his hand, but an old woman, lying in wait behind the door, shoved an awl in his wrist in such a way that, in order not to be caught, he was obliged to cut off his arm.

The Bourgs

361- The form of the habitat is that of the "hamlet," Imud'a, with the houses joined together, opposing to the external menace a perimeter without a break. The agglomeration is sometimes important: thus, the /32/ a. Mh'nd (600 inhabitants). It may also consist of only an "écart" /separate part/ of two or three houses. Thus at Ighilan, facing Buteghradin: a large portion of slope is occupied by a series of small quarters, each gathered together

/32 cont./
361 apart from the others. Naturally, the preoccupations of defense
have prevailed over the conveniences. Even over that of the
water supply. Amsgerdat is perched on the summit of an improbable
cliff. Elsewhere, as at Tasselli, the prehistoric formula
called "l'éperon barré" /barred or pronged buttress or spur/ survives.
But strategy alone has not conditioned the installation.
Sometimes even it is neglected. A bourg like Tuz'z'umt spreads
out without fear. And, almost everywhere, it is the hill on the
bank of the river, the first ressaut of the surface, and not the escarpment,
that is chosen in order to build. Even more than security,
people seek publicity. The citizen requires a situation from
621 where he embraces the perimeter of the cultivations and can follow
361 the movements of each. Woe to the man alone: he is a
wicked person. Everything in this rural life has to take place in
the open, to face debate. Two important organs of the village
satisfy this preoccupation: the site for the celebration of certain
rites, az'allo, and the one where the threshing floors are crowded
together: inraren. Important bourgs also have their forum, the
site of gatherings and dances; this is the asaīs or asarag. In contrast,
there is never found, save in the rarest exception, the
isolated house, the villa patriarchally surrounded by its property,
which is established at the limit of the H'āh'a and the Mtugga.

The Chleuh /Shluh/ does not distinguish the hamlet from the
bourg already almost urban. He always uses the word lmud'a,
"locality," exotic Arabic contribution, with a quite suspect vagueness.
621 As a general rule, there is no coincidence between the political
634 unit, the taqbilt, and the unit of agglomerated habitat.
(In our sector, one finds only one isolated case of it, that of the
613 a. Mh'nd.) Nor with the social unit, the ikhs. Nevertheless it
sometimes happens that elements of all of an ikhs live apart, or
more frequently that the village is split into quarters, as at
T'abya. But what counts is rather the indifference of the habitat
with regard to the social structures and to the agrarian order. The
entanglements of the ikhs-s among hamlets of the same canton,
and of their lands in the different quarters, without any correspondence
with the divisions of the habitat other than this very
complexity, is indeed rather the rule.

/32 cont./

634 Nevertheless, the agglomeration as such can assume significance:
613 this is when the excessive proportions of the *taqbilt*
splinter its *ikhs*-s into fragments, which will lead a life more and
more independent in each of the villages where they are settled,
/33/ combined with other elements. So for the division of the
Iseqqalen among several villages of the Idma country. It is true
621 that this dispersion does not go very far. Nevertheless there
794 exists a village solidarity, the most complete sign of which is
that of the existence of a *timezgida*: place of worship, if one
wishes, not only of an orthodoxy with a singular flavor, but also
794 a municipal circle. The *timezgida* unit is the one which, with
162 very rare anomalies, might be the best to give information on
634 the average quota of agglomerations in the different cantons.
Thus in a. H'adduyws, 21 mosques give an average of 125 inhabitants
grouped together. Even this result is appreciably
twisted by the existence of two bourgs, Tasa and Fensu, with 300
to 400 inhabitants each. At Idma, 13 agglomerations, one a
bourg of nearly 500 inhabitants, Usikis; the average is 160 inhabitants.
The only bourg of the a. Mh'nd has some 600 inhabitants:
but this is, for it alone, one *taqbilt*. The Imt'ddan and
the a. Musa do not reach 100 inhabitants agglomerated together
on the average. In general fashion, as one sees, these units are
very small. The problems of structure that this poses will be
taken up again. For the moment let us consider two impressions
that can draw some vividness from a comparison with other
milieus.

342 An invincible association of ideas links for us the notion of
333 architecture in stone to that of duration, and also of magnificence
(1).

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1. Cf. reflections of Vidal de La Blache, *Principes de géographie humaine* /Principles of human geography/, 1922, on architecture of earth (*adobe*), p. 150, and of stone, pp. 150 and 154 sq. He sees in the connection of cultivation on terraces and architecture in stone an essentially Mediterranean matter (p. 156).

/33 cont./

342 There is nothing of that here. All the stone circumvallations
333 that defend the tiers of cultivation are subject to incessant re-
vision. In the house, on the other hand, there was nothing about
the schistose slabs arranged in straight lines that looked like a
[184] lord. The latter, farther to the S., inhabited his qaçba /casbah/
[554] of pisé. In this part of Morocco, the palace is of mud, and the
[712] shanty of stone. There is nothing more disconcerting for us than
166 the facility with which the montagnard abandons the hovel,
342 taking away only the woodwork, and sets about building else-
where. Hence so many scattered ruins: such old villages, with their banquettes and their walls, are abandoned. For which there are several reasons, one of which doubtlessly is moral: horror of the ruins, to which avenging forces are attached, and the other economic: this immense debauch of man power, which by its realizations, sometimes masterly, but irregular, dispenses the human action of perseverance.

621 Another idea to revise, the one that we often have of a habitat so fragmented. For the European geographer, this would be the /34/ sign of an anarchial particularism, of a failure of social structures. Now here it is just the opposite. Nothing is more closely united than these ensembles of écarts /separate parts/ or hamlets, lmud'a, flung into the valley as if by chance, and obeying only the exigencies of a capricious strategy or of mood. The Chleuh /Shluh/ city is broken up into small bits, but it is a city. It is crumbled throughout the canton. The fact is that, through the combined effect of an inhospitable milieu and the energy of the men, immense stretches of savage nature, of parks and gardens are maintained between the blocks of houses.

The Family, Viewed from the Outside

592 "What one finds, in these mountains, is the family stock in
184 accordance with The Play. The individual person is absorbed
616 into it, under the patriarchal authority of the senior one. From
village to village, these little social and political foyers confront one another in two leagues, to the measure of the whole extent of the provinces."

/34 cont./

592 616 [171] Is it a matter of the Atlas, of its "patriarchal families" and of its leff-s? Not at all, but of the Basques (1)

1. J. Caro Baroja, Los pueblos de España /The pueblos of Spain/, Barcelona, 1946, p. 274. Cf. in Ann. hist. soc., 1951, pp. 497 sq., the review of this specialist's works. In Derecho consuetudinario y economia popular de España /Consuetudinary law and popular economy of Spain/, Barcelona, 1902, t. II, J. Costa presents a remarkable study on the different family types in the N. of Spain, pp. 234 sq. This will not be the only time that we shall refer to Spanish documentation, not with the aim of comparison, but of geographical analogy.

and of the duality that put them in opposition as onacinos and gamboinos in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. But let us leave this comparison, which is only a petty amusement. Let us interest ourselves in divining from facts and simple images the connections of the individual and the family in this part of the Atlas. 128 Let us acknowledge immediately that this chapter will not be conclusive: first, because at this place the goal is only to describe, without prejudging the economic and juridical analyses which alone permit prolonging the description in interpreting it. And also, and especially, because in the present state of the psychological studies on the Maghreb, one could claim here only to furnish some material for the investigations to come.

595 The Seksawa are monogamous. Presently among them there is not a hundredth of the individuals who have two or three spouses. Moreover, it is a matter of individuals out of the ordinary. A study pushed further might reveal among taqbilt-s instructive diversities concerning the role of polygamy, concerning nuptiality, and concerning the proportion of divorces. By and large the strength of the matrimonial bond asserts itself proportionately as /35/ one goes up the valley. But a contrast vigorous in other ways sets the

595 /35 cont./ But a contrast vigorous in other ways sets
184 Seksawa as a bloc, as well as in addition all their neighbors of
171 the Dir of Imintanout, against the Arab tribes of the plain, such
as the Ud Bessebâ^{c}, essentially polygamous. A recent study has
589 even revealed an incontestable fact in these mountains: the
frequency of celibacy. In relation to married people, and including nubile adolescents, widows, and divorced persons, there
would be a third of the men single, half of the women. Nothing
can be established from such figures, lacking a specialized investigation. But they should at least be noted here for the lie
that they directly give to certain preconceived ideas.

562 All the Seksawa women have the storeroom keys. They de-
[343] mand them. Whoever refuses them to them sees them abandon
[712] the conjugal life, which is ridiculous and costly for the frustrated
[593] husband. Public opinion attributes this trait to a character prone
to domestic disputes, but which they know how to make up for by
other talents: that of sorceress, for example, or of clever champion at trials, or again, as the adage says, of nocturnal beauty
capable of furnishing during the day the work of a beast of burden!
Finally, she is a Tasseksiwit: and that suffices. The tribe com-
184 ments, with an amused and secretly admiring indulgence, on
343 these traits, which, it thinks, differentiate it from all its neighbors:
712 the Gedmiwa or those beyond the Tichka. For example, the Idaw
[829] Kais or the a. Tkssit, among whom, it is said, ten to fifteen
foyers can live together without quarreling, or these Idaw
Mh'mud where the masculine institution of the agadir /collective
storehouse/ flourishes (1).

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1. There is only one agadir operating among the Seksawa, that of Ikis. Remains of a ruined agadir at Iguntar. Cf. Lieut. P. Dupas, "Note sur les magasins collectifs du Haut Atlas occidental /Note on the collective storehouses of the western High Atlas/," Hesp., 1929, pp. 303 sq. A The wealth of the I. Mh'mûd in agadir-s contrasts with the quasi-absence of them among the Seksawa, where there were some perhaps, if one

A,[See 3: Dupas, this file--Analyst]

/35 cont./

184 /footnote 1 continued/ believes the toponymy,
343 but in an extremely old epoch. What is there-
712 fore characteristic of the Seksawa is not the existence, but the nonexistence of the agadir, at least for the modern epoch.

[562] In the agadir, in fact, it is the man exclusively who holds the
key to the accommodations for grain; and again his managership is exercised in a communal harmony, which accentuates its
[171] extra-domestic character. Elsewhere, in Nfifa, in Mez'ud'a, a
fortiori among the Ud Bessebā^{c} Arabs, it is "the family head" who administers the reserves. The latter, moreover, are often ensilaged outside of the dwelling. This family head is generally the elder of the house. Periodically he distributes to the couples living together in the tigemmi provisions that are individually prepared in most cases.

184 In Mtugga it is estimated that half of the families practiced,
178 before the Protectorate, a simultaneous community /36/ of habi-
tat and of cuisine. But an evolution has forced its way through.
592 If the elder still holds the key to the reserves, only a tenth of the families remain faithful to the single table. On the other hand, the large house has fallen into disfavor. The foyers swarm all around and build for their benefit a lodging that will be their own.
[593] Finally, in the neighboring tribes, such as the I. Buzia, the
[591] father abandons the communal house to the sons, builds apart, and then often takes a young wife. This division of regime and of habitat therefore sets in motion some complex phenomena: relations of good form between the old man and his adult sons, the intervention of the "démon de midi" /demon of the prime of life/, which here breaks up the common table and moreover orients the aging man toward secret affiliations.

264 There is not necessarily, as one sees, coincidence between
592 the administration of the reserves and the distribution of food. In the plains tribes, in fact, if the former duty falls most often to a single male, the latter is done foyer by foyer, that is to say, by conjugal families in the narrow sense. There still exist some

592 /36 cont./ There still exist some
264 houses, big houses, old houses -- for the tradition registers a decline
[178] here -- where the patriarch distributing the grain also presides
over an alimentary communism. Two tables are organized:
252 that of the women and that of the men. The cooking is done in
turn by the spouses in a single place: *aârich* in Mtugga, *kechchina*
[178] in the plains, *anual* in the mountains. But the proportion
of these survivals, or at least considered as such in the plains,
does not exceed one tenth, or at the very most one fifth.

[178] It is no different among the Seksawa. But there the dispersion
of the cooking among foyers, majority mode, normal mode,
is by no means given as resulting from any evolution whatsoever.
[562] Indeed rather the irascibility of the women, vaunted as a national
[342] quality, or almost, provides the immediate explanation for a
mode of life which thus sets a strong contrast against the form of
the habitat, this *tigemmi*, veritable beehive, where the rooms
are sometimes agglomerated by tens and even include, in the
most developed cases, several interior courtyards and several
loggias. Even when the commensality exists, each one, apart
in his room, prepares odd foods on a stove. An evolution in
272 the alimentary regime is revealed here. It has furnished
178 for this subsistence complementary to the insipid common pot a
pleasant material: sweetened tea (1).

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1. Tea has been, in the rural Moroccan milieus, a modern-style extension, if I may venture to say it, of this kind of "aqueous food," still /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ represented here by all kinds of porridges, and in which Varagnac and Maurisio see an extremely old culinary stage. P.-E. Bache, "Souvenir d'un voyage à Mogador /Remembrance of a trip to Mogador/," *Revue maritime et coloniale*, 1861, p. 87, attributes the origin of the diffusion of tea to Morocco to a gift made to the Sultan by the English in 1820. At the time of Bache's visit to Mogador (1859), this drink was already very

272 /36 cont./
178 /footnote 1 continued/ widespread. P.
Chatinières, Dans le Grand Atlas marocain
/In the Moroccan Great Atlas/, in 1917,
verifies the drinking of tea in Meçfiwa
[556] (pp. 81 sq.). G. Lemprière, whose trip
took place in 1790-91, Voyage dans l'empire
de Maroc et le royaume de Fès /Travel in
the empire of Morocco and the kingdom of
Fez/, 1801, already notes the tea ceremony,
but only among the rich, p. 250.

And there it is not only a /37/ "dessert," just as its generalization, recent on the whole, the utensils that it requires, its city and foreign provenance connect it to an order of things that is not that of the cantonal life, but in certain respects that of reverie, of play, and of escape. It is also a veritable food, which makes bread "disappear" wonderfully and stimulates you beyond its actual value in calories. And although it has become here, as in the rest of Morocco, an auxiliary obligation of all life of society, it is still, to the extent that it is set against the ancestral broth, a sign of individual emancipation.

[454] Savings connected with work in town most often covers the
expenses of a treat. But, as has been seen, provisions of grain are
592 also most often individual. If two or even three generations live
476 together in the tigemmi, or sometimes larger ensembles of collaterals, it is not communism, but a very precise co-operative
[233] system that animates the rural economy. The flock, it is true,
generally remains common. Maintenance of the shepherd is
[464] assured by turn. A quite complicated assessment can also be
practiced for the maintenance of the hirelings, akheddam, plur.
ikheddamen, if there are several. But if the division of funds is
[241] rare, at least as long as the father lives with his adult sons, the
harvest is integrally divided either at the time of the depositing
of the sheaves: this is the system ddu tadla -- or after the
threshing and on the threshing floor: this is the system s-trialt,
000 "in the basket." The woman naturally enters among those having

The woman

593 [586] /37 cont./ naturally enters among those having rights. Her part is absorbed with that of the spouse in a community which is dissolved only in case of divorce. But, as one sees, the scope of this community is reduced to the conjugal couple. And then it is amenable to precise calculations in case of dissolution.

592 178 Thus, even when the traditionalism of the ensemble or the prestige of one of the members establishes, at the echelon of the whole tigemmi, the unity of the mode of existence, manifested by the common allowance, the economic personality of the couple exists. It has not been one of the least surprises of the investigators for the census of 1952 in this region to verify that the word "foyer," /38/ takat, ar /Arabic/: kânûn, used in the formulary, was understood only as corresponding to the conjugal family in the strict sense: which means that its average number was generally only three, sometimes four, but very rarely five persons, as had been believed up to then. This economic character has evidently been reinforced by recent evolutions: that of the alimentary regime, for example, or that of the possibilities for workers' emigration.

Thus accordingly, and although it fails to note that the montagnards do not attribute the present cutting up of the foyers to any decline, to any change of the mores, this observation
[184] [586] calls for some correctives. The domain of the a. H'adduyws, even though it is characterized by a rarer practice of divorce -- half less than among the Idma, for example -- seems to have remained more faithful to an old tradition of familial aggregates.

425 178 593 There is another point at which a recent evolution has influenced behavior. We shall have to speak in detail of an important patrimonial practice, which the new notarial regime seems to have made rarer. It is a matter of the disposition by the father of all or part of his immovables for the benefit of such and such of his heirs, in general males. The institution, somewhat imprecise today, is called, according to the case, waçiyya, ççadaqa, or even lh'obus. It would be a very interesting study to determine what might be the frequency of these anticipated successoral distributions, if I may venture to say it, by which the

/38 cont./
425 father, of his own accord, puts himself on equal terms with his
178 sons with regard to the ownership of the ancestal fields. This research
593 in the archives has not been undertaken. But if the present
state of affairs cannot contribute sufficient detail on that,
because the institution is very much obliterated, the acts of this
kind were numerous in the past and seem to reveal a very strong
tendency of the mores.

Such equalization between father and son runs counter to
everything that one could imagine about a patriarchal culture. /
584 But it is to this impression that the great individual initiative that
such a society leaves to the young people in the choice of spouse
would already lead. Betrothals are free. They are perhaps sometimes
[178] made in an atmosphere -- grown very pale today however
-- of age groups and communal festivity. They never originate
with the parents. The latter are in general requested by the
young man or the girl to lend to the agreement their intervention,
necessary for a juridical consecration and an integral part of the
ceremonial context.

592 If the unconstraint of the adolescent with regard to his
613 father is such, if the autonomy of the couple stands out so vividly
in the aggregate of the tigemmi, what will the relations of these
conjugal families be with /39/ the larger agnatic ensemble of the
ikhs, defined by a nickname or an ancestor's name? The impression
is that these relations are conceived -- today in any case --
only from the angle of public law. No law, no morality, and
not even good form compels the autonomous citizen, the rrami,
[561] to take the advice of his collaterals. On this point this society
is even strangely disrespectful of /Fig. 4 appears here/ /40/ old
[426] age, veneration of which we would attribute to it. For the collateral,
in nature, is often the usurper or the creditor, intent
upon regrouping the gentilitial patrimony "on his head."

551 Now the individual hardly has a name, if one may say this.
The anthroponyms are incontestably poorer here, less varied, than
in Arab country. More monotonous, and also more fleeting to
hear. Generally, they consist only of brief syllables, the assemblage
of which is rarely original. There is no village so modest

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 57]

/From p. 39 in the original source./

102
634
131

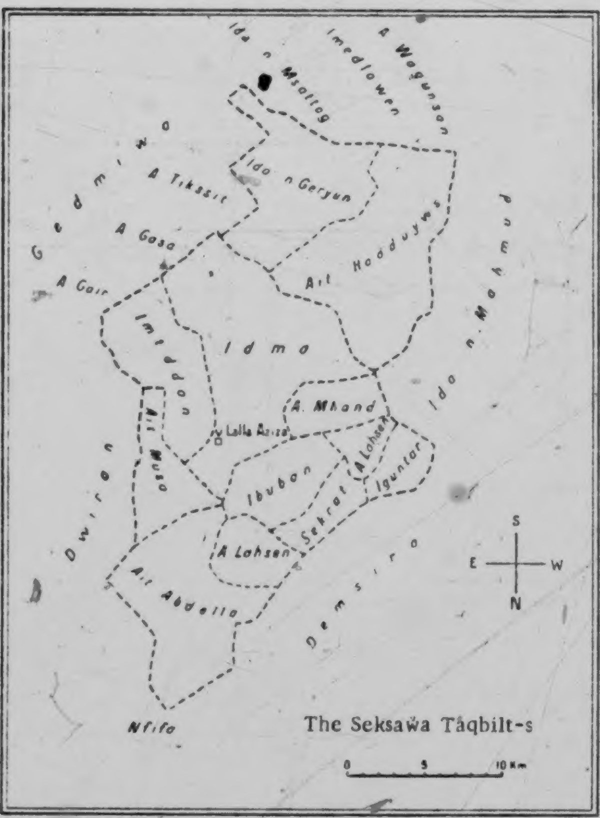
Ida n Msattog
Imedlowen
A Wagunson
Gedmiwa
A Tikssit
Ido n Geryun
A Gosa
A Gair
Ait Hadduyus
Ida n Mahmud
Idma
Imteddan
A. Mhand
Lalla Aziza
Ait Musa
A Lahsen
Igountar
Ibuban
Sekrat
A Lahsen
Dwiran
Ait Abdalla
Demsira
Nfifa
S
E
W
N
The Seksawa Tâqbilt-s
0
5
10 Km

Fig. 4. -- The Taqbilt-s, cantonal division of the Seksawa ensemble

/40 cont./
551 that it does not have several Bihi u Ali, several Addi u Bella.
The combinations of these binomials, where the grandeur of the
theophorous Semitic names falls away in familiar abbreviations,
613 all in simple vowels, are poor in scale. It is true that, in con-
trast to the Arab country, the ikhs always has its designation.
551 This gentilic is generally evocative and sonorous. Its richness
and its solidity contrast with the banality of the praenomen,
pretty much like the Latin system, but with the difference that
the surname, laqab, so common in Arab country, is very rare
here.

613 According to the milieu in which they move, the order of
ideas to which the speakers refer, larger and larger concentric
circles, if I may venture to say it, of identification are effected.
[634] All that one can affirm is that the name of the ikhs avoids all
ambiguity and, in order to be intelligible, refers to nothing other
than the political unit, the taqbilt. Therefore, from the first
step of this inquiry, the force of the ikhs manifests itself. And,
simultaneously, other items of evidence, of juridical order or
arising in the movements of daily life: cooking, agriculture,
comings and goings of each one, establish just as irrecusably the
fact that the individual person affirms a totally independent per-
formance, at least in civil life. Perhaps the present stage has
driven back into a modest background ancient solidarities drawing
their reason for being from war and rapine. The former organiza-
tion of the patres or "ait Arbâin" is also one of the things about
which people no longer like to speak. But nonetheless the impres-
sion asserts itself that, if the ikhs is a cadre essential for an
understanding of this civilization, of its history, of its funda-
mental structures, of its magico-religious substrata, of its con-
tinuity in all domains, it yields in the mores to the autonomy of
the conjugal family, to the aggressive vitality of the individual.

[Idaw Geryun]

/41/

IV. Cantonal Personalities

133

Descent from the Tichka: the End of the World

In the Amizmiz mountains there is an "end of the world," Imi n-ddunit. Although the name is not found here, the foreigner indeed feels that he is at the end of the world when he has arrived at the last level stretch of the last impasse, on the very flank of the Tichka. But what the end, the ultimate effort, is for the visitor who has come from the plain, explorer, conqueror, proselyte, will more precisely be a point of departure for us.

133 Thus, let us start to descend from the depths of the valley of
101 the "sons of Géryon," Idaw Geryun, from their bourg called Targa
634 Ufella, "the supreme séguia." Behind us, nothing but the Tizi
(619] Uzdim, whose escarpment, cut into the granite of the old massif, leads you up in open sky to the quiet pastures of the Tichka. Six
[132] months of the year, from November to March, snow covers them. And, from the tenth of March, a placing in defense imperiously "knotted," agg^{w}mi iqqan, protects the grasslands until the I.
[221] Geryun "untie" it. Then there flow to them, besides the Seksawa flocks, those of the surrounding tribes: Imedlaun, Idaw Mçat't'og,
[233] Tigguga, a. Tkssit, and even a. Ughbar. During this long interdiction, the flocks of the high Seksawa have moved to the plain among the Ud Bessebā^{c} Arabs. Besides the sheep, the richness of
[137] these valleys is the walnut tree, whose fragrant leaves, from the month of May, make each ravine a corridor of green penumbra, in sharp contrast with the surrounding reliefs, mighty, sad, destroyed by sun or frosts.

In fact the country of the I. Geryun is locked in on all sides by mountains. The Tanddri, dominating the archaic bourg of Ikis and often called Ikis itself by our maps, soars up in a sharp cone, with almost geometrical straightness, to the escapes of the right bank. On the left, another cone, the Ras Mulay Âli, culminating point of this part of the chain, where its slender pyramid
[778] defies the usual heaviness. Its summit (3,310 meters) is a minus-
[172] cule platform, completely surrounded by 80% slopes and entirely occupied by the ruins of dry stone masonry, called

[Idaw Geryun]

133 /42/ timezgida, "sanctuary," of one Mulay Âli, an unidentified
101 personage. A hole dug in the middle of the ruins expresses the
634 preoccupations, common in the Maghreb, of treasure hunters.
[778] An abundant and heavy humidity. On the North versant itself,
[772] at about 300 meters from the summit, an icy spring spouts a
[312] weak streamlet. From this belvedere the panorama is enormous:
Taroudant on one side, the Chichaoua plain on the other, a deep
E.-W. perspective on the axial chain. Between the two pyramids
of the Tanddri and the Ras Mulay Âli, the valley is closed by a
wall: the edge of the Tichka, dominated by the Tassyut and the
Mssddat. But let us continue to follow the slope from Targa
Ufella.

Immediately at the foot of the descent, the ground of Tam-
137 gonsi, from Igezwan to Rekto, draws up in echelons its shady
[133] cultivations on fairly wide ledges of the bed, especially before
Alus. A bucolic thicket, Azerwal, is buried beneath the heavy
[778] foliage of the walnut trees. Then, a sanctuary, that of Sidi
Lah'sen u Tiqqi, "Monsieur of the juniper." From there, the asif
[133] Lh'lu, which the old documents call Wâdi't-tuffâh, "the river of
the apple trees," opens in the direction of the Ras Mulay Âli.
These trees are not to be found now. But their species furnished
[173] so much, people say, only a generation ago, that the sale of the
[824] fruit was enough for the canton to procure barley. Some wild
[437] shoots remain. Similarly, wild cherry trees, asemlal, perhaps
indicate old cherry trees. Today, only fishing, the apricot tree,
[226] and the plum tree are exploited. All in a luxuriance of flowers
[824] and bushes, among them the "briar," tikhfert. Rich in freshness,
color, and variety.

133 The principal branch of the valley descends toward the Sek-
101 sawa. Its flanks are studded with populations of "opuntia,"
634 aknari, always associated here with former human habitats. There
[103] are several abandoned ones. Let us note in passing some instruc-
tive names: the mosque of the Vizier, and the "marabout" Sidi
Jâmâ, "Monsieur-Mosquée" /Mister Mosque/, between Rekto and
Ighelmellen. The valley opens up in a wider and wider chasm
on an "Entre-deux torrents" /Between torrents/, the village of
Igersafen. Another country, that of the a. H'adduyws, starts
there.

[Idaw Geryun]
[Ait H'adduyws]

619 131 634 613 [217] [127]

/42 cont./

The I. Geryun, with the valley of Uzaga, shelter one of the branches of the most authentic Seksawa lineage: the proper descendants of the kings mentioned by Ibn Khaldûn in the fourteenth century: the a. D'alh'a, whose family archives will furnish important information for this research.

/43/ Ait H'adduyws: "King's Sons"

133 101 634 487 [721]

One goes up the Seksawa by way of a dizzy path on the right bank. After Tasselli, one skirts some cliffs of 200 to 300 meters. Then one descends again, to the confluent of Imi y-Ikis, at the height of which the séguia of the Idma breaks off from the riverbed. The taking of it has already been done by the a. H'adduyws: whence a permanent menace and indeed wars of former times. The path then goes up again. Once the crest has been reached, the Tizi n-Kennas, the panorama of the chain, forming the horizon to the S., lies open at one stroke. It is colossal. The least of these summits, Ras Mulay Ali, Aziwal, Temt'daden, exceed 3,000 meters. At the feet of the traveler, the village of Igersafen, "between two rivers," forms something like the center of a fertile crescent. In fact, two valleys converge there: that of the I. Geryun, descending from the Tichka, where one perceives the grandiose denticulation to the E.; that of the principal branch of the Seksawa, which plunges to the S. and with which our visitor is going to be concerned.

133 101 634 [769] [349] [776] [197] 173

The somber landscape of schist becomes brighter. One is now in limestone tending toward pink and blue. The valley opens into esplanades larger than one will encounter in all the rest of the valley. In the center, a cupola, that of an eponymous saint, or rather that of the eponym's son, this H'addô u Yûsuf, from whom the taqbilt is supposed to have descended. Orthographic snobbery has in fact reacted on the pronunciation. This tends to impose an a. H'addô u Yûsuf which it readily distorts in paroxytone. Yûsuf would be the own son of Ibn Tachfin the Almoravide. Fine improbability. A prudent orthodoxy, but of late epoch, has camouflaged in antedating it by a century, by reference to the

/43 cont./
173 good Almoravides, the Almohade history of this part of the mountains.
Today the cult of this eponym is quite modest, and its
lineage quite dispersed. Its own genealogical documents refer to
a cycle which pushed aside the Seksawa in order to penetrate into
Idaw Mh'mud, and up to Mentagna. In this decline there is the
whole history of the Seksawa, or rather their fall from the great
history of the fourteenth century to the humble montagnard intrigue
of late epoch.

133 The cirque is vast. It starts at 1,600 meters altitude, at the
101 outlet of Igersafen toward the S. But the habitat climbs to the
634 1,950 meters of altitude of Wawnsawt, the highest agglomeration
of the Seksawa. Over this whole section the bed spreads into wide
ledges where cultivations draw up in echelons on both sides of a
street of walnut trees. This arrangement lasts up to the cul-de-sac
of Wawnsawt. From there, only a wall, but the detail of which is
seen now and which forms a caisson. A light spot indents it: the
Tizi /44/ y-Imedlawen. Access indeed precarious: by way of it,
[443] however, intrepid marchers frequent the souq /sook/ of the Tigguga,
[778] and even the a. Tamment, where the sanctuary of sidi
Abdallah u Saîd is. The saint is separated from Wawnsawt, last
[484] village of the Seksawa, by a day's walk, hardly more than from
this village to Imintanout.

173 In the plain of the "king's sons," and despite its relative
abundance and its richness, the ancient race has barely existed.
166 Many new people have come, Idaw Semlal for the most part. But
619 immigration here has doubtlessly been progressive. Without violence,
at least that recollection records. The aggregate thus constituted
634 has itself become conquerors. The immense rectangular
619 house of the last independent amghar, Ah'med Umulid, exists at
[342] the bourg of Tasa. Lower, at Fensu, at the very root of the
Aziwal, reigns a montagnard rich-man, present-day chief; the
old violent and patriarchal life tacks toward prosperity with the
purchase of green nuts and the financing /Fr. commandite/ of
livestock breeding. The majesty of the place nourishes no more
634 than a capitalism with shrewd fructifications. It is combined,
173 however, with the spirit of the high valleys in a mixture of strong
619

[Ait H'adduyws]

/44 cont./
173 archeological tenor. The families issued from the great ancestor,
634 the a. D'alh'a, occupy several villages and, in the native
619 view, contribute no little in adorning the country with a discreet,
secret, but real touch of authenticity. Vestiges of the past, they
remain the support of a legitimacy depending on the Seksawa,
[613] from which the other founders benefit little or much. A lineage
authentic and allogeneous, today all are sons of H'addô. Immaterial
factors, whose action on these montagnards should not
be minimized, have imposed their truce here: perhaps the force
attached to this saint, yet left out of the rites, almost forgotten,
but who is nonetheless "the great ancestor."

133 It is a completely different impression that is made on the
487 traveler who, leaving the valley, climbs the Tizi n-Tbgurt
(2,650 meters). To his right the Tizi n-Trga opens a difficult
175 but indispensable passage toward the Sous. It is this route that
166 was taken in the course of the last centuries by the invaders
167 coming from the Anti-Atlas to take the place of the old dying
populations. And it is from there that they spread toward the N.
From the flanks of the Tabgurt, several avenues in fact radiate
toward the plain; they have remained the habitat of the new men:
a. M'hnd, a. Lh'sen, Idma. Toward the N. and the N.-W. arch
133 the highlands separating the constitutive valleys of the asif n.-a.
101 Lh'sen. The eye follows their outlines up to the bar of the Bwibaun;
634 in the axis, at a distance, appears, by means of an opening,
the tabular relief of the Dwiran. To the N.-E. descend the
terraces of Agersili. From there, the landscape bifurcates, one
might say, into crossroads. /45/ It is in these divergent directions
that the history of the peoples coming from the Sous is spread
out. Thus one might wonder if the political axis which now coincides
with the valley has not changed through the ages.

"Cantons" Par Excellence

101 Here we are in the immured confines of the Seksawa world.
184 And even these people here are no longer Seksawa. They are
634 vassalized Demsira. Last remains of the encroachments made by
619 their people at an unknown time on all the lower Seksawa, up to

[Iguntar]

619
101 /45 cont./
184 the moment when new and brave men from the far Sous liberated
634 the old ground with the help of the saints.

A dizzy descent, from the wooded heights of the Wagrarat,
133 leads to a bed of wells. The torrent of the Iguntar passes here.
101 They have their two villages: Tagenza and Tannammert, "the
634 fronton and the adret," planted at mid-cliff. At Tagenza, ruins
361 of an agadir, "granary-citadel," the only one of the country with
619 that of Ikis. The Atlasic arête is welded to the last counterfort
of the Bwibaun, this long Hercynian wall which closes the Seksawa world to the W. The Arjbib, the Zkkat' have from 2,400 to 2,890 meters. This is the impasse. The Idaw Meh'mud indeed live on the other side of the peak, but it is the other side of the world. Even if the ridge pastures are common, a radical opposition governs the life on the two sides. People turn their backs on each side of the wall.

173 The true relatives of the Iguntar are elsewhere, among the
101 remains of the Demsira. The old records of this tribe show them
634 regulating by their deliberations interests more or less mingled
with those of the Irohalen, thus largely running over toward the
619 Tizi Umachchô. Their legend mentions a founder hero and great
[538] ancestors who built the countries bnan timizar, an expression of
substantial exactitude. Their nine séguias and their five ikhs-s
[613] interlace rights and facilities in a system of distribution of water
[312] and land. There remain to us reports of proceedings concerning
an allotment which was formerly carried out and followed by collective feasting.

634 The same archaic and secret life, the same Arcadian life,
184 with the ancestral wisdom, the same energetic submission to the
619 laws of the country and of the economy also strike you in another
[181] taqbilt of the high mountains: the a. Mh'nd. Between Iguntar
and a. Mh'nd, similarly with their backs to the high axial ridge, are crouched other cantons, formerly conquered or reconquered by the Seksawa over the Demsira: Wanz'id and Iwulla. But these are drawn downstream by their solidarity with their brothers of the branch conquering the a. Lh'sen.

[Ait Mh'nd]
[Idma]

133 /46/ The a. Mh'nd are isolated, like the Iguntar. They are
101 backed up to the enormous mass that we call the Tabgurt, but
634 which in reality corresponds to different appellations for the
619 native: Timezgida Wager Wadaden and Awrir u Ginnus, for the
two summits of the massif that our maps name "Tabgourt" and
[823] estimate at 3,200 meters of altitude. According to the local
interpretation, Tabgurt is high ground dominating the plain of the
H'adduyws on one hand, the a. Dris on the other. Tizi n-Trga
opens from this side. On the W. another col, the Tizi n-Tgurzatin. After which reigns the Awrir n-Zkkat'.

181 It is at the foot of these reliefs that the a. Mh'nd lead their
101 life of former conquerors fallen into a respectable comfort and
634 absorbed by their lands, their flocks, their walnut trees. Allied
619 with their Idma neighbors, they have abstained from expansions.
Besides, they were barred downstream by their suzerains of
Ad'erd'ur. The coincidence of the bourg habitat with the political
cell and the agrarian order is total here. Later we shall study in
[128] detail the portioning of their fields, irrigated by two sources, and
where a rotation of crops plays a role, implying imperious collective agreements.

[527] These agreements manifest themselves in feasts of color and
song, days of chorus, ah'wach, on the superb lawn that the glacial
foliage of giant walnut trees shades all summer. The plan of the
361 village, through a new encounter with the other orders of phe-
619 nomena where the deep social harmony of this group is expressed,
reveals a division still perceptible between ikhs-s. Important because of the population as well as because of the architecture, composed of dense quarters of joined houses with tunneled streets, it is striking because of an urban character. And this liaison between a richly-balanced agricultural life, a municipal liberty, and a sort of city finality is not the least significant feature of the life of the high cantons.

Conquests By Force: the Idma Domain

619
634
101
175
181
[166]

This is a domain, not a country. It was constituted by arms,
starting from the sixteenth century. The small, puny, energetic,
and sly men who hold it came from the Anti-Atlas and have

619 [Idma]

181 /46 cont./
634 remained faithful, up to their last independent amghar-s, to a
101 tortuous and violent tradition. Their type has been safeguarded.
175 It is striking because of a strange dullness of skin, almost blue
[166] sometimes, and which indeed seems to reflect the imprisonment
[142] between these high and terrifying walls. "Profiteers and marauders," as the Pyrenean chronicler says of another such mountain people, expanding the meaning of plunder into broad political conceptions, the /47/ Idma have spread in the direction of Z'init', over a large section of the river and up to the bar of the Afuzar to the E.; over an affluent valley, that of Ammern to the W.; and over all the highlands between the two. In order to understand by what dynamics this meeting of grounds could be made, it is necessary to climb the counterforts of the Tabgurt. Let us place ourselves at an observation point situated at 2,300 meters, just under the little source streamlet called Talat n-a. Ilarzg.

One discovers before one, downwards, the ground of Agersili,
133 at the foot of an uneven ridge, which points to the Awrir Waluggu.
241 It is a vast ensemble of suspended valleys, on flanks prodigiously
101 cut by terraces. We are in May. The green of the barley not yet
634 in ear -- for the year is late here, and snow has persisted for
several months on the tilled fields -- is arranged with the light ocher, carefully squared and rebordered like honeycomb, prepared for maize. Agersili, with the ground of the a. Mh'nd, is the only place of our mountain large enough for a regular rotation of barley, maize, and turnips to govern the agricultural life there.
[312] A séguia of about ten kilometers waters it. It comes from the high ledges of the Amerdul, common to the Idma and to the H'adduyws. Besides Agersili, this séguia runs between the grounds
[361] of Ad'erd'ur and of Wanchkrir. The first bourg, "the mute," rises
in the steep valley of Ammern. The second, older, with a name now unintelligible, is not entirely Idma. The filtered water from Agersili falls there in cascades, into a ravine which ends by rejoining the main valley because of a capture. Two masses of highlands, the Tassila and Inraren Z'dinin, "the joined threshing-floors," tower over, at more than 2,000 meters, the two bourgs,

[Idma]

/47 cont./
133 for which they constitute the perimeter of dry cultivations. Same
101 characteristics: walls often steep, level summit. These high-
634 lands form a rejoinder to the tiny, uneven, vigorous sectors of
the bottom of the valley. This contrast is, as has been seen,
characteristic of the western Haut Atlas /High Atlas/.

133 If one passes beyond the ridge that dominates Agersili, the
Adrar Awselli, one falls vertically upon Usikis, the metropolis of
361 the Idma, the first that was founded by these conquerors from the
101 Sous. The site is rocky. Everything there is rough, unpleasant,
634 inhospitable. But what energy! A hundred tiers of cultivation
619 descend toward the river. Over a whole section they belong to
the Idma, from a little lower than Igersafen, first a. H'adduyws
village, to Tamzgurt, where the Wanchkrir ravine flows. The
Idma bourgs of Tasselli and Tannsmekht mark out this course.
Tasselli is built on a rocky crescent, according to the archaic
formula of valley habitat, called "l'éperon barré" /barred or
pronged buttress or spur/. Traffic /48/ from upstream to downstream
is difficult. Abrupts of 300 meters border the bed, which
is at an altitude of 1,500 meters. That would be 100 meters of
fall from Igersafen. At Tannsmekht, it will be no higher than
[312] 1,400 meters. Séguias on both sides of the stream collect the
difference in level and spread the flow over the maximum area.
[241] But, in view of the drawing closer of the cliffs, the irrigated part
of the two villages gives only about fifty hectares all told. That
is little, on a section of some ten kilometers. Thus let us estimate
at an average width of 25 meters the land available on each
side of the river. This calculation, although it distorts reality,
since there are long sections completely encased and, on the contrary,
some relatively wide ledges, as at Tannsmekht or at Jjgit,
gives an idea of the topographical limitations of this life.

On the right, affluent valleys rise up to the Hercynian bar of the Afuzar, which limits the Seksawa from the side of the upper Gedmiwa. The severity of these slopes, their yellowish bareness strike the eye. It is an absolutely desolate adret, undoubtedly because the high reliefs screen the W. winds from it. The peopling here is sparse: barely one village, Talmud'ât, and one zaouia, Assttif, which perhaps sought out a "desert."

619 /48 cont./
778 The domain of the Idma thus embraces the three most im-
634 portant sanctuaries of the upper Seksawa: Ammern to the E., in
the extension of the Ad'erd'ur ravine, Assttif to the W., Lalla
[484] Aziza on the bisector. A five-hour walk separates the two ex-
treme sanctuaries. On the other hand, longitudinally, it is nec-
essary to figure four hours between Lalla Aziza and Igersafen.
Therefore this domain extends over a space that we could esti-
mate at the value of a whole day's walk in order to be probed in
619 all directions. That is a great deal for a little montagnard state.
175 The Idma are in fact conquerors. "We had only 700 armed
701 men," they say, "when the a. Gasa were double that number.
726 But we conquered them, with the help of Lalla Aziza." In mod-
634 ern times, a regular line of chiefs, alternating among two or
three families, could combine the principle of assembly co-opta-
619 tion, the great assemblies of Inraren z'dinin, with the impetus of
the individual. The chronicle of these alternations have re-
634 mained for us. Today masters of the territory of three zaouias,
181 having known how to insert themselves smoothly into the French
619 peace, obstinate, proud, miserly, the Idma continue their tena-
cious aspiration to exist as a group and, in short, their taking in
charge the former destiny of the Seksawa.

619 /49/ The Domain of the Ait Lh'sen

174 Like the Idma, they are conquerors. They also seem to have
166 arrived from the Sous by way of the Tizi n Trga and, from there,
634 to have swerved toward the N. and the N.-W. up to encountering
the high bar of the Bwibaun, limit of the Seksawa toward the W.,
131 symmetrical with that of the Afuzar toward the E.
133 To the S., the length of the axial chain, they comprise two
cantons entirely similar to the Iguntar and to the a. Mh'nd, be-
101 tween which they are intercalated. These are Iwulla and
634 Wanz'id', backed up to the wall which, from the 3,000 meters of
619 the Zkkat', separates the Seksawa from the I. u Mh'mud. One who
looks toward the N. from the flank of the Zkkat' distinguishes three
valleys still recent in form and which two bulges of earth separate:
the one ending at Amudder, the other constituting the mole of

619 /49 cont./
634 open land of the Ibuban. The former, political subjects of the
101 a. Lh'sen, have kept their agricultural originality: that of being
133 exclusively cultivators in the dry. A curious thing, dry cultiva-
[241] tions and livestock breeding rank some of these dispersed and
these conquered peoples, remnants of heteroclite populations,
[233] among the richest of the Seksawa. That is a kind of contradic-
[184] tion to the perspective of irrigators, which is, of course, that of
conquerors. The economic center and the chefferie /military
district/ of the latter have been fixed in the middle valley of the
torrent, a junction once formed out of the various ravines de-
scending from Iguntar via Sekrat, from Wanz'id' and from Iwulla.

[184] The valley of the asif n-a. Lh'sen crosses some frightful
steep cliffs of basalt before entering the canton of the Sekrat, a
heterogeneous population linked together by the conquest. Whether
it be at the base of the eagle's nest of Amsgerdat or in the vast
thicket that the other Sekrat villages punctuate on both sides of
the torrent, same impression: the bed is wide enough for cultiva-
133 tions to take hold on its pebbly sloping banks. The blocks carried
241 along by the current or falling from the left bank, which is
101 abrupt, have been used in embankments for the protection of
olive trees, almond trees, plum trees, and peach trees. In this
634 variety of orchards, one recognizes a lively peasantry. At the
foot of the trees, tomatoes, sweet peppers, eggplants, and lately
potatoes alternate with the mowed prairies, az'mu, and the
classic lands sown with barley and maize. The torrent roars in a
deep groove, capriciously cut by itself in its large bed. A level
of permanent submersion, according to a technique known as
tanuri, and which is especially that of fodder, of edible flax, and
more rarely of barley, is dominated by the level of the cereal
platbands and of the orchard. An enormous mass of arable land
exhibits its block on the right bank, at /50/ Tigumma n-Skrat,
133 for example. By raising one's eyes, very high because all of this
137 world is formidably encased, one finds that the highest slopes
101 themselves, thanks to their bushes, such as the urzigh, the aloggo,
and their greater forest density, have saved their land from sliding
634 down. Lower, a profusion of blackberry brambles covers the low

/50 cont./
133 walls. The vines shoot up on the trunks of huge walnut trees and
137 plunge down from there in lianas mixed here and there with
101 honeysuckle and briars. The impression is that of a thicket with
634 abundant foliage.

Downstream from the Sekrat, the landscape, having become harsher, reminds one that on the right the dry slopes of Ibuban display their schists with lentiscus and opuntia, without generosity for man. But the impression becomes cheerful again when one again finds the a. Lh'sen "from below," and their center, the "rocky" Buteghradin.

133 This section, extending from Tuz'z'umt to Awines along
101 very hard quartzites, has only more painfully adapted itself up-
634 stream to the Hercynian tectonics. Hard rocks, Appalachian
peaks, powerful erosion make a young and tortured landscape.
[134] Still, the soils there, in a general manner, are less decadent than in the principal valley. Nothing looks like devastation there. The country appears new in comparison with the Moyen Seksawa /Middle Seksawa/ which other conquerors, the Idma, left covered with the ruins of their predecessors and which the decadence of the trees and the drifting of the arable land desolated. Here, a
[137] vigorous forest vegetation crowns the domes, a persistent archi-
[241] tecture of terraces speaks of the collective solidarities. In the end, a country of rich substance, with well-cultivated ledges. Gardens here bear a variety of plants abandoned elsewhere. A feeling of communal prosperity breaks through here.

173 The whole valley is marked with memories. Certain ones,
634 of evil omen, recall the slaughters of times past. Thus at
726 Ukhriben, between Tabratjut and Agadir. An old population, the
Ih'erdach, remained there. The a. Lh'sen destroyed it by surprise
619 on the same day that a saint was born: Sidi Âbderrah'man u Messâud u Âli. His mother had to flee by way of a passage between the opuntia that one still sees there. She took refuge on a
[764] summit facing Agawz, the very one where the mausoleum of the
[712] saint exists, near the small fort of an unknown power: Agadir n-Lmkhzen. Which Makhzen /makhzan/?

[Ait Lh'sen]
[Imt'ddan]

/50 cont./

181 The inhabitant, of warlike and frank character, offers a rich-
182 ness of custom, a legendary warmth, a pride in his traditions that
634 have not twisted into, as among the Idma, cunning and miserly
619 defenses. And this land provides us, together with the memory of
a long succession of heroic coups de main, the one, still very recent, of a great political and bellicose figure, the "caïd" /51/ Lmokhtar, grandfather of the present chief. Divided by their Sekrat and Ibubanen vassals into two groups, one from above (Iwulla, Wanz'id'), the other from below (Awines, Buteghradin, etc.), the a. Lh'sen affirm, in their landed equilibrium, a unity that testifies, better than any legend, to a still-intact vitality. Military force, conservation of the ground, variety of crops are compounded with other traits, bravery, attachment to folklore, fine and pure physical type, in an engaging and deep-rooted synthesis.

On Both Sides of the Sanctuary

778 Having arrived at the Moyen /Middle/ Seksawa, here we are
361 as though inspired by the proximity of a holy place, Z'init'; and
619 of the national saint, Lalla Aziza. The country is ordered sym-
metrically around a ritual and social center. Upstream, the Imt'ddan, avengers and ministers of the saint, who installed them in the place of an ousted population, the a. Gasa; downstream, the parvis, which constitutes, on the side of the plain, that is to say, on the side of aggression and profanation, the ground of the
[128] a. Musa. Let us study the upstream, then the downstream, be-
fore touching on the sanctuary itself.

Cursed Lands: the Imt'ddan

133 Coming from the Haut /Upper/ Dwiran or from the Haut
101 Gedmiwa, the traveler passes over the col of Tamt'ddit at 2,200
634 meters. To his left, the forest of holm oaks. To his right, a
[137] massif culminating in the conical peak of the Tamjlocht (2,340
[233] meters) and the elevated plateaus of the Azur, studded with
[243] shelters of dry stone for the livestock and here and there, on a
well-sheltered epaulement terrace, crops of rye and barley. The

[Imt'ddan]

133 /51 cont./ The
101 trail, even on the col, passes between a threshing floor and a pile
634 of stones, tarrut', which each passer-by augments. That is a
"mansion," maqâm, of Sidi Ah'med u Musa, the great saint of
[487] the Tazerwalt. In fact, it was a small group from there that
[776] founded its tiny capital 500 meters lower, on the right flank of
the ravine. Then it spread to the river, appropriating the enormous block of mountains that point to the Tamjlocht, above the
holy place of Z'init', and two valleys oriented N.E.-S.W.

These valleys, which to the E. flank the bar of the Afuzar
175 (2,315 meters), suffer from an intense desolation. They give vent
to the painful memories of the war led by the Imt'ddan and their
726 Idma allies against the former occupants, the a. Gasa, today
619 driven back behind the Afuzar. Although the conquest took place
during the eighteenth century, it seems that the old curse that
/52/ pursued the vanquished still weighs on the country. More
133 materially, it seems that this canton has not recovered from the
101 battles, which must have interrupted the work of retention of the
634 slopes, thus liberating the downward flow of the streams. That
[134] carried the arable soil toward the bottom and delivered these
lands to the merciless shock of the storms. Even now one is struck
by the decadence of the country. One of the valleys, the one that
climbs from Tagonit toward Rekto, contains sterile stretches,
[172] imlalen, and cliffs of an intense degradation. The ruins of Rekto,
formerly an important village of the a. Gasa and their last refuge
before the total eviction, adds to the melancholy of the site. The
other valley, called Tmlelt from Tagonit, keeps some poor almond trees. But up to the cul-de-sac that terminates it, upstream
from Tamt'ddit, it offers the distressing spectacle of a torrent bed
used with nonchalant and seemingly discouraged techniques: portions ruined by the carting of stones, modest basins or rather
"water holes," tafrawt, unstable channels: all a function of a
[132] sudden flow, one feels, to be changed in a torrential descent. Between the two extremes of the storm, which carries everything
away, and the dryness, which destroys the seed, the ambition of
[172] the husbandman amounts to a kind of groping. At Tagonit a
half-collapsed tower, put in the middle of the bed, indicates the

/52 cont./
133 old occupant. A spring permits the irrigation of a little
101 ground. The valley becomes more clement downstream, up to
634 the junction with the river. There, another village, Tamezgurt,
[172] picturesquely rears its houses of black basalt, and its timezgida,
[361] prettily put in an angled bastion. It is the third bourg of the
tetrahedron. The fourth, Tinwalin, well downstream, faces the
holy place of Z'init'.

One who reaches the river by one of the affluent valleys of
the opposite bank, the one that descends from Wanchkrir, for
example, will discover the desolation of the whole country that
the long Afuzar barrier, oriented S.S.W.-N.N.E., shuts off to
133 the east. The impression of severity increases when one pene-
trates in the direction of Assttif by way of the narrow ravine, ob-
172 structed by giant laurels, that opens on the ruined village of
634 Jjgit. This is the Amlal i-ykiram, all studded with ruins, with
blackened and hacked roots: a cursed valley, which an undoubt-
edly abundant flow has not restored to prosperity since the de-
parture of the first occupants. The same as Jjgit, the ground has
been deserted. At present only a man from Tannsmekht lives
there: but he is the blacksmith, familiar, as is known, with the
[103] malignant powers. And nevertheless the toponymy, in all this
region, reveals former bucolic mores: from Wanchkrir, the grounds
crossed are called: Wizgaren, "of the cattle," i-yggiz, "of the
calf," Tisserdan, "the she-mules." This ravine, /53/ itself un-
fruitful, which the pilgrim from Assttif must cross, is the Amlal
i-ykiram, something which perhaps is like "the sand of the gen-
erous." Backed up to the cliff of the Afuzar, where the Tizi
[995] Mggayd' allows passage toward the Gedmiwa, the zaouia of
Assttif, isolated in this ruin, seems to have concentrated all the
benefic forces that little by little deserted the rest of the country,
or which constituted the reverse side of the malignant forces im-
placable against the a. Gasa. In these lands cursed by history,
and doubtlessly condemned by rite, it incarnates hope and com-
pensation. It re-establishes an equilibrium in favor of the group.

[Ait Musa]

/53 cont./

619 The Parvis of the Temple: the Plain of Tabratjut

184 A clear geographical and social demarcation sets the a. Musa
101 Ufella, that is to say, "Those from above," over against "Those
634 from below," the occupants of the section of the valley immedi-
ately lower, starting from the former market "of Thursday,"
361 Lkhmis. They live in a small flat-bottomed basin of four or five
101 square kilometers, full of ruins, fields, and cemeteries. Four
agglomerations follow one another from downstream upstream:
634 the village, in ruins, of a residual fraction of a. Ish'aq; then the
619 knoll of Tabratjut, overhung by the new château of the Chtittihi
family; then Tagadirt, in ruins, a reminder of the struggles be-
tween a. Musa and a. Lh'sen at the time of the past generation.
Higher, but in a different landscape, where the Seksawa are en-
cased anew in the schistose cliffs, the hamlet of Tigemmi
y-iggiz, marvel of cohesion in the habitat. A whole squad of
[776] saints, as one will see, the most important of whom is Sidi
[778] Mh'and Ah'ormi, marks in a way on the side of the plain, that is
to say, on the side of the profane, of the officials, and of the
troublesome, the approach to the sanctuary and to the place of
asylum of Z'init'.

133 The basin is closed on all sides by heights of different geo-
logical nature: yellowish marls and red rocks from the Imlilen
101 toward the N. on the right bank of the river; following them
634 toward the E. on the Dwiran side, the gloomy hill with two tops
called Awrir Wuzal, "of iron," where in fact a well attributed to
old and legendary Portuguese miners is to be seen. On all the
other sides, this is the black country. Toward the S. it points to
the Tamejlocht, bombe with bulky brows toward the W. and the
N.-W., with the Mzawt, wooded with holm oaks, and the
Illikkri. By the latter the circle is closed. Not without some
openings that allow passage to the Seksawa, to the torrent of the
a. Mh'nd, and, symmetrically to the latter, on the other side of
Tabratjut, to the Talat n-Tddert, which climbs in the direction
of the Haut Dwiran and whose role of hydraulic balance is im-
portant.

[Ait Musa]

619 /53 cont./
634 Like the Iguntar, the a. Gasa, and still others, victims /54/
181 of a curse, the a. Musa do not exceed, and cannot exceed, 60
[162] foyers. Their personality has been overcome by the proximity of
too strong a place in the same way as by the possession of the
small basin which displays in this relief its enviable esplanade.
634 Not being able to avoid access by the powers of the plain, they
175 were, on the other hand, not consistent enough to turn it to advantage
619 by exactions, intrigue, or profitable intervention. This
unfruitful role has continued up to our day. The last of the chiefs,
[631] the "Caïd" Chtittihi, was traitorously killed in an ambush. Lamentable
history of this small taqbilt! It is pressed on all sides
by pitiless neighbors. Even the cadre of the leagues does not outlive
such precariousness. The a. Musa pass from one to the next,
become divided. Morally, it is the end for them. After having
wielded the gun for thirty-five years consecutively, the family of
the amghar emigrated and owes its salvation only to the place of
asylum. They survive then in the advantageous shadow of the
saint /feminine/. The amghar, hemmed in, but always the
[426] usurious lender, trades from her asqqif with his conquerors from
above. It is from there, by means of a rope and a basket, that
he has them pass the barley that they borrowed from him. In
[181] brief, a degraded taqbilt, disinherited vestibule of the temple and
of the hinterland.

133 If one follows the river downstream from the former Thursday
101 market, one soon sees it plunge between abrupt and schistose
walls in a succession of constrictions and of ever narrower basins.
634 At one moment even the horizon of the bed seems to be closed
completely by the majestic quartzites that dominate Talâint.
This section of the river is fed by a resurgence attributed to a
blow of the cane of Sidi Mh'and u Abderrah'man. In fact, it has
more water than the basin of Tabratjut upstream, but earth is
133 lacking. The group has not had the energy to build a ground by
101 using to advantage the quite wide bed of shingle and the small
634 plains brought about by the meanders below T'abya and Igernssuq.
619 The remarkable thing here is the land division, in which, following
the eviction of the Demsira, it seems that former occupants

[Ait Musa]

/54 cont./

133 have participated, the people of three taqbilt-s: a. H'adduyws,
101 Idma, and even Dwiran. The Demsira remain represented by
634 the ikhs of the Ichiyyʿan. It is the one that installed the people
619 of the zaouias farther downstream. As one follows the valley in the direction of the a. ʿAbdella, the immovable-property situation becomes more and more evanescent. One is conscious of a whole past of evictions and tumults: for example, this division of the immense estates of a powerful man, Lh'ʿajj Bujmʿa u ʿAbderrah'man, from Talʿint, living around 1800, and who died leaving only daughters. In addition, the presence of Idma and especially of a. H'adduyws poses problems to which it will be necessary to return.

/55/ Descent to the Styx: Z'init'

133
101 The valley of the Seksawa, which, after the constriction of
634 Tigemmi y-Iggiz, will swerve toward the N.-W. across the small plain of the a. Musa, now circulates from the S. to the N., at
[137] the bottom of a dizzy corridor. The left wall climbs from an advent at 2,000 meters in the black and brilliant schists that are crowned by the forest of holm oaks of the Mzawt. A lumpish ridge forms the horizon from the W. to the S. On the right the wall is vertical. A block of highlands points to the Tamejlocht (2,340 meters), which some clouds clinging to its peak adorn in a very romantic fashion. Upstream the river is likewise obstructed by rough reliefs. In their opening are discovered, as one climbs the slope, the highest summits of the chain: dome of the Tanddri (2,540 meters), pyramid of the Ras Mulay ʿAli (3,400 meters). The bottom of the valley is at 1,000 meters. A displacement of at least one km., in a vertical fall, surrounds it on
778 all sides in the form of a funnel. At the very bottom, Lalla
[792] Aziza, the great saint of the Seksawa.

Her sanctuary, with its green roof and plastered walls, forms a strange contrast with the houses of the zaouia, high, confused, blackish, but solid and put together well. It is guarded on all sides by the somber land of the Seksawa. The sky, to one who lifts his head, only appears circumscribed by the peaks. The

[Ait Abdella]

/55 cont./

778 impression is gloomy and powerful. The black reflection of the schist, the lighting from on high temper the scene with a vibrant grisaille. The dullness of the colors contradicts a kind of internal brightness, the origin of which the painters can seek, but which suggests to the imagination the force of the place. Here we are in the very center of the Seksawa, at a focus of radiance and attraction. Barbarous merrymaking comes annually to seal the connivance of the group and the invisible powers. Collective solidarity, seasonal rite, recourse to the beyond are tied together under the sign of a heroine of precise historicity.

[241] Several hectares of crops spread in the bed their scaly green dominated by the leaves of the last olive trees. In fact, the limit of the tree is not far away: just upstream from this dark buttress which bars the current, and on which are profiled the ruins [619] of a bourg. The a. Gasa, whom a malediction expelled from the country, to the profit of the conquering Imt'ddan and Idma, formerly [794] lived there. Today they are the servants of the saint. Against all the vicissitudes, the latter has maintained her right of asylum, the limits of which, clearly marked downstream and toward the power of the plain, are much less so upstream and toward the closeness of the mountains. Asylum still respected, whose benefic protection spread over the geologist Brives, first French visitor to the Seksawa.

/56/ The Conciergeric /Caretaker's Lodge/ of the Mountains: the Ait Abdella

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Is this perhaps an inglorious title for the northernmost canton of the Seksawa? Its chiefs affect white linen clothing, regularity at prayers, the Arabic language, or, if one wishes, the official investiture, finally, abhorrence of what is regarded as of the nature of montagnard, but this is a great deal. The contiguity to

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the plain costs the canton dearly. It has not recovered from the sacking inflicted on it toward the beginning of the century by a troop of regulars called "of Ben Sennâh'." Requested by the allied Mtuggi, disembarked at Mogador, received amicably at Bulᶜwân, it suddenly attacked the village. The effects of this terrible lesson still remain.

[Ait Abdalla]

/56 cont./

634 It is from this threshold that conquerors and explorers depart,
181 Brives among others, who needed the safe-conduct of an amghar
619 of Tuz'z'umt to be able to go up the valley. Everything here is milder, duller. The constructions do not scorn the pisé characteristic of the Haouz. In bourgeois fashion, one of them even rears walls plastered and limed: a unique exception in Seksawa. In any case it is in this canton that erosion has most profoundly marked the mores. For a very long time, it seems, its function has been the same one that we still discern for it: to penetrate and control the upstream for the benefit of the downstream. The alluvium of a history, which is not only that of the free taqbilt-s, but is amplified to the extent of names such as the one of the Mérinides, is still distinguished here. From the confluent of the asif n-a. Lh'sen up to Tagoyyamt, place of commercial passage and of dynastic conflicts, it is a succession of monumental ruins.

133 From the a. Wagenna ("sons of the sky") downstream, the
634 bed of the river spreads out. The bank, all in steep fallen rocks on the right, goes up by degrees on the left. Braving the freshets,
[241] risky crops cling to even the gravel and sand of the bottom. A very small epaulement on the left; and this is a floor of gardens: the "out-orchard" Berra n-rryat' of Tuz'z'umt, the "background" Luljt of Illutjan, the Talmerkht of Bul^{c}wân. All of it periodically
[312] ravaged. From this section of the bed radiate the great séguias /water conduits/ of the plain: Tagharro, Taâzzuzt, Tassebâit, Talh'archt. Two or three permanent springs gush up on the left of the talus, which support a second or a third tier of crops. These last planes are spacious and covered with trees in homogeneous masses: olive trees below, almond trees above. The slope of the river here is very gentle. Resurgences stagnate under the populations of laurels and tillirin, in what the habitués recognize as an "odor of paludism."

241 /57/ At Tuz'z'umt, the entresol of vegetation is spread out just as magnificently as the illiberal perspective of the country can have it: a veritable small plain covered with an old, but
[312] luxuriant olive grove with intercalated crops. A double water

[Ait Abdalla]

241 /57 cont./
312 system, coming either from Agawz or from the Talh'archt seguia.
irrigates the orchard by numerous ditches and runs several mills.
361 Like Bul^{c}wân, Tuz'z'umt is a rich and large bourg, vulnerable
and cordial. The pisé predominates in its constructions. The
133 Tuz'z'umt basin is at the confluent of several ravines. The one,
634 closed off by the mound where a zaouia of Ahançal is perched,
opens toward the W. on the Urkus and the village of Tizi
Wargyun, which this elevated brow separates from Imintanout.
(137) The name of argyun, "the argan trees," doubtless indicates a
former extension of this species to places that it has abandoned
today, well to the E. of its present domain. The other torrent
is that of the a. Lh'sen, whose lower part, up to Agawz, remains
in the hands of the a. Âbdalla. The latter still hold a section of
the main valley, going back up in the direction of Z'init'.

It is, progressively, another world that begins there. An intermediary world, ravaged by the comings and goings of the powers and bearing all its uncertainty still legible in its land structures. Upstream from Tuz'z'umt, the entrance into the massif confines the bed, obstructed by samplings of multicolored pebbles, among them many hard stones and even rounded fragments of the beautiful grayish granite that is found in the region only at the Tichka. Between Imi n-tghli, "the outlet of the dew," and Talâint, the valley is encased between vertical quartzites. Their size increases up to the Awrir n-sidi Limam. They force on the river, unable to cut them, continual zigzags. Here, little by little, the atmosphere becomes that of the moun-
241 tains. The richness and the variety of the cultivated species re-
call the domain of the a. Lh'sen in certain respects, but with a less vigorous accent, less suggestive especially of coherent group-work. Magnificent vines cover the slopes at Tiburiin and Talâint, just as higher veritable woods of pomegranate trees enliven T'abya. Various crops of vegetables, notably eggplants and tomatoes, in gardens shaded by giant apricot trees. But visibly the bed, which is wide, has been left to itself. In time, all is carried away by high waters, unless the pebbles have been put to good use, as by the a. Lh'sen, to erect small bastions for crops.

[Ait Abdella]

/57 cont./

103 A harsh history survives in the toponyms. A squad of saints:
Sidi Rah'h'âl n-a. Ikherrachen at Imi n-tghli, higher the Re-
[776] graga of Talâint and Tiburiin, higher still the marabouts /58/ of
[792] Igerwal -- come between a. Abdella and a. Musa. The char-
acteristics of the toponymy, clinging to a landscape itself very
expressive, accentuate this impression of a passage from one
world to another: here a ruiniform rock, the "rock of the Fort,"
Tansmert wugadir, there a wall of stone seeming to close the
valley, *Lluh'n-Khaddo*, which is perhaps "the Table of H'addô,"
just as higher there will be an Amlal Yah'ya: and all of these
names have a possibly historic sonority. Finally, and even more
characteristic, the majestic site of the zaouia of Talâint is domi-
nated by a hill called Awrir n-sidi Limam, at the foot of which
there is a "hollow" of the Mahdi *Tamd'a* n-Lmehdi. One knows
who this Imam Lmehdi is in the language of the mountains: this
is actually Ibn Toumert. This reminder here, at the very spot
where another domain is going to begin, which an accessory hagi-
ology, besides the relief and a violent combativity, defended for
184 a long time, is to be contemplated. The bond of this country of
transition with the people of Tuz'z'umt and Bul^{c}wân can only be
artificial. Visibly this world is without unity. Its *ikhs*-s, one will
[167] see, are heteroclites. They call themselves recent occupants;
and by title of immigrants and buyers rather than conquerors.

133 To the E. of this section of valley, confused marly hills ex-
tend their yellowish glaciated rock to the base of the calcareous
131 entablatures, russet and graven at the summit, where the Dwiran
634 domain begins. Again, a former *no man's land* /in English in the
original source/, where, still in the memory of man, hordes of
brigands, some of whom came from the Sous, ransomed at will or
even assassinated shepherd or traveler. Today, a zone of pasture-
land between tribes, where significantly the Idma have acquired,
133 or recovered, the right of usage. This mass of alfa steppe, which
toward the S., at the approaches to Z'init', is famous for a huge
634 ring of polished stone, with tumulus in the center, the *tarrut'*
n-Lala Aziza, has been mentioned above. The saint,

[Ait Abdella]

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634 /58 cont./
in fact, is not far away: the true Seksawa world, or rather that which has remained such, is going to begin.

128 But our rapid description of the country, and of its cantonal personalities, has followed a contrary order. Inversely of the modern explorer or Arab chronicler, it began by departing from on high, by descending from the Tichka. It would be better to do this: the Seksawa mountain is completely a house that one understands better from the interior. With the a. Abdella, we have arrived here, by way of a corridor with multiple quirks, in the vestibule, which looks out on the plain. And since the plain is not, or is no longer, a part of this history, let us stop the exploration here.

/59/

V. Historical Backgrounds

175 One does not write history with nothing. But this "nothing" can itself be historical. This is the case for the Seksawa. Since the end of the fourteenth century, the chronicles have remained silent about them. Barely a few comments, brief and far apart. Nothing, or almost, on the two centuries and a half that preceded the period accessible for the first information gathered on the spot by the Europeans. Nothing from the outside at least. This life retired within itself. Previously it had known greater ambitions and, correlatively, gave rise to several testimonies, including the one of a great historian. A few lines from this past are thus distentangled.

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Characteristics of the Past of the Seksawa (1)

1. We have tried to disentagle these principal lines in a work: "Antiquités Seksawa /Seksawa Antiquities/." Hesp., 1953, which it seemed to us preferable to publish separately. Not only by reason of exigencies of economy in printing, but also and especially because these "Antiquités" present a conjectural character or rest

/59 cont./

114 175 128 127 /footnote 1 continued/ above all on bookish sources, not very abundant and exterior to the society being considered. On the contrary, the developments that one is going to read below rest entirely on a local and firsthand documentation. Finally, they touch directly on a morphological analysis of this society in its present stage.

175 From the farthest that one goes back, a strong and savage personality, which makes an impression on Ibn Khaldûn. In the fourteenth century, it produces these high figures of intrigue and opposition, who are the Seksawa kings. The first Mérinides come after that, not, as a matter of fact, by conquest, but by blockade. In the low valley they build the fortress of al-Qâhira (1353), which deprives these montagnards of their clearances in the plain, that is to say, of their arable lands and of their winter pastures. This effraction in their rural order destroys their offensive force and breaks up their structure. It is all over for the Arab alliances, the designs on Marrakech, the Sous, and the littoral. Their great history is all over for the Seksawa.

174 Thus is explained the physiognomy, every refusal with regard to the powers and ideologies of the rest of Morocco, which they present henceforth. With an untiring constancy they proceed against the mystic revolution of the fifteenth century, against the enterprises of the /60/ Saâdians, then against those of the Alaouites, with the same resistance as against the Mérinides. But no longer any great ambitions. Now their opposition is no more than rebellion. Because of a triple phenomenon: economic decline, intellectual fall, increasing crumbling of Maghrebi life, the great leagues, the long hopes have disappeared. "Spitefulness" remains. I mean the fervor to live. It is served by the powerlessness of the powers of the plain, the harshness of the country. But it bears only institutions more and more adulterated, shameful, and which render homage, through a spirit of compromise and of "part for the fire" /sacrifice some in order to save

/60 cont./
174 some/, to the very one against which they rebel. Veritable archeological excavations are necessary in order to recover something of the original structures under many layers of elaboration. The exploration is worth being attempted. Because it has available here something very nearly unique in North Africa, the thread of a continuity attested to by the identification of the places, the chronological cross-checkings, finally a tradition.

000 A bitter and violent tradition: the mountain grants asylum to the unsuccessful pretenders, conspires in all the intrigues, seizes the occasion for all the bad blows, brigandage, rebellions, sorcery. By that it restrains itself from all positive hope. It only wants -- but it wants this obstinately, heroically -- to conceal from any intrusion its petty internal quarrels and perhaps the unconscious nostalgia for the great things that might have been accomplished. In that it finds its freedom. It safeguards, in its exiguous cadre, a kind of methodological greatness. Vein, improverished, but unfailing, of the life of the oldest Maghreb.

Internal Sources

a) Morphology of the groups...

128 Let us not ask anything else of this distant past. The only
174 thing that counts for us here is the historical background of the
175 realities that we are going to investigate. But if we renounce, and for cause, the lessons of the great history from which the Seksawa have been cut off for half a millennium, it is in order to resort to another series of documents, these internal and of an
619 unhoped-for richness.

634 The present structure of a *taqbilt* is a catalogue of origins.
128 No less than its historical permanence, its heterogeneity is a key to explanation. It subjects the alleged genealogies of the differ-
613 ent *ikhs*-s, among which it is divided, to the incessant competi-
173 tion of rival claims and to the criterion of practical applications.
619 The economy thus comes to authenticate these traditions. If they /61/ retain, for the oldest part, some legendary imprecision, they

/61 cont./

613 no less withstand a rigorous critique: indeed, the critique that
173 springs from the necessities of agricultural work and of vehement
619 claims. They have therefore plunged, at the very least for the last two or three centuries, into an atmosphere of a singular objectivity. Finally, it is these very legendary origins that convey a collective option infinitely more informative for our purpose than the dry chronology.

173 Let us look at the a. D'alh'a for example. Their habitat is
619 today dispersed in three places, on both sides of the sacred place of Z'init'. They present themselves as descendants of the epony-
[101] mous hero Amer u H'addô, historic personage of the fourteenth century. Their tradition therefore bridges the present epoch and that of the agellid-s. One of their branches, the a. Sefyan, in the middle valley, is reputed to be of Arab origin. Is its name a fossil of the relations that the montagnard kings maintained with the Sofyân of the plain? How precious this fossil would be!...

In many cases, the initium of the arable lands, that is to say,
[423] the privilege of taking them in hand under good auspices, before everyone else, is reserved for these old families, even if they have not kept any political or economic prestige. Such, moreover, is not the case for the a. D'alh'a, proud of their kinship with those whom they call Baba Âmer and who lay claim, with general consent, to their quality of Seksawa of pure stock.

634 How can a whole taqbilt, that of the a. H'adduyws, which it-
613 self interprets its name as "son of H'addô son of Y'ûsuf," reconcile this appellation with the profession, also quite clear, of diverse
619 origins for each of the ikhs-s that compose it, and almost none of which go back to the eponym? We are alluding to an apparent contradiction there. But it is almost only style. It conveys the importance of classificatory names in a system where they scarcely retain any positive content any more. And, on the other hand, it expresses the difference in nature between the social cell, the ikhs, amenable to precise successoral connections, and the political cell, composed of subgroups that are most often not united to one another by any kinship tie, even fictive.

/61 cont./

613 One may weigh the interest of these investigations of civil
128 status, if I may venture to say it, bearing on each ikhs, its origin, its character. Their most immediate result, one will see some examples of this below, is to reveal an extreme complexity in groups presenting themselves today as units.

/62/ b) Familial archives...

212 A second source, no less rich and more propitious for the
613 usual methods of erudition, is offered by the family archives. This society is enamored of the written word. It is indeed rare
[415] if each one does not save old papers, put in a "goatskin," tawulkt, or more rarely in a chest. They are rolled in volumen. One slips them into a cylindrical box made from a piece of reed. In this dry climate, preservation is almost indefinite. Still rare for the dates before the beginning of the sixteenth century, these documents become more and more frequent starting from this epoch. The great families preserve them by the thousands.
[691] Merely their inventory, drawn up at the time of legal disputes between heirs, sometimes occupies several pages. Inexhaustible contribution to research, for which they reserve the most unhoped-for windfalls. To be sure, it is protected by its difficulties of access and of deciphering. These illegible scrawls are jealously kept from the gaze of others, a fortiori from the outsider and the administrator, for they conceal, if not powers, at least an intimacy that one wants to safeguard against any hold
[195] over one. Worn and often faded writing, drawn up in a notarial language studded with barbarisms and idioms, their utilization generally requires the help of scholars of the country, alone capable of interpreting them.

Be that as it may, they constitute an inestimable source on the juridical, hence economic and social life of these olden times. From generation to generation, one can follow there the same names of ikhs and thus cross-check the traditional structure of the group. Beyond these verifications of civil status, they allow retracing quite surely the estate formation of the valley lands during the last two centuries at least. One can draw from

/62 cont./

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them elements for the history of the prices. Finally, the acts of public law, which abound, notably in the heavily stocked genre of codifications, throw bright flashes on a past for the knowledge of which one was often reduced to conjecture.

The forgeries, of course, abundant. In many cases, one succeeds in revealing the deception, indeed a gross anachronism. But this suspicion is not of very great importance for our research. Because the forger, eminent stylizer and amateur interested in archaism, is himself valuable as a document.

c) Chronicle

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[173]
A third source is that of the chronicles properly speaking. To tell the truth, one finds them only rarely among the Seksawa, and most of the native historiography is constituted there /63/ by oral traditions. But these traditions are precise, and quite often dated. One will judge them by long extracts. Nevertheless it has been possible to collect several public documents, letters from chief to chief, even annals in a certain case: the commemoration of a disaster of the Seksawa.

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The ensemble of all these sources, morphological, annalistic, and archives, forms a documentation of a precision to which the past of the Maghreb has hardly accustomed us.

Refection of the Montagnard Groups By the South

The False Autochthony

166
Montagnards, Sedentary. One cannot always banish the temptation to fix them on their rocks sub specie aeternitatis.

[829]
But the first result of the analysis is that they are immigrants, and that, a more instructive fact, they have no constraint about acknowledging a foreign origin (1).

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(1) R. Montagne, "Aghbar ...," Hesp., 1927, pp. 1 sq., has already noted this paradoxical allogeneity. Today the fact is better explored

/63 cont./

166 /footnote 1 continued/ in its relations with the very large demographic movements of the Moroccan South. Cf. R. Montagne, collective research on the *Naissance du Prolétariat marocain* /Birth of the Moroccan Proletariat/, pp. 43 sq. The unpublished study, Arch. CHEAM, by La Porte des Vaux on the a. Wawzgit establishes the importance of this factor of heterogeneity in the structure of the populations. Same remarks in
000 de Barré on the a. Yah'ya of the Sous. In a different domain, the Fezzan, the patient analysis by J. Despois has shown the extraordinary complexity of these origins, "Mission scientifique au Fezzan /Scientific Mission in the Fezzan/," *Géographie humaine*, 1946, pp. 241 sq. Already Ed. Doutté, "Figuig," *Bulletin de la société de géographie d'Oran*, 1903, p. 186; Aug. Bernard, *Les confins algéro-marocains* /The Algero-Moroccan confines/, 1911, p. 81, etc., had been struck by the same fact. And even before them H. Duveyrier, *Les Touareg du Nord* /The Tuareg of the North/, 1864, notes in many Saharan towns the diversity of origin of "quarters" and the role it plays in the politics of Ghadamés, Mourzouk, Ouargla, In Salah, the bourgs of the Touat, etc.

166 829 [634] [521] They even bring to it, provided that you have obtained their confidence, some coquettishness. Obligingly, they take to pieces the complex aggregate of the *taqbilt* for you. Classic conversation for the evening! They tell you in detail how the parties linked today were grouped in terms of places and circumstances. They do not even omit the anecdote for you. One feels that their snobbism is not to lay claim to an Arab or sherifian

/63 cont./
166 ancestry. It is to exist together, when one has come from so far,
829 when one would have so many reasons not to be here. Style,
one might say, is in the success of the adjustment, in its difficulty, sometimes even in its singularity. One does not pose as the handsome son from the Orient, but rather as the crafty little bastard who fits in his proper place.

166 There is a nuance whose analysis is difficult to push further
829 for the moment, under penalty of twisting it. But it /64/ thrusts
182 itself upon anyone who enters, with the montagnard, into this
discussion on unity in the multiplicity of origins, which is the preoccupation, the pride, and the science of the citizen. Let us take care: one feels here, once again since the beginning of this investigation, the action of a synthesis that, in general, is not that of kinship, even fictive, but something more immediate, at the same time more subtle. The frequent contradiction between the name of the taqbilt and the diversity of provenances offers the best beginning for the problem.

First Case

634 /In the original source the following paragraph is printed in
613 small type./ Here is, for example, the a. H'adduyws. A
621 striking contradiction: the eponym is a historic personage whose
173 lineage has been affirmed for seven centuries in the oral tradi-
619 tion. But they split themselves up as follows:

[Ait H'adduyws]

/64 cont./

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Primary division of the taqbilt into "thirds," ththelth	Subdivision of the "thirds" into subgroups or "great ikhs-s"	Habitat by villages	Legendary origins
1) a. Wasif, "those of the valley."	a. Châib.	Uzaga, Igersafen, Tasa, a. Bah'ammo, Targa Ufella.	Immigrated from the Sous, leaving from a center of dispersion which would have been Talat n-a. Tunert, village presently in ruins. [166]
2) a. H'adduyws, properly speaking, likewise called a. Tasa.	a. Lbâz and a. Ggâhi.	Tasa and Fensu.	Came from the Idaw Semlal. Have a branch in Sekrat. There is another ikhs I. Semlal at Ikis (a. H'ammo). To these two subgroups have been agglomerated other ikhs, some of whom are reputed to come from afar: the a. Waffûf (Nfifa); the a. Rrais, the Imzilen (Chyâd'ma). Note the name of the a. Lhint, a name which is found again in Demsira, and where it is necessary to give up finding the Hintata, since, locally, they are interpreted as: People of "steel," lhint. [166]

/See p. 89 for the rest of the chart./

[Ait H'adduyws]

/64 cont./ 619 634

3) Idaw Geryun (in reality autonomous taqbilt).	a. D'alh'a.	Tinerghat, Rektwasif, Uzaga, Wawensawt.	Descendants of the eponym, the only ones to claim the ancestry. 632 613 621 173
	a. Messedut.	Alus.	Came from Sidi Mh'and u Ghâzi, near Taroudant. [166]
	a. Buzid.	Rektwasif.	Came from the Idaw Zeddut.

/65/

Integrated into the preceding	Different branches	Habitat by villages	Legendary origins
Residual populations	Ikessan.	a. Bah'ammo.	
	a. Ish'aq.	Fensu.	Ikhs-s of the Idukkalen and of the a. Umetjar.
	a. H'oggwa.	Mtili.	Reputed to have come from the H'mer. But their name is that of a great "league" of the Sous. [166]
	Iqorran.	Ighelmellen.	Unknown origin, first occupants chased out by the I. Geryun.
	a. Sâid u Buzid.	Ikis.	Unknown origin.
	Igurramen.	Imi n-wasif.	"Marabouts" of Mtugga origin. [792] [166]

[Ait Abdella]

/65 cont./

Second Case

634 619 /In the original source the following two paragraphs are printed in small type./ The one of the a. Ăbdella (1).

> [195] 1. I thus note, very approximately, the local pronunciation of the name of this group, which differs appreciably from that of the name of an individual, Ăbdelà, corresponding to ar. /Arabic/ ^{c}Abd Allah.

of the lower valley. Their name calls to mind that of a famous
[167] *agellid* of the fourteenth century. But, by the same contradiction
turned up in a. H'adduyws, the avowed origin of the different
ikhs-s is not even attributed to the Seksawa stock. The thing is
complicated here by an instability of habitat and by an uncer-
tainty peculiar to these marginal populations. Invasions, infil-
[175] trations, conquests, revolts, submission to the power of the plain,
in brief, destruction internally or externally, were repeated all
during the past. Legend, confirmed by the old land titles, has it
173 that the a. Ăbdella succeeded the former Demsira occupants here.
634 619 During a period that we shall try to determine, the latter, spread
out well beyond their present sector, held the lower valley of the
Seksawa, up to Bul^{c}wăn exclusively, and that of the asif n-a.
Lh'sen. To the E. they went up to Taddert of the Dwiran.

619 634 In the case of the a. Ăbdella, whose whole history indicates
[178] vulnerability and who, upon contact with the plain, already lost
many of their old characteristics, the taqbilt is not divided into
subdivisions like the "thirds" of the a. H'adduyws. Here, it is
621 the village that plays the role of political unit -- which the
[613] mountain denies it. In each village *ikhs*-s abound, each of
which has its legend of origin.

[Ait Abdella]

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Villages	Names of *ikhs* and traditional origin
Bul^{c}wân	a. Lkhil, came from Tiddrarin (Sous) by way of Sidi Âli Iz'm (Dwiran). a. Si Mh'and, "companions" of the first ones. a. Sidi Ghânem, descendants of the saint, who has another tomb in H'âh'a. It would have originated from the Ud Âzzûz (Ud. Bessebâ^{c}). a. Wammern, descendant of the saint (Ammeln). a. Lmchari (Iberhan, Demsira). a. u Feryad' (Iberhan, Demsira). a. Bihi u Sâid (autochthons; would be on the way to extinction). a. Belh'âjj (autochthons; would be on the way to extinction). a. u Sâid Bennaçer (Jews converted by the Nâçirî?). a. Naçer, came from the a. Wagenna (Seksawa). a. Benjâa, came from Tizzgi (Gedmiwa). a. u. Kherraz (Idaw Z'al). a. Bujmâ u Âlla (Idaw Merzug, Mtugga). Içhkajjen (Idaw Mh'mud).
Ilutjan	a. Lâneyt, came from Iferks, in Intamlin (Mtugga). a. Lh'achum, from Imintanout (Nfifa). a. Warrah'man (Mez'ud'a).
Tizi Wargyun	a. Wammern "maraboûts" of Ammeln (Anti-Atlas). a. Lh'âjj (?). a. Warrah'man (Mez'ud'a)
Talat u Qyar	a. Sâid u Bella (Agadir i-ysemgan, Ibuban). a. Iddar (Agadir i-ysemgan, Ibuban). a. Bihi u Ali (Agadir i-ysemgan, Ibuban). a. Skella (Agadir i-ysemgan, Ibuban).

/See page 92 for the rest of the chart./

[Ait Abdella]
[Ibubanen]

619 634 621 613 173 166

/66 cont./

Tuz'z'umt	Ih'ançalen, "marabouts" of Ah'ançal (Moyen Atlas). a. Lqaid, subgroup including: a. Lamghba, a. Bella u H'fid', a. bu Tefsut, a. Lh'sen u Ali, a. Bihi u H'fid, a. Chcheikh H'med, all having originated from the Sous like the a. Si Mh'and of Bul^{c}wân. a. Wanz'id' (high a. Lh'sen, descendants of Sidi Musa). a. Buhadi (Iberhan, Demsira). a. Mançur (Dwiran). a. Burjal (Dwiran).
Agawz	a. Buâbila (same origin as the a. Lqaid). a. Lqçir (same origin as the a. Lqaid). a. Sâid u Mh'and (same origin as the a. Lqaid). a. Lihran (same origin as the a. Lqaid).
Tiburin, Imi n-tghli	Regraga "marabouts." Ih'naychen (Dwiran). a. Kawsir (Dwiran). a. Jâa (Dwiran). a. H'med (Dwiran). a. Moh'ammed (Dwiran). a. Si Brik Wakrim (Dwiran). a. u Nd'd'am (Dwiran).

619 634 [101] [312] [142] [181]

/67/

Third Case

/In the original source the following five paragraphs are printed in small type./ The third case will be that of a disinherited aggregate, the Ibubanen, plur. of Abuban, fem.: Tabubant (in the Arab documents, form: al-Bubânî), occupants of high declivities between the Amudder and the Ameznir. A country mutilated on all sides by its neighbors, without permanent streams, and almost without wells or springs. Their physical type from the very first contrasts with the unconstrained demeanor, the

[Ibubanen]

619 /67 cont./

634 [142] [181] [173] pink tint, the plotters' expression of the a. Lh'sen, as well as with the cunning vitality of the Idma. Dirty because of the lack of water, unsightly and feeble, they are decadents. Among their heteroclite elements, a synthesis nevertheless seems to have played a role. The legend exhibits all the details of a history indefinitely suppressed.

634 184 101 619 1) Some blacks, grouped at the foot of a hill with the significant name Awrir i-ysemgan, had their village destroyed by the immigrant Dukkâla (1).

> [648] 1. At this moment the Bani Mâger, who are Maçmûda, are being driven away from the North bank of the Tensift, Sour. in Port., t. I, pp. 136, No. 2 and 193, n. 1. The present group of the Al Chichâwa, grouping Berbérophones separated by the Ud Bessebâ from the Chleuh /Shlúh/ mass of the Atlas, presents some embarrassing questions, but its existence doubtlessly forms "a bridge" between the Atlas and the more northerly Maçmûda populations, who have now disappeared through migration or Arabization.

Some of them took refuge in a. Abdella, at Talat u Qyar. The rest remained at Tugg Lkheyr; they are the present ait Bumellut', miserable remains, excluded from the distribution of the ground. They live mixed with two a. Lh'sen Ikhs-s: remnant of former occupants, forced guests; they are in fact in a state of submission to the a. Lh'sen.

[628] People of aberrant origin, like the ait Abbo of Timskert, living without communication with the others, or like the Inaghayn of Talburt, related to the a. Msseddat of the Tabgurt and struck by a saint's curse, vegetate, without ever exceeding three or four foyers.

[Ibubanen]
[Ait D'alh'a]

/67 cont./

634 184 101 166 619 2) The immigrant Dukkâla -- quite a rare case of movement from the N., though this North was the Haouz, where the habitat of the Dukkâla extended up until a recent epoch -- are settled in a solid group at Amassin. From there, they thrust themselves into each of the other villages, on the ground which they henceforth share.

3) The ait Irz'z'i, chased by the Idma from their village situated on the asif n-a. Mh'nd, are in turn settled as offensive vanquished and appropriate everywhere, except at Amassin, their part of the lands. They are also found, under the name of a. [778] Mulid, in the villages of Timskert and especially of Iggayzen, where they have established a maqâm of their saint, this Baba Lh'âjj, with a personal, but still anonymous face, and localized in an old past, it is said, of 40 generations. A "mansion" of Sidi Ah'med u Âli, in this same village, is a place of "magic injunction," lᶜâr, for the totality of the Ibubanen: composite rabble, but whose ritual, economy, and a community of misfortune made a taqbilt.

Beyond the a. H'adduyws, the a. Âbdella, and the Ibubanen, one could multiply the examples. These three have been chosen as quite /68/ different ones in order to have stand out a common characteristic which does not owe anything to the unity of conditions: high-mountain conquerors for some, friable villagers of the piedmont, or disinherited vanquished -- these are indeed three different adventures. Whence the force of the impression that disentangles itself from them, and which one could formulate in the interrogative form: in this Seksawa ensemble, with such a characteristic personality, is there then nothing that might be truly Seksawa, I do not say in the historical objectivity, but in the consciousness, even the pretension of the inhabitants?

634 619 [173]

A Vestige of the Ancient Seksawa: the Ait D'alh'a (1)

1. Let us recall that we again found the name of T'alh'a in the oldest legendary genealogies of the Seksawa agellid-s. In this society, nothing is lost!

/68 cont./

634 Only a tiny handful of families are Seksawa in origin: a
619 high-mountain group, the a. D'alh'a, and in the middle valley
a branch of the a. Musa. Here is how this latter taqbilt is composed, the habitat of which is situated immediately downstream
from the sacred place of Z'init', and which from this fact presents a certain importance. Its name, like that of the a. Âbdella,
634 is connected with the royal dynasty. In detail, it is split up as
632 follows:

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Subdivision	Ikhs	Habitat	Origin invoked
Half from above	a. H'aqqi.	Tabradjut-Agadir.	Sidi Âmer u H'addo.
	a. H'amed.	--	Came from the Sous, with the Idma.
	a. Mzird'ad'.	--	They are from the residual a. Gasa.
	a. Jjaw.	--	Came from the a. Zemlal (a. H'adduyws).
Half from below	a. H'sayn.	T'abya.	They are from the residual a. Ish'âq.
	a. Khaled.	--	Sidi Âmer u'Haddo.
	a. Ichchiyaân.	--	Demsira, "clients" of Sidi Mh'and.
	a. u Gella.	Iger n-ssuq.	Dwiran in origin.
	a. Lâsri.	--	Ad'erd'ur (Idma).
	a. H'fid.	--	a. ba H'ammo (a. H'adduyws).
	a. Wammern.	--	Descendants of the marabout sidi Mh'and.

634 Thus the aggregate here is again composite. And neverthe-
184 less in this section of valley immediately below Z'init' there has
101 maintained itself /69/ a branch of true Seksawa, a branch of the
619 "King's sons." They share this privilege of authenticity only with

[Ait D'alh'a]

They share this
619 /69 cont./ privilege of authenticity only with
634 the a. D'alh'a of the high valley, whose habitat is arranged, in
184 relation to the mausoleum of Sidi Âmer u H'addo, just as theirs
101 is in relation to the sanctuary of Lala Aziza. Perhaps these are
[778] two symmetrical witnesses treated kindly by the invasions. Be-
tween them, no continuity: the whole middle valley of the river
has been dominated by the intruders or the excluded, the a. Gasa.
This rupture marked the collapse of the national history. But two
islets have remained, and perhaps their safety was not a matter of
chance or of a particularly efficacious resistance. They have, in
a way, existed as witnesses, and perhaps as "guarantors." Be-
tween them are arranged the new arrivals, between them are
sheltered their conquerors. Because the conquest of the country
altered neither its substance nor its name. The arrivals also call
themselves Seksawa. Some of them even claim origin from
[778] H'addo. The cult of the saints is thus continued. Z'init' re-
mains up to a late epoch the foyer of asylum. The taqbilt-s still
claim the old princely names of Musa and of Âbdallah. The
mystic patronages of the soil remain intact.

423 Finally, and more precisely, the immigrant considers his oc-
166 cupation valid only when he has duly bought the land from the
619 former owners: Demsira in the lower valleys, a. Gasa in the mid-
dle. Whence processes extremely nuanced and complicated, which have left their written traces. We shall see that in detail concerning the a. Gasa. But let us note from now on that the relationship of the a. Musa and of the a. H'adduyws, on both sides of the Idma, arises from certain features of the landed-property structure. The analysis of ownership brings a striking confirmation to the story here.

/In the original source the following paragraph is printed in small type./ A family of Iger n-ssuq, the a. Ibizzi, has estates in a. Bah'ammo in the high valley. Reciprocally, some a. H'adduyws of a. Zemlal possess some on the side of T'abya. Well downstream, in a. Âbdella at Imi-n-tghli, the a. Ânono (Idma) keep, with titles of origin, açl, an important joint property. In olden times, and still in the time of Lh'âjj H'fid', a famous

/69 cont./
423 family of this ikhs, that of the present amghar, even advanced
166 on this side. It is not surprising that in this expansion there might
619 have been a very deep feeling of recovery, of reconstitution of traditional ensembles. Such a hypothesis is not contradicted by the explanation given today of the simultaneous presence below T'abya of original owners from three groups: Idma, ait H'adduyws, and Dwiran. This coalition drove out the Demsira and divided their lands among themselves. But it is customary that these recoveries bring about re-establishment of legitimacy: their
619 archeological value is therefore probable.

173 /70/ Legendary origin of a part of this peopling, going back
[613] to the ikhs of the a. Khaled, that is, to the a. D'alh'a, that is, to the oldest Seksawa lineage -- or land distribution; there is an incontestable fact there: the symmetry of both sides of Z'init'. And a symmetry of which the most "legitimate" of the Seksawa are the agents. In this sense, it makes little difference whether this symmetry is an old vestige or arises from a recent restoration; the second hypothesis would perhaps be the most instructive.

Import of This Immigration From the South

166 The conclusion to be drawn from analyses that one could pro-
613 long indefinitely is that the great majority of the ikhs-s composing
619 the Seksawa today originate entirely from immigrants, and not from the authentic lineage, even though the latter is still represented and benefits from tokens of mystic and landed-property legitimacy.

This immigration comes from the South.

166 /In the original source the following four paragraphs are printed in small type./ No doubt we have turned up here and there an immigrant from the N. The case is particularly clear in Ibuban, where this origin gives rise to an instructive etiology.

173 The country of the Dukkāla was subject to a frightful tyranny.
166 One day a man received a visit from a soldier, who demanded
619 hospitality. This man was poor. He owned but one chicken,

/70 cont./

173 166 619 which he had to sacrifice for his guest. But he had an only son, who, exhausted by hunger, dared to strip a drumstick from the roast. The angry guest then threw the child to the ground. The father killed the soldier and fled to the Atlas.

General folkloric theme? Undoubtedly (1).

[171] 1. We again find the same legend in Kabylie /Kabylia/, and still in order to explain the group displacements. C. Devaux, Les Kebailes du Djerdjera /The Kabyle of the Djurdjura/, 1859, p. 334.

But also a trace of the driving back suffered by the populations of the Haouz: the Dukkâla, up to the sixteenth century, descended to the outskirts of Marrakech. Let us record this legend for what it is worth. We also again find some Dukkâla in Gund'afa country.

Another legend, but one which refers to the South this time. It deals with a small group vassalized by the a. Lh'sen, the far-away Iguntar. Their traditional origin, Tagenturt of the a. Widjdjas of the Sous, is confirmed by the entanglement of the property of their various ikhs-s in sectors marking the successive steps of an old immigration. The legendary ancestor, Mh'and, had two sons, one Ah'chmud, from whom the present families of Tagenza descend, and another, Mh'and, whose offspring populated not only a part of Tannammert, in present-day Iguntar, but Tinmrutin, Tagadirt, Wallag8, Tajjdir in Demsira, /71/ partially also Akhferga and Amejnes of the Irohalen. These disjecta [423] membra preserve among them the fixed bond of landed-property co-ownership, and once again the value of the land documents is striking.

166 619 [174] The fact is that in the great majority of cases it is an immigration from the Anti-Atlas or from the Sous, from the South in any case, that is related. This phenomenon of expansion from the S. toward the N. is a general phenomenon, confirmed by the

619 /71 cont./
166 rare analyses at our disposal concerning the composition of tribes
[174] of the Sous, such as a. Yah'ya and especially a. Wawzgit.

[464] This movement still exists, in the form of worker emigration,
and there is to be seen in it a general rule whose significance exceeds the framework of the present work. The afflux of the al-
166 logeneous peoples doubtlessly followed phases of depopulation due
173 to epidemic, to the renewal of the forest (as in the history of
776 medieval Europe). The direction is from the S. toward the N.
619 This is what the hagiology recalls. sidi Mh'and comes from the Ammeln of the Anti-Atlas. His companion sidi Lh'sen is reputed generally to belong to the Idma and to come from the S. Sidi Abdallah u Sâid, of the a. Tamment, taps the offerings of several Seksawa groups, although, significantly, his own ancestor sidi Sâid did not succeed in organizing anything in our sector. Several old documents mention the action of marabouts of Taroudant. The legend of sidi Âmer u H'addo even runs over to the other side of the crests, in Idaw Mh'mud and up to Mentaga.

166 The correspondences with the South and with the North do not
619 present the same character. The Seksawa draw their material, their substance, from the South. But their historic calling, just like that of the groups that maintain them, draws them toward the North. This contrast, on the plane of collective and individual psychologies, is perhaps that of the structures and of the event, or, if one wishes, of the sociology and of the chronicle. But this continual contribution from the S. plays still another role. Renewing indefinitely the archaic basis of the cantons, as the latter become exhausted in the vicissitudes that they owe as much to the appeal as to the hostility of the plain, that is, in sum, to the attractions as well as to the harm of the Maghrebi empires, it keeps the terms of the problem intact: the Chleuh /Shluh/ montagnard is always opposed in the same way to the city and Bedouin world. Thanks to this constant rising of strength, he is not won over any more than he succumbs.

/71 cont./

Fossil Populations

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Almost everywhere, analysis discovers, beside and on the border of the great groups, residual families, to whom the agricultural augury is granted. Thus, in a. Âbdella, these a. Bihi u. Sâid /72/ of unknown origin, and extinct elsewhere. At Ikis, the Amarir, to which have come to be juxtaposed, four centuries ago, immigrants from the a. H'adduyws. Above Ammern is seen a Tagadirt Ikuzza, which is brought together with the Idaw Kazzo (H'âh'a). Let us also mention the a. Ish'aq, of the middle valley, but also having a branch in a. H'adduyws; the Iqorran of the Idaw Geryun; the ait Châib; the Ikessan, etc. Special mention must be made of two groups, remains of which are still found in the high valley and whom one frequently finds named in the oldest Seksawa documents. First the a. H'ogg^{w}a. It is said here that they belong to the H'mer. But their name singularly recalls that of a leff of the Sous. The Tah'ogg^{w}at contrasts with the Tagizzult. In Seksawa, these a. Hogg^{w}a were indeed dispossessed by emigrants from the Tagizzult. That is all that can be said for the moment. Let us also observe the a. Umgan. A curious name. They are perhaps only "People of the place," "People found in place," and finally "the Indigenes." Would they go back to the oldest Seksawa legitimacy? Perhaps their name suggests former classifications among different strata of population, like the leff-s of the Anti-Atlas. It is these a. Umgan that the people of Tasa refer to as legitimate and initial owners. The Arabized al-Mukânf distinction is frequent in the documents, and often as paraph of a scholar. Another finding that has weight, these documents refer not only to the present impasse of the I. Geryun, but to places such as Tawennrrast, Igelwan, not situated in a. Gâir. A circum-Tichka habitat and relations, that is to say, anterior to the present partitioning and segregation, are not the ones that are least archaic or least revealing in these testimonies. That seems to reinforce the liaison of these two groups to a certain Seksawa past, based as much on the ethnic data as on the geographical cadre that it suggests.

[Ait Gasa]

/72 Cont./

101 174 619 /The rest of this section is printed in small type in the original source./ But the big problem of the valley is that of the disappearance of the a. Gasa. It is known that they now exist on the other side of the Afuzar, ranged with the a. Tkssit and the a. Gâir in an ensemble artificially attached to the Gedmiwa.

172 619 Impossible to cross the Moyen /Middle/ Seksawa without falling on traces of the a. Gasa. Here archeology is confirmed by legend, and memory has remained vivid concerning this powerful tribe, with its escarped forts, and which the curse of Lalla Aziza had conquered by a less numerous tribe, the Idma.

Archeologically their habitat is still recognizable from upstream of Z'init', going downstream, to the valleys ending in a cul-de-sac on the Afuzar. Particularly in the Assttif ravine, tiers in /73/ ruins, dried-up almond trees reveal the former prosperity. At Z'init', one of their forts bars the valley.

[103] Popular tradition mentions several of their villages: Taggrurt, Amlal n-Gâr, Tannçemt, Jjgit, Tannsmekht, Iggiz, Wanchkrir, Tamezgurt, Tagonit.

Their az'allo, where they come together for festivities, dominates the col making the ravine of Assttif communicate with that of the Imt'ddan. Surely a sign of an era when the axis of their life had left the main valley. Let us also note that they are associated with six "mansions" of Lalla Aziza, which fan out toward the E., just as a whole squad of sacred places protects it on the side of the plain. For it does not have to be protected from either the W. or from the S.

The a. Gasa are associated with the saint in a complex, but still classical system of relations with two faces: liaison-repulsion.

173 619 An unvarying tradition attributes their eviction to Lalla Aziza. Their crimes were numerous. They plundered the pilgrims and gratified their debauchery on them. One day, a chief named sidi Yah'ya u Lqaid, from Z'init', having asked for their help in gathering the harvest, they cut the throat of one of his sons, whom they left wrapped under a mat. Shortly afterwards, during an ambush, he killed 11 of their men, including their chief.

[Ait Gasa]

/73 cont./

173 one Ăbdelmumen. These relations between the holders of the
619 sanctuary and the people of the nearby fort indicate significant
tension. Popular reprobation still weighs upon these vanquished ones two centuries and a half after their total effacement. It seems that Seksawa legitimacy was never conferred upon them, despite the proximity of Z'init'. They are considered usurpers; but perhaps this is only the consequence of a late classification.

How have the new arrivals, Idma and Imt'ddan, today servants of the saint, been able to obtain the good graces of Lalla Aziza? Is this a historical fact or a reinterpretation qualifying the conquerors after the event? It is a difficult matter to resolve. However that may be, these conquerors, eliminating the a. Gasa usurper, just as not far away the a. Lh'sen eliminated the Demsira usurper, have been the restorers of the Seksawa legitimacy, and legend has kept account of it for them.

101 The name of the a. Gasa is very old. Its consonance recalls
three old Berber names: ait Waddjas, ait Iggès, Uqâça. Le /al-/
174 Baydhâq mentions some Banu Waggâs in the Genfisa confedera-
619 tion, and among the "Çawda of the mountain" some Unghasa (1),
where E. Laoust recognizes our a. Gasa. One is, of course,
174 poorly informed on the site of these different branches in the
619 Almohade epoch. It is possible that the ancestors of the a. Gasa,
belonging to a neighboring group, inserted themselves as profiteers in the Seksawa system at the time when it was weakening (end of the fourteenth century) and remained in it until the time when the forces from the S. and the curse of the saint drove them out.

In such a matter, it is necessary to be very heedful of the notion of legitimacy, /74/ from which the a. Gasa were excluded, at least starting from a certain time, and from which, on the contrary, the Idma will benefit. But here, in this sense, is a new archeological clue.

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1. Among the agricultural quarters of Z'init', note the existence of a tamazirt Iwanghasen.

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174 487 619 There exists a path called Tagharast i-ysseksawan (1), direct, but difficult communication between Usikis, original cradle of Idma power, and the confluent of the two highest valleys, the "between rivers," Igernafen. Thus, while avoiding the great valley, the high Seksawa and the historical center of dispersion that one can locate on the North counterforts of the Tabgurt could communicate. This liaison with the archaic system of the Tichka is certainly very important.

It indicates an era when the Moyen /Middle/ Seksawa, because of hostile occupants or for some other reason, had to be avoided. One might consequently wonder if this axis, disregarding the river path and capable of leading to Lalla Aziza by way of the plateau of the Mzawt, was not anterior to the present political configurations.

If we put it in relation to the initial system of the Idma, straddling the Tassila, the Agersili basin, the Inraren Z'dinin plateau, and the ravines that radiate from it, this impression is reinforced. The Idma tradition has it that, at a certain time, [634] Idaw Geryun (we mean the oldest Seksawa, whom the ait D'alh'a still represent today) and Idma by turns elected a moqaddem yearly; the Tagharast permitted the direct displacement of the jemʕa-s to the place of the election. However that may be, beyond the articulation of a geographical complex that history confirms, we can quite legitimately imagine that the settling of the Idma must have been authorized by the patronage of the former

1. Another Tagharast leads from the zaouia of Ammern to the a. Musa by disregarding the river valley. There are other examples of these "reserve" paths, the existence of which undoubtedly expresses phases of rivalry between populations ruling the river and populations ruling the forest. But we know too little of the past of the Atlas to get further involved on a course nevertheless indeed suggestive.

/74 cont./

487 174 619 masters, men and saints; and it is not without interest that the legend, the topography, and the archeology contribute to making one presume direct communication between sidi Āmer u H'addo, Lalla Aziza, and the first metropolises of the conqueror. It is by these constellations of forces, political and religious, that the elimination of the a. Gasa was made possible.

Legitimist Conquerors

The Achievement of the Idma

173 166 619 "From the south comes royalty," proclaims a Chleuh /Shluh/ song (2).

> 2. Justinard, "Notes sur l'histoire du Sous au XVI^{e} s. /Notes on the history of the Sous in the sixteenth century/," A.M., XXIX, 1934, p. 84.

And that is true of this part of Morocco, whose masters have come from the Anti-Atlas, or from even farther away. That can be judged by /75/ the history of a taqbilt with a rapacious and cunning personality, the Idma.

173 175 619 Tradition has them going back to a sherif from the Anti-Atlas. On the periphery of the Lkst, one in fact recognizes some Tudma. The al-Mançûr expedition (1580) subjugated some a. Tudma (1).

> 1. Justinard, Kunnâch tr., in Notes sur l'histoire du Sous au XVI^{e} siècle, 1934, pp. 171, 179, 182. The Toudma can still be spotted even today in the same place.

In Ammeln, some shorfa of the same name are exempt from tribute. One of their families is that of the Awlâd sidi ^{c}At'â'illah, among whom a certain Sidi Abû Zakariyâ, now buried in H'âh'a, was a contemporary of the golden Sâadian, who sent him back to Fès /Fez/. All of this is affirmed by

[Idma]

/75 cont./

173 175 619 documents, and as historical in the matter as is possible. The Idma of the Seksawa claim to be attached to these Awlâd sidi ^{c}At'a'illah shorfa. With respect to this, they exhibit a copy of an attested affidavit of çafar 1087 (1676), a copy verified several times, the last of which in 1178 (1765).

173 175 166 619 According to this genealogy, sixteen generations ago, an immigration from the Anti-Atlas brought five sons of a sherif of the Anti-Atlas, Sidi Yah'ya b. Muh'ammad Maghagh (2), to Usikis, from where they spread out through conquest. They bear archaic names: Jannûn, Aftûn, Danûq, Ghazâl, Isân, for which the oral tradition, at this same place in the genealogy, substituted five others, of Arabic aspect. Characteristic doublet. The arrival of the emigrants marks the crossing of a threshold, beyond which normality reigns. The unknown, the sacredness, the oddness -- or the authenticity -- of the appellations remains in the beyond, in a legendary murkiness. To these five immigrants are linked the present [613] ikhs-s of the Idma, whose identity can be followed almost confidently through the three centuries covered by their archives. The descendants of Mh'and populate Usikis and Ad'erd'ur, those of ^{c}Ali Usikis and Tasselli, those of ^{c}Abd al-Wâh'id Meghdir and Ad'er'd'ur. Sulaymân is the ancestor [176] of the Iborach of Usikis and, in the sixth generation, of the saint of Assttif, Sidi Lh'sen u Mh'and. He is a historic personage whose paraph many documents brought forth from our day still bear. He lived in the second half of the seventeenth century. One can thus place the legendary arrival of the first Idma toward

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2. Old Berbère name. Ibn H'azm, Jamharat, Lévi-Provençal ed., 1951, p. 462, l. 21, recognizes the Maghâga as the name of a group; Ibn Khaldûn, tr. Histoire des Berbères /History of the Berbers/, t. I, 1925, pp. 171, 232. Cf. on the name of Jannûn, Ibn H'azm, op. laud., p. 43, ll. 10 and 16 sq. (Idrisids).

619 /75 cont./

173 175 [166] the end of the fifteenth century (3).

3. The Fawâ'id, Justinard tr., 1953, p. 56, register a sheik, Mûsâ at-Tudmâwf, who left the Sous to settle in the Daran. He died in 1003 Heg.: 1595.

[776] The saint of Assttif precedes by six other /76/ generations another Idma saint, from a collateral lineage, Sidi Lh'sen u Bubker of Ad'erd'ur, specialist in the expulsion of spirits. With him, we are at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

361 619 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ Let us stop for a moment at the site of these two villages of Usikis and Ad'erd'ur, first settlement of the Idma. Usikis was their first stop, from which they progressively spread out. Its dignity is still eminent. It was almost always in this village that the chiefs were recruited. Their designation was brought about in comitia at Inraren Z'dinin, and the college broke up only at Usikis, on the rock called Taunt n-Fad'ma H'ssayn, after the invocation of the saint of Ammern. The village is built in latitudes of a cruel desolation. Everywhere massive escarpments of black schist hang over it. Several clusters of houses, stuck on a puny esplanade, dominate the almost vertical drop of [103] a prodigious staircase of fields. This spurt of human will surges forth in a general aridity, which crushes it everywhere and which the toponyms themselves express: thus near the village there is a "field of hunger," bur n-lâz', just as a little higher there is a "source of hunger," talâint [illegible]jju^c, or a "field of the Jew," iger n-bhenkuk. These derisive appellations aim at conjuring up [621] misery. But, visibly, only the tension of the group succeeds in maintaining life. It is expressed by the connivance of the saints and by a folkloric richness indicating a strong context of rite and legends. It is also expressed in rural order, in municipal quarreling, and in military expansion.

[Idma]

/76 cont./

361 The other metropolis of the Idma, Ad'erd'ur, is built at the
619 bottom of a pit that an acropolis dominates toward the S. This
agadir was the seat of an old habitat. The persecutions of spirits
depopulated it: the devil was at work in the houses. The people
were truly delivered only by the intervention of Sidi Lh'sen b.
[777] Bubker. Still today, this side is called unlucky and is hardly in-
[613] habited any more except by the ikhs of the ait Lqaïd, which leads
a life apart. The present village groups its houses in front of the
agadir, on a versant exposed to the S. Downstream, another rock
in the form of an acropolis, rising in the very bed of the torrent,
the Tansmert u Rrumi, passes as having been a fortress of the
Christians, former occupants of the valley. At its summit a
block of several tons rests in balance. Two others rear a black
silhouette that seems to look downstream. A country of dark
legends, of cruel memories.

173 At a time that one can put at the beginning of the eighteenth
619 century, the Idma were still reduced to this small canton, re-
doubtable, however, by their arms and appetite. Nevertheless,
[795] on the other side of the Seksawa, the zaouia of Assttif had already
[796] been rendered illustrious by a national saint. Between the two,
covering the main valley up to Z'init' and the affluent valleys up
to Assttif on one hand, Wanchkrir on the other, reigned the a.
Gasa. The history of the Idma, land development, expansion of
groups, and structure of the command, is henceforth linked to the
expulsion of the "usurpers."

/77/ Still today, popular tradition goes back to this period
when the Idma were reduced to two villages and when, either
concurrently or alternatively, two lineages, coming from two sons
of Maghagh, exercised power. The first two chiefs that are cited
are, toward the end of the seventeenth century, Brahim u Jâa
Rryun of the ait Uchâwi and Wakrim u Sâid of the Iseqqalen.
173 They fought against the a. Gasa. The latter invited them to a
721 "banquet-palaver," tiwilt, and massacred forty Idma by surprise.
619 Fortunately the two chiefs were warned by a woman who signaled
to them from the top of a rock that there would be killing. They
pretended to have forgotten a piece of clothing and slipped away.

[Idma]

/77 cont./

173 It was a good thing that they did. The woman who had saved
721 them is not identifiable: perhaps it was Lalla Aziza. For the
619 saints conspired in this war of feints and plunder. The scene of
broken hospitality is frequent in the past of the mountains. Its color, its cruelty evoke the oldest Mediterranean mythology.

The struggles against the ait Gasa continued throughout the eighteenth century. It was starting from 1214 Heg. = 1798 that
[175] their elimination was accomplished. That was the time of the
[423] great landed-property transfers. Z'init' was freed, the valley
occupied first by conquest, then by purchases, according to the classic procedure. Below what the geologists call "the capture of Agersili," another important bourg henceforth enters into Idma history: Wanchkrir.

361 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ This village is arranged in two superposed masses. The one below, on a rocky peak, bears, with the habitations, the ruins of a fort attributed to the a. Gasa. The one above, from which is separated the block of the château of a contemporary great chief.

621 The population is a veritable rabble. Here is how it is split
613 up, ikhs by ikhs.
619

621
619
613
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Name of ikhs	Legendary origin	Comments
a. Ikru, "those of the kid."	Contemporaries of the a. Gasa, but came very anciently from Tafrawt of the Anti-Atlas.	Have the agricultural initium.
a. bu Idder.	Came from Iger n-Tiqqi (a. Gfir).	
a. u Baggo.	Came from Anzammer (Mtugga).	
a. bu Bah'li.	Vestige of the a. Gasa.	
a. Uchchen.	—	
a. Khunch.	Idma, came from Tasselli. I-seqqalen from Usikis.	These are the only two conquering branches.
a. Wakrim.		

[Idma]

/77 cont./

173 175 619 Around 1700, the Idma secured, on the side of the Tabgurt, the water from the Amerdul spring which irrigates the ground of Agersili, and, lower, /78/ the lands of Ad'erd'ur. Two documents concluded at the end of these debates confirm it. I have given the translation of them elsewhere. The a. Gasa eliminated, the conquerors were no longer uneasy about their immediate neighbors, a. Mh'nd and Imt'ddan, with whom their alliance has endured up to our day, without great vicissitudes it seems. A rapacious policy, fertile in actions of guile or of achievement, is the lot of their chiefs. The monopoly of land and brutalities seem to be the method necessary for them. Not without ripostes from the group sometimes. Tradition knows several violent deaths of the amghar-s who henceforth reign over all the present ensemble. Thus Wakrim u Bella, in 1881, was killed by the thief Bahhas, whom, at the head of the jemʕa, he rounded up in his house. ʕAbdallah Ijjiwi of the a. Sirra was assassinated during his sleep at Talmud'ʕt.

There is nothing surprising in the precision of such anecdotes. Among the Idma, the power of group life depends on fidelity to the past. An oral chronicle recollects, along with the memory of the struggles against the a. Gasa, that of the great chiefs whose succession, from the eighteenth century to our day, is retraced in all its details. Therefore here is a list of them. It will be given here less for its own interest than for the cachet of historicity that it impresses on the life of these small societies.

/The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ The farthest that one goes back, it is a great amghar of the family of the Iseqqalen whose silhouette is discovered. Lh'ʕjj Bujmʕ, profiting from the liquidation of the a. Gasa, procured for himself by law, violence, or ruse numerous landed estates in the valley. He was carried away by the plague epidemic of 1790, and it seems that his heirs had to disgorge (1). [731] [428]

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1. Text translated in our "Documents anciens sur la coutume immobilière des

[Idma]

619 173 175 (428) (731) [648]

/78 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ Seksawa /Old documents on the landed-property customs of the Seksawa/," R. afr., 1948, p. 391. On these epidemics at the end of the eighteenth century, an-Nâçirî, "Istiqcâ'," Arch. Mar. tr., X, p. 14; Ezziani, Le Maroc de 1631 à 1812 /Morocco from 1631 to 1812/, Houdas tr., 1886, p. 181; the number of successions in escheat is so great that the Makhzen /makhzan/ sends special agents into the Sous to collect them. In the mountains, however, it is always the commune that applies itself to these recoveries. And it does it within impeccable juridical forms.

173 619 His uncle succeeds him: this is Moh'ammed u Yah'ya. Then follow:
Wakrim u Bella n-a. Lgerchman of Usikis.
Brahim u Yâza n-a. Ilarz of Usikis.
Moh'ammed u Llila n-a. H'addo.
Brahim u Mohammed u Zed'd'ib.
Wakrim u Bella u Lh'âjj of the Iseqqalen.
His son Moh'ammed u Bella Ânono.
Wakrim u Bella.
His nephew Moh'ammed u Brahim Lh'âjj n-a. Zed'd'ib.
H'fid' u Mohammed n-a. u Llila.
Sâid u Akâyus n-a. u Muzun (Usikis).
Âbdallah Ijjiwi n-a. u Sirra of Tannsmekht.
/79/ Lah'sen u Sâid n-a. u Muzun (a. u H'aqqi of Tasselli).
Mohammed Akraray (Talmud'ât).
Lh'ajj H'fid' u Moh'ammed Wânono, father of the present amghar. He is violent conqueror, doubling as a flexible politician. He commanded for two years, then left on a pilgrimage.
H'fid' u Moh'ammed u Llila n-a. H'addo: he died of leprosy.
Moh'ammed u Lh'âjj: he became blind.
Lh'ajj H'fid' Wânono: he definitively recaptured the power that his family has kept up to now.

/79 cont./

The Ordeals of the Vassal

571 634 619 On both sides of the Idma, two vassal groups, the a. Mh'nd and the Imt'ddan. We shall never know from where their alliance came or what its procedure was. The Atlas presents such forms in an already adult or even decadent state. It is elsewhere, in the Moyen /Middle/ Atlas or in Mauretania, that it is necessary to go to seek, in order to catch them alive, the pacts between groups in their ritual richness (1).

[127] We grasp them here only secondhand and interpreted. The contribution of the Imt'ddan to this inquiry will consist therefore, not in recalling remote pacts, but in the historical usage to which they have given rise.

174 166 619 The Imt'ddan, they too, came from the Sous. In a type of place called Ighzer u Zerqi, in the Tazerwalt. It seems then that their expansion must be put in relation with that of this religious center, whether they were the distant scouts for it or, more

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1. Nevertheless de Foucauld has already presented a remarkable study of the "vassalage" and of the rite of *dhabîh'a* for the eastern Haut-Atlas and Drâ region. He has seen very well the major morphological role of these protections, *Reconnaissance au Maroc* /Discovery in Morocco/, 1888, pp. 130 sq. In Morocco, and for the recent period, let us cite two excellent articles by H. Bruno-G.-H. Bousquet, "Contribution à l'étude des pactes de protection et d'alliance chez les Berbères du Maroc central /A contribution to the study of the pacts of protection and of alliance among the Berbers of central Morocco/," *Hesp.*, 1946, pp. 353 sq., and Dj. Jacques Meunié, "Les oasis des Lektaoua et des Meh'amid /The oases of the Lektaoua and the Meh'amid/," *Hesp.*, 1947, pp. 420 sq. But the Mauretanian and Touareg /Tuareg/ domain would give even more vivid colors.

[Imt'ddan]

/79 cont./
174 probably, had been chased from it by the saint. Morocco's past
166 is full of these geographical movements, following a kind of
619 ideological eruption over a given point.

The first habitat was Tamt'ddit, not far from the forested crest that separates the Seksawa from the Dwiran. On the col itself is seen a "mansion," *tarrut'*, of the saint of the Tazerwalt, Sidi Ah'med u Musa. From there the immigrants turned toward the main valley by a movement homologous to the one of their future Idma allies. Thus they too had to fight the ait Gasa. Moreover, they became ministers of Lalla Aziza. For the operations of their public life, they met above Tamt'ddit, at the place called /80/ Assarag (Agoni), a replica of the Inraren Z'dinin of
174 of the Idma. They elected two *moqaddem*-s yearly, and the
175 chronicle has faithfully listed the succession of the most striking
634 of these chiefs. /The following listings are in small type in the
original source./
619

ʿAbdennur n-a. H'sayn u Brahim, of Tamt'ddit, in 1002 Heg.: 1594.
Naçer u Moh'ammed Lʿgid.
Naçer u ʿAli.
ʿAli Wah'man (a. Igejder of Tamt'ddit), then his son Sʿid.

At this time the political power of the Imt'ddan, whose curve had classically evolved toward tyranny, was in the hands of a great *amghar*, Messʿud u Jʿa Benhd'id' Bwizgwman (died 1270 Heg. = 1861). He chased the a. Gasa from their last haunt, Tidli, in the Afuzar. He spread into Dwiran and Indmaghus. He secured for himself a great many pieces of land, which the *taqbilt* will will divide for itself into nine lots in 1277, for he died without male children, which is a just punishment.

Then they returned to the elected moqaddem, and these are successively:

Belkhir u Lah'sen.
Brahim u Lah'sen Aferyad'.
Messʿud u Lah'sen, brother of Aferyad'.

[Imt'ddan]
[Idma]

619 /80 cont./

174
175 Then again, the system of the two moqaddem-s, one for
634 Tagunit, the other for Tamt'ddit.

Here now are two documents from annals.

175 The first, which dates from 1799, notes a jump of the vassal.
[619] The jemʕa of the Imt'ddan specifies in it its territorial limits.
After which, it affirms that /the following paragraphs, up to the
175 last paragraph of the subsection, are in small type in the original
539 source/:
619 "their affairs are distinct from those of the Idma. The Idma have a distinct orf in the matter of civil and penal responsibilities. The Idma do not have to meddle in the affairs of the Imt'ddan: they themselves have put an end to the good relations by trying to create factions among the Imt'ddan, by threatening to rule the latter, to place them under protectorship. The Imt'ddan do not want that. Henceforth they refuse to assemble with the Idma in a single thought and a single word. The matter has come to the point that if someone marries his daughter to an Idma, she will not have ç'adʕq, for the woman is the bond of the devil -- God save me from her snares. May everyone among the tribes know that the Imt'ddan are distinct from the Idma, do not reckon with them, unless it is for war."

175 The name of one or of several notables from each ikhs
726 follows.

At the time a conflict had broken out between the Imt'ddan
619 and the Idma, then governed by the family of the great amghar Lh'ʕjj Bujmʕ or his /81/ immediate successors, who climbed up to Tagunit, without the power to reach Tamt'ddit. The resistance was organized around the chief of the Imt'ddan, Messʕud Bwizgwman, who we therefore see in power, although no title is given to him in the enumeration.

This rebellion was without a tomorrow.

In the "military coalitions," amqqun, the Imt'ddan counted as a khoms with four other khoms-s, three of them as Idma and one as a. Mh'nd.

[Imt'ddan]
[Idma]

619
175 /81 cont./

726 But these expeditions were far from being entirely beneficial; this is the subject of the second document.

175 "The 9 çafar of the year 1303 of the Hegira, during the night
539 from Tuesday to Wednesday, the Idma and those of Tamt'ddit left
726 on an expedition against the a. Gâir of Tawrar. In fact the a.
Gâir from above and those from Tagist had sent to tell us about it,
619 thus traitorously involving us in this expedition. They said to us: 'When you have killed Ah'med b. Âli Lah'wach, our unity will be realized, for there is but one traitor in the tribe, it is he.'

"Thus we fell upon Ah'med and killed him. But the a. Gâir did not keep their word and attacked us by treachery. A certain number of wounded Imt'ddan took refuge in some houses. They suffered a siege by the allied tribes for three days, during which they remained deprived of food and water. Their number rose to 52: five originally from Taddert (Dwiran), one of whom died. Five from Z'init', one of whom died. Thirty-two from Tamt'ddit, 14 of whom died.

"As for the Idma, they were 11 and lost two men.

[792] "The besieged finally laid down their arms upon the intercession of the marabouts sidi Âli b. Ah'med and his brothers, who had come to the spot to restrain the enemies and to demand from them a promise of safe life for the besieged, in exchange for ransom... [incomprehensible member of phrase]. But the enemies betrayed the marabouts and paid no attention to them.

"It was the a. Gâir, the Imelwan, the Maghusa, the a. Gasa, the a. Tkssit, and the a. H'adduyws who intended to massacre us. Those of the besieged whose lives were safe were stripped of their arms, guns, and daggers, as well as of their clothes. They fled completely nude. The enemies took their arms from them. They took from them all of their effects, without thinking further of tomorrow or saying to themselves: 'We should fatally meet with these people who are our neighbors.' It was in vain that one of the marabouts told them: 'Take only their arms and they will bring you the ransom that you desire.' But the enemies had agreed upon the death of our men and only those whom God saved escaped.

[Imt'ddan]
[Idma]

/81 cont./

175 539 726 619 "Whoever reads this document will measure what effects hate produced upon us. Whoever among us will henceforth be content to see the people of these tribes pass on our territory, without doing anything to them, for all that he would have been aware of the forfeit of which we were victims, we shall call him to account tomorrow, on the day of the Resurrection. O you who will come after us, reflect on what has been recorded in this text: it was the decree of God.

/82/ "After the Idma had 'beaten' the ait H'adduyws at Awnass, they stripped the vanquished of their arms, but let them go, whereas our enemies, on this day, did something to us which will remain forever between us.

"O people of Tamt'ddit, of Z'init', whoever will be contented to see a. H'adduyws, a. Tkssit, a. Gasa, a. Gfir, Imelwan, or Maghussa pass on our territory without getting vengeance, we shall punish him on the day of the Resurrection."

[195] [814] Pathetic funereal inscription. We are in full annalistic style there, with a composition not devoid of artifice. I am giving this document in its entire length. One will draw certain conclusions from it if one bears in mind that it is the work of a humble village scholar.

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Attempt at Reconstitution of the Land History of the Moyen /Middle/ Seksawa (1)

[127] 1. Chapter set up entirely with the help of land documents.

The arms of the Idma and of their vassals would not have succeeded, in themselves alone, in driving away the a. Gasa. They found an efficient ally in divine will, moved by the curses of Lalla Aziza. And their progress was accompanied, step by step, by juridical regularization.

The liaison of these three aspects: military, mystic, landed property, restores a verity of atmosphere. But let us not hasten to cry "primitive." Here it is not a question, and quite the

[Ait Gasa]

/82 cont./

174 175 619 contrary, of a stage of indivision /Fr. indivision, "indivision," "joint possession"/ among the law, the sacred, and the temporal initiative of the group. What does rule among these three orders of facts, at the epoch envisaged, is a division of labor, an agreement, the very personal modes of which we shall have to analyze. 127 However that may be, such a correlation presents in its nature great documentary interest. That of sorting out from localizable written testimonies the unfolding of a long phase of the valley's history. Innumerable titles of purchase, where at least one of the parties belongs to the a. Gasa, are produced in the legal proceedings of the present time. The inventory of two series of land records, those of the family of the a. Ikru and that of the present chief of the a. Gasa emigrants, Brahim Aharqus, has even been possible. And there has been recourse accessorily to other, more lacunary elements.

175 174 619 /The following paragraphs, up to the last one in this section, are in small type in the original source./ The family of the a. Ikru, originally from the Sous, has preserved up to our day a marginal existence which has kept it apart and from the successes and ordeals of the group to which it was agglomerated: a. Gasa at first, and now Idma. Its descendant, the gardener Akonad' of Imintanout, cited in a legal dispute over property a large number of ancient documents, among /83/ which some twenty could have been applied to the land. In an appeal, however, he lost the case, which he had started, in the name of an old legitimacy, against the present, and already old, occupants: some Imt'ddan. The right of origin, however secular it may be, and doubtlessly for this very reason, was defeated in the case at hand by the verified possession. It could not be otherwise in a time of landowner and judiciary normalization. But the debate was interesting, because it made many old and valuable ideas crop up.

127 Another series of documents, nostalgically saved by the a. Gasa, disconsolate, it seems, by the curse of the saint and by the loss of their lands, constituted the second large element of documentation, the toponymic cross-checking of which permitted verifying the exactitude. An exactitude that leaps over, if I may venture to say it, two centuries of exile.

/83 cont./

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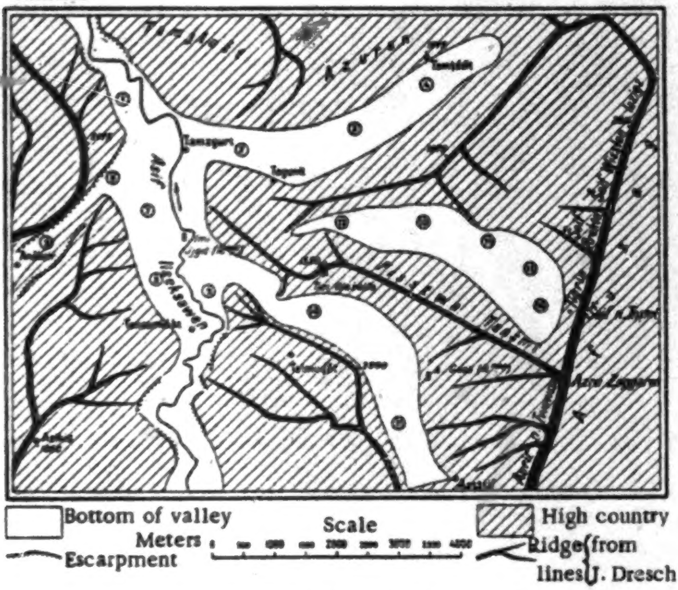
133
361


Asif
Bottom of valley
Scale
Meters 0 1000 2000 3000 4000
Escarpment
High country
Ridge lines

from J. Dresch

Fig. 5 - Grounds of the Moyen-Seksawa

1. Tagasit. — 2. Agella w-ad'o. — 3. Tamlelt. — 4. Igherm. — 5. Imaranan. —6. w-izgaren. — 7. i-yggiz. — 8. Jjgit. — 9. Tisserdan. — 10. Amlal i-ykiram. — 11. Imi Wussttif. — 12. Tighrin. — 13. Tannsmt. — 14. Rekto. — 15. Amlal n-Gßer. — 16. Tkemi.

[Ait Gasa]

175 174 619 /84/ In the second part of the fifteenth century, and probably toward the end of it, the Idma settled at Usikis (with its Agersili ground). From there, in a second stage, they advance and occupy Wanchkrir (Inraren Z'dinin ground) and Ad'erd'ur (valley of the Tazmzgart). Agersili and Wanchkrir were taken from the a. Gasa. Infiltration by purchases followed by military liquidation, or violent colonization followed by regularization?

What would suggest the first hypothesis is the very ancient date of a sale consented to concerning his part of Agersili by an a. Gasa to an Idma (document of 987 Heg.: 1568). The terminus ad quem of the facts resulting in the second hypothesis is offered by a document of 1013 Heg.: 1605. Some a. Gasa formerly occupants of Wanchkrir, "today in ait Gâir," testify on the subject of a building situated on the perimeter of this village.

At this time (beginning of the seventeenth century), the ground of the a. Gasa had shrunk to the main valley. Leaving the N. counterfort of the Tabgurt, which the conquerors held, it began toward the S. at "the boundary of Lalla Aziza," Tiktit n-Lalla Aziza, on the river, and ended beyond the present Tasseli, at Imi y-Ikis perhaps. Two large villages, Jjgit and Tannsmekht, dominate this sector. A left-affluent ravine, from Tigomma Titchekht (below Wanchkrir) and right-affluent ravines, toward the Afuzar, complete this perimeter. One finds there, at the place called Amlal n-Gâr, several centers of life: Tançmt, Rekto, in ruins today, in the localities of the present zaouia of Assttif.

[926] The conflict between a. Gasa on one hand, Idma and Imt'ddan on the other, continued in the seventeenth century. Without issue. It is from the beginning of the eighteenth century that a retreat of the a. Gasa took place, which turned into disaster and, toward the end of the century, ended in definitive liquidation. As always it is difficult to distinguish in the documents the phases of violent or contractual dispossession, each doubtlessly preparing for or completing the other.

At a date prior to 1122 Heg.: 1710, the village of Tannsmekht and its mosque were sacked. A first emigration of the a. Gasa occurs, followed by a peaceful or offensive return to

[Ait Gasa]

/84 cont./

175 the ground of Jjgit (act of 1131 Heg.: 1719). At this same
174 time, numerous acts bring about or sanction the Idma occu-
619 pation at Wanchkrir (1127 Heg.: 1715), Iggiz (1074 Heg.: 1664), even Tannsmekht (1139 Heg.: 1727), etc.

Some a. Gasa still remain at Tannsmekht. A bill of sale for a house, dated 1131 Heg.: 1719, proves it. The position of
[361] this village is capital. Upstream, the agricultural colonies of Usikis, Imi Wusikis, and Tiwghla are doubtlessly already settled. To the S. the grounds of Iggiz and Bwizgaren, already infiltrated by monopolies or purchases, are squeezed between Idma and Imt'ddan. They pass over at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Two powerful personages, who, on account of their origin, knew how to keep a position lateral to the conflict, would invest by their purchases, separately but in concert, all the land included between the Lalla Aziza boundary to the N., the place called Tiddram Wamden to the S., in the direction of Tannsmekht, and up to the approaches of Wanchkrir. They were Lh'ājj Brahim of the a. Ikru (Tannsmekht) and H'ammo bel Lh'ājj of the a. H'ammo (Lalla Aziza). It is not unimportant that of these two personages one represented /85/ a very old family, the other, the support of the saint: a double form of auctoritas.

The documents of istir^{c}ā', "ritual protestation" against
[539] monopoly, multiply in the a. Gasa archives: "With fit document of reservation and safeguard as to his rights, and proclaimed at the mosque, and cried to the point that his cry reached the throne of the Merciful..." thus begins, among others, a document of 1127 Heg.: 1715 on the subject of Jjgit: its tone rejoins Greek antiquity, which used the same formula word for word.

Tannsmekht having fallen, the a. Gasa twisted back to the ravines between the river and the ridge of the Afuzar. The place called Amlal n'Gār between them was the object of numerous operations (cf., for example, documents of 1177 Heg.: 1764, 1194 Heg.: 1783). They reinvested there, we might say. They were not driven out by the Imt'ddan until the end of the eighteenth century. Then they pass the ridge of the Afuzar. A document of

[Ait Gasa]

/85 cont./

175 1259 Heg.: 1833 mentions some a. Gasa still living, who, driven
174 from Rekto, are now on the other side at Dddu-wzru.

619 In the meantime, in the main valley, the Idma, and among them the family of the Iseqqalen (curiously, homonym of an ait Gasa family of Tannsmekht), have slowly spread. The first two acquirers of Iggiz, who are also intercessors, find themselves in part dispossessed. New times, new masters. It is their turn to set down istirᶜā'. Thus, in 1253 Heg.: 1837, Naçr u Ali Ikru solemnly protests against the encroachments of the ait Umghar of Tannsmekht and of Messāud u Jāa of Tamt'ddit. In fact the two taqbilt-s are in the full phase of personal power.

[634] In 1252 Heg.: 1827, 12 old men from Usikis protest against
a great amghar, an obstinate monopolist, and from whom only
[578] the epidemic of 1212 Heg.: 1798 could deliver them.

[731] "The witnesses of those present know the late Lh'ājj Bujmā
175 Wakrim as-Ṣaqālī of Usikis by sight, name, and person. In testi-
539 mony thereof, they state that in his lifetime he exercised his
domination over the whole Idma tribe -- he and his sons, the
619 Sheik Brāhim b. al-H'ājj and Sidi Belāīd, who thrust himself into the juridical consultations and was the Cadi for the entire tribe. Among the Idma there was no one who could set himself against him in the deliberations, nor any prevarications other than his.

"In his time, he and his sons bought land in all the cantons of the Idma tribe, took possession of their purchases, and were not belated anywhere in leaving rights in abeyance, since they kept power within living memory and thus maintained themselves until
[731] their death. This took place in 1214 (1800), the year of the
epidemic. Their properties remain everywhere as they were. To our knowledge, no one has encroached upon them. But all that has remained as it is in the possession of their descendant Bella b. Moh'ammed, living today."

175 Thus the old egalitarian rule, presiding over the division of
174 plunder, with the allotment of conquered lands, reacts each time
that it /86/ can against the individuation of the law and the
619 mobilization of the soil. A persistent legitimacy, which spans brutal evictions and contractual dispossessions, refers, after

1

[Ait Gasa]
[Ait Lh'sen]

/86 cont./
175 centuries, to the law of the a. Gasa. And the latter were per-
174 haps finally defeated only because they had disregarded the
619 legitimacy of this land.

The Achievement of the Ait Lh'sen

173 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the orig-
619 inal source./ The a. Lh'sen are Tekna, originally from the Oued Noun /Uad Nun/. They belonged to the Azwāfid', mythical descendants of the eponym ^{c}uthmān b. Menda, Almoravide caliph of ^{c}Abd Allah b. Yāsīn. Note that there are still some a. Lh'sen among the Tekna. The Tekna, moreover, are Iguzulen, which corresponds to what the a. Lh'sen are: the only Imsifern of the Seksawa (1).

1. V. Monteil, Notes sur les Tekna /Notes on the Tekna/, 1948, p. 13; Justinard, op. laud., at n. 2, p. 68.

La Chapelle (2)

2. In his remarkable Exploration inédite /unpublished Exploration/.

mentions another origin, perhaps, however, intermediate: the a. Lh'sen u. Brahim of the South versant (above Talekjunt and the Mentaga). According to local tradition, the a. Lh'sen would have descended from one Musa, who had two sons: Daud and
619 Mençur.
634 This bipartite classification still functions in the matter of
cojuratio. The unity of the a. Lh'sen is great. Their purity,
[796] guaranteed by their patron Sidi Ah'med u Ali, they say, is ex-
treme. Also the rules for the distribution of land are imposed
[181] here with a particular vigor. The whole ensemble is still young,
vigorous, conquering. It is divided as follows:

[Ait Lh'sen]

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/86 cont./ It^A is divided as follows:

Traditional ancestor	Subgroups	Ikhs	Villages
Musa.	a. Mençur.	a. Sâid.	Awines, Ighilan, Butaghradin.
		a. u Chelh'.	Agadir.
		a. Naçer.	—
		a. Amer.	Awines.
		a. Bnniya.	Iwulla, Tug u Lkheyr.
		a. Mulid.	Iwulla.
		Ikhwawn.	Iwulla, Wanzid'.
		a. Mh'and u Bujmâ.	Tabradjut.
	a. Daud.	a. Lechger.	Tamesdakht.
		a. u Zarra.	—
		a. u Mâli.	Awines.
		a. u Sus.	Awines.
		a. H'ammô Ali.	Agadir, Ighilan.
		u. H'ammô.	Ighilan.
		a. u Addam.	—
		a. Skiwt.	—

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/87/ The a. Lh'sen conquest takes place in several phases. First, they occupy an agadir, the ruins of which still exist in a. Mh'nd. Then, they invade the high canton of Iwulla, separated from the Idaw Mh'mud by a ridge of 3,000 meters. They complete this occupation by that of Wanz'id'. All snatched from the Demsira. The legend renders well the epic cruelty of these struggles.

/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ At this time the a. Lh'sen were occupying only Iwulla. One of them had married a Demsira woman from Wanz'id'. His father-in-law asked him for several beams in order to construct a terrace. His son-in-law carried them to him up to the col that separates the Iwulla from Wanz'id'; the Demsira man then proclaimed that his demand only had the aim of humiliating an a. Lh'sen. The son-in-law said nothing, but called for a general invitation of the Demsira to Iwulla, a tiwilt, "banquet-palaver."

A, [i.e., the Ait Lh'sen--Analyst]

[Ait Lh'sen]

/87 cont./

173 619 The guns of the guests, confidently put down at home, each had oil in the barrel. In the middle of the feast, the a. Lh'sen began to massacre the Demsira. The latter, taking refuge at the home of the son-in-law, were not able to use their guns, and the son-in-law helped to get rid of them completely, including his father-in-law. The group spirit was stronger than the nasab spirit for him: that is the meaning of the anecdote.

174 619 [613] [172] [312] From the Iwulla-Wanz'id' ensemble, the a. Lh'sen continue their expansion. First over the Demsira. There still exists a Demsira ikhs in the present a. Mh'nd, as well as traces of an old séguia that put this village in communication with Iwulla. Trace of an old solidarity. At what approximate epoch did the second leap of the conquest take place? We find an indication perhaps in the fact that the a. Lh'sen remaining in Iwulla had sidi Bubker u Sʿaid of the Mez'ud'a as patron, whereas those who emigrated into the low valley had as patron the grandson, sidi Ah'med u ʿAli. This time lag of two generations doubtlessly marks an echeloning in the constitution of the domain. That is to say, respectively, beginning and middle of the eighteenth century. That would roughly correspond to the indication that the first extension was made eleven generations ago. Let us take these approximations for what they are worth. One cannot claim more in the present state.

The second extension carries the a. Lh'sen to the highlands of Ibuban, which will then be retroceded by sale to the present occupants, unless they had thus been returned to the people found on the spot. Let us note, however, that the emigration of the a. Irz'z'i is better placed in the first hypothesis (beginning of the eighteenth century). This former population first occupied a village slightly above Ad'erd'ur of the Idma. First massacred /88/ by the people of Tasa (at Amerdul, people point out the site of a hecatomb, called Az'mu n-a. Irz'z'i), they were then driven from their habitat, overwhelmed by the precipitation of large rocks, which predisposed them to call it ominous, and obliged to take refuge in Ibuban. It is possible that they then asked for and

/88 cont./

174 bought their settlement from the a. Lh'sen, who had just con-
619 quered their irrigated ground.

This ground, which remains separated from the first canton occupied by some mixed populations (Demsira, Idaw Semlal, and others, constituting the present Sekrat), was completely wrested from the Demsira by the usual methods. The latter twisted back first to Uchfili, then to the agadir n-Tizumyan n-Tlborjt. This village was so large that it contained simultaneously series of homonyms of 100 persons. Such excess invited bad luck. There soon remained for them no more than the lower valley, where the a. Lh'sen pushed them farther and farther downstream, with the alliance of an old population, the Ih'erdach, who are then found at Tamzedakht and Agawz.

/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the orig-
inal source./ But here is how the alliance ended. On the occa-
sion of a ceremony undoubtedly matrimonial between a. Lh'sen
youths and Ih'erdach girls, right in the middle of the tiwilt, the
a. Lh'sen leaped to their arms and massacred the Ih'erdach. The
wadi was scurfed with blood. A Negress discovered it and gave
[776] the alarm. That day a saint was born, sidi Ābderrah'man u
Messāud. The Ih'erdach thus lost Tabratjut. The bourg was
taken by force by a new Aymerillot, the valiant Mh'and u Bujmā,
accompanied by his seven sons: he had been promised it in appa-
nage, provided that he seize it. This he did!

The Ih'erdach subsequently died out at Iferwan, a high place where a small sanctuary of sidi Ābderrah'man is still seen on a peak that appears on the left as one reascends the torrent.

What was eliminated here was not only the Demsira occu-
pant, but also the legitimate owner and the ally. The a. Lh'sen
displayed an unnecessary cruelty. It completed their bellicose
type. But that is going to pose a problem of purification. The
place of the tiwilt is still sinister. The harvests never prosper
[172] there: the saint thus decided on it. Is it for this reason that
ruined terraces are still seen on the left bank of the torrent? This

[Ait Lh'sen]

/88 cont./

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is one Tagund'aft, from which the famous Gund'afa came (1).

1. Origin naturally spurned by the latter.

There is also a mound of pebbles, the Rrud'a n-sidi Ah'med u Âli. It is undoubtedly the relic of a lustration. A great saint became /89/ guarantor and patron of the a. Lh'sen. Without his intervention, their crime would not have been pardoned for them. [776] Thus they prosper. From their terrible history, they have preserved only a military tradition and pride in their past. They are found in recent times supporting the ambition of a great chief.

The ground won from the Demsira was allotted among ikhs-s, [423] and traces of this distribution exist today, to the point of presenting nice symmetries. But the lands were not only won by force. Concurrently, they were bought up from the legitimate owners, and numerous documents referring to the ethnic Demsiri are still exhibited in the proceedings between a. Lh'sen and even a. Âbdella. Military prize? granted, but juridical regularization. Violence? granted, but legitimacy. Thus is renewed, across the bloody adventure of men, the mysterious accord of the soil and its peasants.

The Stage of Arrival

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For the contemporary period, we mean since the beginning of the twentieth century, we simultaneously have at our disposal local witnesses, who put the research in continuity with the oldest tradition, and foreign and critical witnesses: our observers. Now one thing strikes the latter upon their arrival in the country: the [631] existence of "great caids," like the Mtuggi, and of candidate great caids, like several mountain chiefs. Are they right in attributing such importance to them -- from a scientific viewpoint, of course -- and to put in the foreground the contest between these personal powers and the democratic institution?

Intermittences of Personal Power

173 For this contest was nothing new. The tradition of the Haut Atlas /High Atlas/ preserves numerous lists of chiefs, from which

/89 cont./
173 we have often borrowed. We would find similar ones outside of
the Seksawa: for example, in Mez'ud'a, in Mtugga, to restrict
ourselves to only immediate neighbors. The existence of such
annals reveals a character of the country more profound than its
propensity for heroic destinies.

In this country, individuals mark /Fr. marquent, mark,
stamp, indicate, testify/, things happen. As paradoxical as the
observation may appear, it is not so common in the past of North
Africa. Let us understand that here the event leaves its trace in
a collective memory. It does or does not utilize writing. In any
case, it fixes something much more precise than the simple con-
tinuity from generation to generation. /90/ These memories,
[538] conscious and detailed, full of imagery and dramatic, even flour-
ish in the literature. For one who has visited other populations,
[171] those of the Gharb, for example, what a surprise! In this world
of the Atlas, society has a feeling of its own duration. It punc-
tuates its past with victories and vicissitudes. The permanence of
family archives depends on the constancy of the group chronicles,
from which great figures naturally stand out.

631 These chiefs are temporal chiefs. Not the least attribution in
the Frazerian manner. No "kings," but an intendant, a captain,
an administrator. This milieu practices the separation of powers.
Elsewhere, perhaps, or in other times, dynasties of "marabouts"
claimed a mystic efficiency: in origin at least, for the action
very soon became profane. Here, on the contrary, in what might
[671] be called the public law, both between taqbilt-s and within any
(779) one among them, the relation between the sacred and the secular
is determined by sharing and contracts, not by confusing one with
the other. The aptitude of these societies to record their pasts is
explained. No longer does patriarchal indivision reign over in-
dividual and community activities, but a careful demarcation;
the continuance of the group does not vanish in fleeting perspec-
tives: ancestor saints or golden age. But at all stages the same
181 careful little man is discovered, capable of virtues and subject to
the weaknesses of his distant descendants. Individual differentia-
tion, demarcation between the person and the community, the

/90 cont./
181 sacred and the profane, aptitude for history: these four characteristics are correlative.

631 Thus, then, the power of the leaders is completely temporal. It proceeds from the consensus of assemblies, which one occasionally sees meeting with a first appearance of constitutional regularity with periodic comitia, holy places, fixed procedure, etc. It is also by contractual routes, but from which he tries little by little to break away, that the chief becomes greater. [661] He arrogates to himself more than his share of the spoils of the vanquished at the time of distributions of booty. He enlarges his lands through deceit and pressure. It is especially in this landed-property aspect that his citizens see him advance. They are sensitive to it, for it injures their material interests, but also shocks their conception of legitimacy. Deprived of popular assent, the chief tends to become a tyrant. Not without revengeful onslaughts of the jemâa-s, each time that defeat or death weakens his work. Thus tyranny appears as a phenomenon of voracity, of expansion, archaic form of economic concentration. And it stirs up reactions, of which a number of documents are the echo.

/91/ This said, is it not strange that this phenomenon is reproduced at different times, with the same characteristics? For example, the Imt'ddan had their great amghar, whose power projected over the Dwiran, indeed, over the Indmaghus: Bwizugman. It is he who achieved the driving back of the a. Gasa, started more than a century before. The Idma, too, near the end of the eighteenth century, had Lh'âjj Bujmâ, who monopolized the lands of the valley, until the plague killed him and the community got rid of his sons.

Such expansions, one will see, discover their limits in the [423] [428] landed-property customs and the mechanisms of local law. Thus they cannot go very far. Often tradition mentions such a great personage, amghar or other, spread broadly over his landed estates, but who dies without male descendants: everything returns to the collective regulation. Such was the case of Bwizugman, and such also the one of another rich man of the high a. Abdella. These silhouettes of great chiefs are not rare. Over the

/91 cont./

631 lapse of two centuries that the memory of the cantons restores, we know of several who paralyze for a time the egalitarian rhythms of the taqbilt-s. Ascents followed by falls: quite a political sinusoid is thus profiled in the shadows of the past.

648 Occasionally the amplitude of the variation is such that a third factor intervenes: the Makhzen /makhzen/. Then the whole game is thrown off, or at least another contest starts. Thus the vicissitudes of personal power lose their integrally montagnard physiognomy. That happened but little among the Seksawa,
175 except in uncertain fashion. In a. H'adduyws, an attempt of this
631 order in the second half of the nineteenth century failed before
648 the reaction of the citizens. Whence a scene in the manner of Nouvelles asiatiques /Asiatic News/.

/The rest of this section is in small type in the original source./ Moh'ammed u Mançur lived peacefully with the a. Bah'ammō. A large harvest of walnuts, the abuse of whey, and the perfidious counsel of a friend, Amstak, originally from the H'āh'a, filled him with ambition. The evil counselor and he left for Marrakech and conferred with the guardian of the mausoleum of Sidi bel ᶜAbbās in order for him to put them in contact with the sultan. He thus hid them in an armoire. On a day that Mulay H'asān made a visit to the saint, they rose up before him. [661] After bargaining, he conceded to Moh'ammed the investiture of caid over the a. H'adduyws for the payment of 5,000 reals.

The new caid set out again for his tribe. But he had hardly arrived at the bottom of the Seksawa valley when his brothers advised him that they did not want him. He judged it more prudent to delay. Returning to Marrakech, and reaching the Asif el-Māl, he bequeathed his ambitions to Amstak. Then he climbed the mountain and reassumed the modest appearance that the a. H'adduyws had always /92/ known for him, in return for which they accepted him and allowed him to live with the a. Bah'ammō as before.

Amstak pushed the adventure further. From the irritated Sultan he obtained a general order to the tribes of the plain to

/92 cont./

175 incarcerate any montagnard of the Seksawa who was seized at the
631 markets. Then his activities became wider and he prospered for
648 a long time in the entourage of the monarch, as an adventurer
specialized in mountain affairs. This enviable situation continued
until the death of the Sultan. But the Haut Seksawa had
never accepted a Caid.

As a counterpart to this exciting adventure, which illustrates
the incompatibility between the caidal power and the village institution,
one can cite, in Bas /Lower/ Seksawa, happier, yet only
far-apart attempts. Here the atmosphere is completely different.
The fqih-s of the ait Âbdella are called ^{c}adûl. A dahir /decree/
[693] even named a cadi, si ^{c}Abd ar-Rah'mân b. ^{c}Abd Allah
ar-Ragrâgî (1113 Heg.: 1702). Yet he is a local religious personage,
and, on the other hand, his investiture curiously alludes to,
beyond the Seksawa, the Imedlawen, who are very far away, on
the other side of the Tichka, and "al-Qîhra," a topographically
strange mention. All happens as if the extension of the jurisdiction
was ransom for little work. Occasionally, caids are designated.
Thus one knows of a caid T'âhar, of Agawz, of still
others. It is true that these designations are a simple fiscal
formality.

175 In 1292 Heg.: 1884, a dahir conceded to the Seksawa a
648 limitation on the "old usage" of prestations demandable by the
651 central power. That is to say, 1215 mithqâl-s (for the rial of
19 ounces) in hedya /gift to the sultan on feast days/ for the
feasts; 50 sheep to the Aid Keber; 200 chickens, and eggs, plus
a quintal of dry fruit for the ^{c}achûra; in addition, participation
in the royal corvées, for work on the séguias, for the harkas. An
imperative prescription is made for the ^{c}ummâl to hold fast there;
but it is still far from this minimum to the reality. Here we are
always in an atmosphere very different from that of the high
mountains. A simple chancellery convention itself, the plains
regime gained little or much, marginally the a. Âbdella: to
which many other influences contributed.

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First French Knowledge

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Here we shall not insist on the political sociology of the modern epoch (1).

1. On the political sociology of the modern epoch, the principal work is that of R. Montagne, Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc /The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco/, 1930, pp. 276 sq., 306 sq., 310 sq. Numerous unpublished or published monographs by the same author: notably, on the Seksawa or the tribes that surround them, art. already cited on the Aghbar, unpublished not. on the Mez'ud'a, Idaw T'anan, Gedmiwa. Remaining unpublished, the valuable monograph by Lieut. F. de La Chapelle, on Les tribus du Grand Atlas du Mtouggui /The tribes of the Great Atlas of the Mtouggui/ (1926), both an "exploration" and an attempt at scientific systematization. The same author has published: "Un grand caïdat du S. marocain /A great caidate of the Moroccan South/," Afr. fr., Rens. col., 1927, pp. 372 sq.; "La formation du pouvoir monarchique dans les tribus berbères du Haut Atlas occidental /The formation of monarchical power in the Berber tribes of the western High Atlas/," Hesp., 1928, pp. 263 sq.; /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ "Les tribus de haute montagne de l'Atlas occidental /The high-mountain tribes of the western Atlas/," R.E.I., 1928, pp. 339 sq. Unpublished not. by Lieut. Labonne, Notice sur le caïd Abdelmalek Mtouggui /Note on the caid Abdelmalek Mtouggui/, 1913; id., Note sur les Ait Had ou Yous /Note on the Ait Had ou Yous/, 1915; Lieut. Dupas, Les Seksawa /The Seksawa/, 1929 (end of La Chapelle's investigation).

/92 cont./

114 That was the object of the masterly work of /93/ R. Montagne. It rests on a comparativism extended to the whole Moroccan Berbère world and, locally, on the direct observations undertaken by our first officers. Among them stand out R. Montagne himself, Justinard, de La Chapelle, Dupas, de Saint-Bon. Involved in the reconnaissance which preceded, accompanied, amplified the pacification, they were struck by the antagonism of the small republics and the great caids. The coming-and-going from one form to the other, they studied it in the very act and from this disentangled historical and practical information. The incidents, if they have varied, are not exhausted even today. Therefore it 121 is not only because it was admirably thorough, but also because certain of these lessons remain topical that this investigation will not be continued by our work. But it goes without saying that it will provide it with substantial cross-checking on what I call the stage of arrival, that is, the first quarter of the twentieth century.

175 721 [701] At this time, the political life of the Seksawa was ordered according to sections echeloned from downstream to upstream. At each level stretch, a military division was on the move in conquering pushes. For some of them they only lacked luck in order to stretch from the Haouz to the Sous, like Glawa, Gund'afa, Mtugga.

In the high mountains, the a. H'adduyws extended their enterprises from the Aghbar to the Idaw Mh'mud. In the middle valley, the Idma and the Imt'ddan were ambitious for the Haut Dwiran and the middle valley of the asif el-Mal. The a. Lh'sen had a man of war, Caid Lmokhtar, who dominated for a time from the a. Musa to the Iguntar. Still lower, the a. Abdella tried their hand at the role of precursor of the plains power, officials or conquerors: a wise conciergerie /caretaker's post/ tactic.

616 These individual silhouettes (1)

[121] [713] 1. We have studied them from the viewpoint of the psychological documentation that they

/93 cont./

616 [121] (113) /footnote 1 continued/ furnish in "Vérité et Poésie sur les Seksawa /Truth and Poetry from the Seksawa/." R. afr., 1953, pp. 131 sq.

move on the bicolor background of the leff-s. That is doubtlessly
[184] true then on the scale of the Atlas. Less true on that of the Seksawa, where precisely this bipartism does not stand out with the same regularity as in Gedmiwa, in the Nffis, or even among the neighboring Mez'ud'a. We shall seek the reasons for such an
121 (114) anomaly. However that may be, R. Montagne has described the way in which the force of groups, the rise of individuals, and these great balanced symmetries interfere in this game too well /94/ for us to enter into contemporary history following him. In sum, we shall only ask, especially this first and so precious an ensemble of information, to act as buffer to our own proceedings (1).

1. And, let us emphasize it once again, to exempt this work, which does not wish by any title to be a political essay or even a study of political sociology, from developments on the present stage.

Inductions from the Present?

174 121 But is that indeed all that historical research can draw from this?

This sinusoid of power, clearly registrable for over two centuries, up to where does one follow its prolongation into the past? And this social dualism, so appropriate for accounting for the present political configurations, does it not offer an elegant explication of older facts and, by degrees, the basic structures
(114) of the Maghreb? Some, and not the least important ones,

/94 cont./

174 12 [114] have believed so (2).

> 2. H. Terrasse, Histoire du Maroc /History of Morocco/, makes a case for the hypothesis of the leff-s for ancient periods, t. I, 1949, pp. 30 sq. Likewise R. Brunschvig, La Berbérie orientale sous les Hafsides /Eastern Barbary under the Hafsids/, t. II, 1947, p. 169, considers that the "bipartite system of the soffs, so well known...., was already operating, from all evidence, in the Middle Ages." Tempting suggestions of J. Lambert with regard to the "Tablettes Albertini," R. Afr., 1953, pp. 200 sq.

At least one thing favors them: the vitality, with ample correspondences, of the least canton of the Atlas. Today we are tempted to enclose it within its walls, But could it not be that we are fractioning to excess the cadres of this history? Certainly analysis fragments. It is perhaps too affected by the stage of arrival, which is discontinuous, not only for the Atlas, but for all of North Africa. This reality reaches us all in little bits, like shattered auto-glass. But shattered by what shocks or, rather, what evolutions? Perhaps the case of the Seksawa ought to guide one to distinguish, in the remotenesses of the old and medieval Maghreb, larger ensembles, a more malleable space. In the last part of this work, we shall seek to dig out a decisive hypothesis for the interpretation of these societies.

174 As conjectural as the oldest period may be in the case of the Seksawa, it brings out that a vocation for great spaces and for a great history has been shattered in them toward the middle of the fourteenth century. The taqbilt, which was formerly ordered in the N.-S. direction, which is that of its waters, its relief, its lands, and its plants, was to be broken into transversal stretches. The conversion from the one disposition to the other invited intrusions. The valley became populated with usurpers. The authentic Seksawa no longer exist except /95/ cramped on both

/95 cont./

174 sides of a sacred place. They are no more than a sampling. But the matter is important: for by means of them a legitimacy survived. The originality of this history from then on will be the re-establishment of this legitimacy, in spite of the growing misfortunes of the times and in an ever narrower cadre. And that this re-establishment of a name, and of a person, be done by external contributions, with the exclusion of any recourse to the original substance.

Thus the group underwent a long identity crisis. And it resolved it in a striking fashion: by modifying its content. Even if the a. Gasa are authentic Seksawa, they will be eliminated from this tradition and replaced as such by allogenes. In what therefore does this group identity consist? Such a question, which puts itself in the very heart of our research, illustrates the central discussion and the unity of a history small in bulk, but typical.

It is in the period of two and a half centuries, starting in the middle of the sixteenth century, that the essential part of the new mise en place /putting in place/ was done. The intervention of two armed groups coming in, and absolutely contrasting in style with the other elements -- warlike migration or conventional hospitality -- was the main event in it. This vivification was brought about by way of the South. Doubtlessly that is a general phenomenon for the Atlas and perhaps for all of Morocco. What is peculiar here is the signification that it assumes. These fresh forces found in place an ally in a certain constancy, ritual and juridical, bound to the name and to the country. They exerted themselves to remove the usurpation, to restore a people.

It is tempting to relate the intervention of these new factors to the great mystic movement from the Sous in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. But another idea emerges. The origin of the newcomers, the fact that the mountains remain outside of the hagiology of the times, and still other features make one think that these immigrations proceeded not from the expansion from the Sous at the time, but indeed from the local resistance that it encountered. Not from the movement, but from its repercussions. Among these Iguzulen, then prey to a spiritual and political push,

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174 the ones going off toward the Atlas were not partisans, but refractory ones (1).

[171] 1. Let us recall that this was often the case for montagnard societies likewise archaic. For example, in Spain, M. Legendre, Las Jurdes /Las Hurdes/, 1927, pp. 86 sq.

[184] In the Chleuh /Shluh/ world, our Seksawa would thus answer for the Idaw Semlal (2).

2. The Seksawa are, if I may venture to say so, I. Semlal turned about. What would we not give if this group, brought to our attention by so many indications by Justinard and R. Montagne, were to become the subject of a historical and sociological study!

[538] Here, the cultural profusion, the richness in heroes of this /96/ world and of the other: minstrels, merchants, jurists, saints, dancers; a fecundity so conscious of itself that it leads to academism (1).

1. Cf. for example the veritable literary "séances" described by Justinard, "Notes d'histoire et de littérature berbères /Notes on Berber history and literature/," Hesp., 1949, pp. 291-326. The ethnic Samlālī is extraordinarily frequent in the biographical collections concerning the doctors or saints of the Moroccan South, the Manâqib al-H'ụd'aykī, for example.

There, on the contrary, a sullen reserve, an obstinate silence. From the end of the fifteenth century, the cadre of the Seksawa, becoming archaic, takes in the waste products and the

/96 cont./

174 refractory ones of the great Moroccan history. Somehow or other it recombined them in the permanence of a name. It set against the decadence and the investment a flood of vitality drawn from the South of the Atlas.

The oldest chronicle, the local tradition, and recent observation are thus in agreement. All postulate, around a very small country, dimensions more largely Maghrebi. Everything leads one to recognize the work of the times in a system to which one might quite wrongly lend the immutability of its montagnard décor.

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Second Part

Exchanges Between the Group and the Natural Milieu

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I. Organization of the Seksawa Space

Readable in the landscape (1).

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1. At the opening of this chapter, I call upon the considerations of Vidal de Lablache on "L'homme, facteur géographique /Man, geographical factor/," Principes de géographie humaine /Principles of human geography/, 1922, p. 12; another great book, that of L. Febvre on La terre et l'évolution humaine /The earth and human evolution/, 1922. I must also cite the intuitive comments of J. Célérier, "Le paysage rural au Maroc /The rural landscape in Morocco/," Hesp., 1943, pp. 129 sq., as well as the article by G. Friedmann on "L'homme et le milieu naturel /Man and the natural milieu/," Ann. hist. soc., 1945, pp. 103 sq. Finally, my debt is large in regard to F. Braudel and the elegant and full pages that he devotes to the Mediterranean

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113 /footnote 1 continued/ mountains, La Méditer-
114 ranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque
de Philippe II /The Mediterranean and the
Mediterranean world at the time of Philip II/.
1949, pp. 5 sq.

182 three relations characterize the economy of these rural societies. First the composition of their natural cadre: a mountainous basin opening on the plain; then the artificial circulation of their waters from ground to ground; finally, the hibernal movement of their herds.

The Plain-Mountain Relation

121 This first relation, well known in human geography, can we put it here as one usually does, that is to say, in terms of complementarity? Needs and products of the mountain would find their counterpart in those of the plain. Stock-raising and horticulture versus cereal cultivation. But it would then be necessary to agree that, beside so many traits of an already mature and diverse life of exchanges, others exist for the Atlas, and not the least ones, whose archaism and apparent absurdity belie this fine division of labor. For example, the onerous cultivations of barley on benches, a paradox for the economist who compares their net cost with their use value. Therefore a complementarity is far from taking account of all aspects. Notably two which express another, truly Maghrebi fact: the contrast between a quasi-insular life of the cantons and an intense and relatively well-equipped economic circulation.

6/19 It is true that tradition joins to the montagnard entity a piedmont entity: this band of the Dir, which in the zone that concerns us, Mez'ud'a, Dwiran, Seksawa, Nfifa, and -- perhaps improperly -- Mtugga, prevails immediately at the North base of the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 139]

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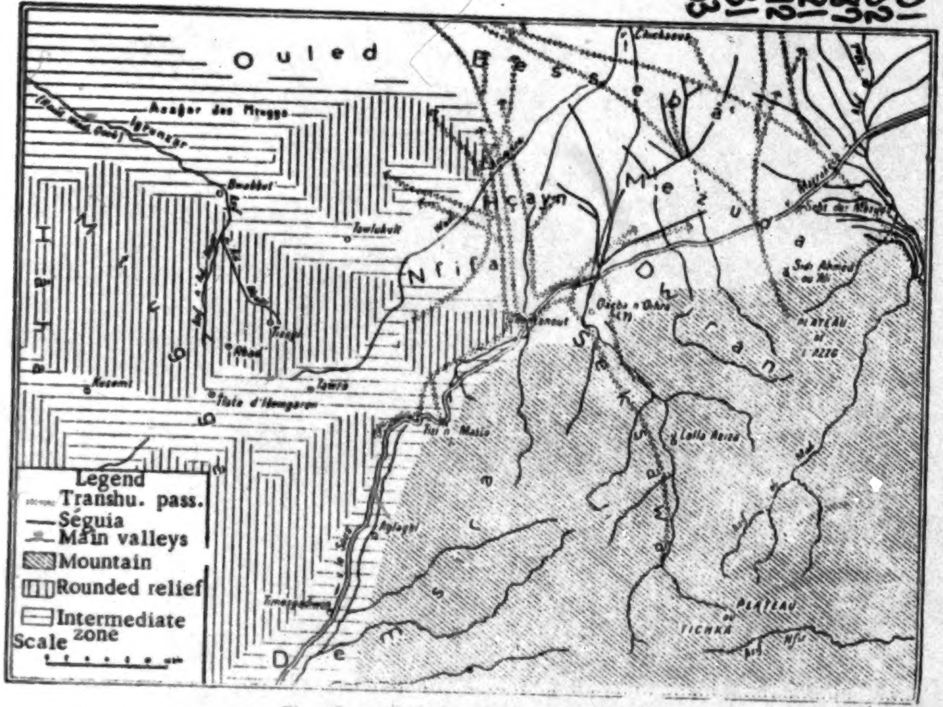
Ouled
Chichaoua
Azaghar des Mtouga
Igrounzar
Tamlukult
Nfifa
Tizi n' Mala
Lalla Aziza
Sidi Ahmed ou Ali
PLATEAU de l'AZZG
PLATEAU du TICHKA
Legend
Transhu. pass.
Séguia
Main valleys
Mountain
Rounded relief
Intermediate zone
Scale

Fig. 6. -- Plain-mountain liaisons

619 /101/ chain. This feeling has its price. It is not unimportant
that old Makhzen /makhzan/ protocol classes all these tribes, or
at least those with which it is familiar, as "people of the Dir"
[443] (Diyyāra). But observation of a market such as Imintanout orients
619 the research differently. The principal bulk of the exchanges is
438 made less between the two terms of the plain-mountain pair than
439 between the plain-mountain pair and the great South on the one
side, Marrakech on the other (1).

[114] 1. That comes out in the evidence of the inquiry conducted on the spot, in the spring of 1952, by MM. Adam, Trystram, Granai, and several other researchers.

Imintanout is the relay toward the Haouz in a system in which
464 Goulimine is the relay toward Mauritania. Besides, like the Sous,
the Atlas is a great provider of seasonal or permanent manual
166 labor. A mass of wages and savings irrigates the country. The
167 amplitude of this movement extends toward the N. up to the large
towns of the coast. It goes far beyond the simple solidarities of
Dir. It enlarges the economic and human cadre up to limits
which, today at least, go beyond Morocco and even the Métropole.

121 The relation of the plain and the mountain is thus irreducible
619 to a simplistic dialogue. One divines a thousand connections that
bind the partners, not solely between them, but the two of them to
a world singularly larger than the picturesque isolation of the high
cantons might make one presume. By degrees, it is the whole external articulation of a seemingly closed system that one is led to
174 examine. Now, beyond some historical indications, in part conjectural, we have at our disposal for such an examination only
extrapolations from the present. The method is risky. Two precise elements nevertheless at the very least authorize the investigation. They are none other than those of the daily food: and, because of that, concrete and, in a certain measure, durable.

/101 cont./

317 438 439 Among the economic determinants that make the mountain depend on the plain, let us mention in the very first place salt (2).

[487] 2. The salt route is as important for the montagnards as, on an entirely different scale, that of spices was for the medieval Occident: at bottom a question of cuisine!

[262] [263] In nourishment based on flat cakes and porridge, the importance of condiments is considerable. It is not exaggerating to see in this, much more than in the cereals, the most imperious servitude of the montagnard with regard to the outside. By food, in fact, the whole balance of family life is affected: potent motive, although originating from obscure causes toward which observation is too rarely inclined. The Seksawa mountain is destitute of salt. [443] Even today it is seen in huge /102/ whitish or pink piles at the souq /sook/ of Imintanout. It comes from the Idaw Isaren, in H'āh'a, and from the far-away lagoons of the Inzzūyma, called by us "Lac Zima." Two qualities, one of which, very bitter to the taste, is naturally preferred by the montagnards for their animals and themselves. If therefore, classical method in the old Moroccan chronicles, the power of the plain blockades the Seksawa, or hems them in at the border markets, it is the salt route that it cuts for them, even more harshly than that of barley (1).

1. An example, dating from the beginning of the eighteenth century, in Justinard, La Rihla du Marabout de Tasaft /The Rihla of the Marabout of Tasaft/, 1940, pp. 37 sq.

243 In fact, the high valleys devote to cereal cultivation a portion that astonishes us, because it involves what would appear, in a strict economy, as a waste of land and water, and especially of labor. But they gain from it what we might call a flywheel /Fr. volant/ of security. Cereal cultivation with great expense, with great feelings: one will see all that such feelings can have to be

/102 cont./
243 justified. In case of a blockade, barley and maize always ensure
a minimum difficult to appraise, but consistent. The great
243 families of the past, insofar as one remembers them, tended to
173 a certain autarchy. The others produced in cereals a proportion
433 going, according to the affluence of the land, from a quarter to
a third of the needs. Such is still the actual state: one can form an
243 idea of it from the volume of family purchases at the souqs of the
43 Dir or, still more instructively, from those of the col at Timezgadiwin
221 or Argana. The first trimester following a normal harvest
is not in deficit. From the middle of the agricultural year, all,
except the great ones, depend upon the outside. Market gardening,
244 it is true, adds a substantial contribution. Especially the
245 turnip; accessorily the carrot, the gourd. And even more the
433 fruits: walnuts, almonds, olives, simultaneously or separately,
[146] depending on the altitude. The value in calories produced per
unit of surface of these last cultivations greatly exceeds that of the
cereals. The equivalences which one could thus establish would
expand notably the agricultural space of populations whose picturesque
escarpments, viewed from a little too far, seem to reduce
to a permanent scarcity. There would indeed be some ideas to
revise on that.

166 Finally, it is necessary to take account of the emigration,
167 which removes, as one knows, a noticeable proportion of consumers,
at the same time that it transforms them into importers
of "devises" /currency/, and this latter term is surely not
out of place, for these relations stand out in international exchange.
As old as they appear, they depend on the political con-
619 juncture and are subject /103/ to variation. A comparison that
648 comes to mind and which is prompted by the very appearance of
the country, with its cliff hanging over the plain, is fishing.
Everything happens as if the relations with the plain were those of
a coast people, be it with the littoral waters, and there we have
the Dir relations properly speaking -- be it with faraway seas: the
emigration. Coastal fishing and high-seas fishing, on the one
hand, international relations around the border markets and intermediate
places such as Imintanout on the other hand:

/103 cont./
619 metaphoric as it may be, this comparison nevertheless contains
648 its share of truth.

But the natural forces in themselves alone would fail to account for such exchanges. Reserving the historical problem of
emigration, let us then apply ourselves to another problem, more
particularly of the coast, if one wishes. It is the one to which
these successive eliminations led, as to the essential and to the
most permanent of those that the relation between the plain and
[241] the mountain poses. It is that of the correlations that are established between the mountain and the plain, when the montagnard
has his tillage in the plain.

241 In the two neighboring groups, Dwiran and Mez'ud'a, the
agricultural life as well as the habitat are divided very precisely
between the plain and the mountain, lud'a and adrar. A well-
221 organized correspondence links portions of the plain to the moun-
619 tain villages through a tight network of seasonal going and coming,
of work, and of complementary productions. Hence, within
[171] these two tribes, something analogous to the "remue" /moving/
so characteristic of the life of the Alps or the Pyrenees (1).

(1). J. Blache, L'homme et la montagne /Man and the mountain/, 1933, pp. 17 sq.; R. Capot-Rey, Géographie de la circulation sur les continents /The geography of the circulation on the continents/, 1946, p. 58.

178 In olden times, in Mez'ud'a, for example, the division of land in
241 the plain reproduced the political map of the mountain. Each
221 village of the plateau or of the high valleys extended a perimeter
of cultivation into the plain. But one hardly stayed down below.
[343] It was to the shelter of the escarpments and often in fortified
[712] granaries or agadir-s that the peasants sheltered the harvest. The
peace changed all that, and today one observes a double habitat
(2).

[171] 2. Likewise the transhumance of the Anniviards led them to possess several habitations or villages,

/103 cont./

> 178 241 221 (171) /footnote 2 continued/ J. Brunhes, Géographie humaine /Human geography/, t. II, p. 673; F. Braudel, op. laud., p. 48 (for Corsica). The projection of the mountain populations onto the plain is often pointed out in North Africa, and in the most varied regions. Outside Morocco, one finds it, for example, to the S. of the Aurès, where, for the Béni bu Sliman, it has been pointed out by the commissioner of the Sénatus Consulte (report of 5. XI. 88, Aris arch.): it assumes an almost geometrical regularity there.

The plain even attracts, by more facilities offered, montagnards formerly forced into a constant vigilance.

/104/ Now, such a correspondence does not prevail, or no longer prevails, among the Seksawa. Nevertheless in this part of
171 Morocco it seems to have been constant at the times certain European sources evoke (1).

1. Sour. in. Port., t. I, pp. 444, n. 2, 672.

A regular movement between the habitat and the tillage characterizes the tribes in the Portuguese zone of influence at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Thus, the Âbda stored at Agawz what they harvested far away. The Chyâd'ma came and went, utilizing the agricultural proceedings to mask a military operation or a political rally. The Cherqîya did the same. A piece of bad news left a void around the conquistador: Nuño Fernandez of Âtayde was then obliged to go to hunt for his tribes. As we might say, he sought to "fix" them. Everywhere, the
[361] tillage encampment is called D'ar al-h'arth. It is markedly distinct from the principal habitat. This alternation undoubtedly expresses, at the same time as a seasonal rhythm, a human rhythm: concentration for the agricultural work, dispersion in the intervals. The Arab conquerors, the official powers, like that

/104 cont./

171 of the Sādians, tried to participate in the game. They did so with more or less good luck or damage. Unfortunately, the little that the sources impart to us about it does not permit specifying with sufficient verisimilitude what the life of these groups in perpetual oscillation, and practicing in a way an agricultural transhumance, might have been at this time (2).

> 2. Phenomenon observed in Algeria toward the middle of the last century. X. Yacono, Les bureaux arabes et l'évolution des genres de vie indigènes dans l'ouest du Tell algérien /The Arab offices and the evolution of the native modes of life in the west of the Algerian Tell/, 1953, pp. 46 sq.

178 221 The present antithesis between shepherds and plowmen, the latter sedentary, the former moving, and the consequences that one draws from it today are therefore perhaps not merited for the Morocco of the time. In the fifteenth century, the movement appears general. How would the Seksawa, at the time of their expansion of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, have avoided it? One hestitates to believe it.

174 648 221 [423] [429) /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ Not yet completely lost perhaps is the memory of a state of things when the ground of Inzzāyma, downstream from Bul^{c}wān, long contested by the Ud Bessebā^c, was the dār al-h'arth of the mountain cantons. As though by an irresistible vocation, ones such as these persist in cultivating there lots that they rent or obtain precariously from the present rightful claimants, the "collectivities" of the a. Âbdella and of the a. Imintanout. The complete absence of documents, the present qualification of "communal," muchā^c or lmuch^c, indicate still today at any rate that the appropriation of land of the landed estate has been traditionally reserved.

/104 cont./

174 Other grounds could formerly have constituted the perimeter
648 of tillage of the Seksawa. One knows the fragility of philological
221 hypotheses. /105/ It is not on belief in the doublet of Seksawa-Chichaoua, if it is one, that we could ever base ourselves. But it is not very probable that at the time of the Seksawa expansion this powerful population did not project toward the plain the same spreadings, if I may venture to say it, of agricultural life as their more modest neighbors, like the Dwiran or Mez'ud'a, do today. The harsh history of the Chichaoua plain, its Makhzen /makhzan/ status, which took all spontaneity away from the movements of populations and even occasionally led to transfers en masse, like that of the Idaw Blal or the Ud Bessebā^c, will prevent ever coming to a conclusion on that. But one is struck by the unity of the
[312] system of irrigation between downstream and upstream. It is the water of the Seksawa that, conveyed by four séguias, carries an uncertain fertility into about all of the first third of the plain. Chichaoua and its valley have remained integrally Berbère /Berber/. Still today, numerous Mez'ud'a possess land there and make the plains habitat and the mountain habitat alternate. More to the E., in Frūga, the saint of the Seksawa enjoyed a water right up until a late date: a hagiological indication that is not without interest. Let us mention only for memory the transhumance, a phenomenon that goes beyond the landed-property right, but which after all is practiced in Ud Bessebā^c for the profit of the Seksawa, unilaterally and without this one-way service being understood today. Finally, the abundance of the agadir-s in the toponymy of the a. Ābdella, on the mountainous threshold that the river must cross in order to empty on the plain, agrees curiously with the existence and fairly recent activity of agadir-s that can be spotted on the same band of the Dir, in Dwiran and Mez'ud'a, where their function is clear.

174 All that is little for proof. But the ensemble of presumptions
221 is sufficient to evoke a former state of things when the plain-
121 mountain relation, in the case of the Seksawa, correlatively

/105 cont./

174 221 121 matched an affluence in piedmont lands (1).

1. It is the sāh'a of the Seksawa, of which Ibn Khaldūn speaks. Cf. J. Berque, "Antiquités Seksawa," Hesp., 1953, p. 382.

When did this affluence disappear? The hypothesis that comes to mind, as one has seen, is that of the anti-Mérinide rebellion of the fourteenth century and of the construction of the fortress of al-Qāhira, intended precisely to block the montagnard chefferie by cutting it off -- and it was ever thus -- from its sāh'a, that is to say, from its clearances. As experts, the masters from Marrakech inflicted on the system a definitive breakdown. They abolished for it one of the terms of this seasonal plain-mountain alternation, of this South-North vibration, which formed the life of the times.

Solidarities for the Water

241 The great problem of montagnard horticulture is of a mechanical nature. It is to counteract the blind force of the slope and /106/ to draw life from it. How? A physicist would say: by a tangential diversion tending to the horizontal. From this abstract law can be taken two kinds of complementary techniques. The one of the soil, which breaks the declivity into tiers, often 241 312 dearly constituted. The other one of the streaming waters, which exploits their spontaneous movement in order to spread it in a plane surface either by channels or by direct spreading. These hyraulics tend to substitute for an unutilizable flow, springing from the violence of unexpected water, a calculated module in order to saturate the land to its limit of absorption as much as possible. That is to say that it sets vast distances to work. First, those that the impluvium covers. Then those that the channel crosses to reach the point of utilization. Thus irrigation is a great consumer of space. If it inspires one of the most skillful, most coherent forms of the mountain life, the fact is that it requires the solution of the greatest difficulties of a political, technical, and social order.

/106 cont./

312 648 619 (634) (628) Political, because in this country of concentrated life, the séguia is sometimes intertribal, often intercantonal, and almost always intervillage. The intake of the séguias serving the Dwiran and the Ud Bessebā^{c} is found in a. Ābdella, at least for most of them. The relations with the Ud Bessebā^{c}, an Arab tribe of turbulent character, were aleatory, and, long before the Protectorate, one is already at official regulation of them. "The users of the Wādī'l-Qāhra and the Ud Bessebā^{c} being" -- said a dahir of 1285 Heg.: 1868 -- "found in disagreement, I order that one fifth be reserved for the Ud. Bessebā^{c}, the rest being left to the former." On that point at least, the old order was dead: the
631 312 619 prince had to intervene. Not far away, this was the case between Mez'ud'a and Gedmiwa. But not between Seksawa and Dwiran. Between these two groups, the relations for the water are governed even today, not only by fixed agreements, but by the "tours de faveur" /turns of favor/, discretionary in appearance, equal in fact on both sides. For the a. Musa depend on the good will of Taddert in Dwiran. The lower Dwiran depends, just for drinking, on that of the a. Ābdella. The solidarity, therefore, is not that of the cantons, but of the tribes.

133 The current of the river dries up downstream from Z'init' during all the summer months. It reappears only in more and more intermittent fashion as one goes toward the plain. It is true that some small perennial sources murmur here and there on the banks, and that the bed itself lets waters spring up more or less continually, which attest to a subterranean circulation and even, on the side of Lekhneg, stagnate lazily under the laurels and the /107/ tillirin (1).

1. Inula viscosa.

312 But the width of the bed, its permeability, which vast banks of sand and gravel, ikrirs (a. Ābdella), or ikri (middle Seksawa), indicate, no longer permit, from a certain date, a profitable, let us say, progress of the water. It is thus higher and higher upstream, as the dryness becomes accentuated, that plains irrigation will go to seek its blessing, and that by artificial conduits: the

/107 cont./

312 ségulas contrived at mid-flank of the left bank will then have their full use. And not only the Talh'archt, whose intake, however, dominates Tuz'z'umt. It is indeed still higher, at Imi n-tghli, by way of the Targa n-berdun, that the people downstream are obliged to make the water pass. At Imi n-tghli, in fact, the utilizers observe -- a phenomenon doubtlessly related to the cessation of the primary soils -- a sudden loss, which no longer permits entrusting the waters to their natural bed. Thus it is only thanks to a series of works of art that, in the case of drought, far away in the Ud Bessebâ^{c} plain, the fellah of the Sa^{c}idat or of the Ud Sawla can benefit from the rains falling on the distant Idma or in the more distant Taddert. And it happens only by making them cross, by the precious gift, the territory of several tribes. Veritable geographic concert! An organization of the space, of a space studded with rival centers, masters the difficulties caused by the long-term management of the waters. But that insofar as a certain atmosphere exists. Now, this is not always the case, even among contributors. The Idma of Taselli
312 depend for their ségula on the a. H'adduyws, who control its in-
578 take. Hence continuous conflicts. Even between Idma, the enormous ségula of the Amerdul, which the stream takes twelve hours to travel, has no longer been the object of any attack on the part of the people of Tasa since an agreement at the beginning of the eighteenth century. But its distribution still causes numerous conflicts between the villages of Usikis, Ad'erd'ur, and Wanchkrir. On the whole, however, the system has held.

624
312 The administration necessitates complicated and sometimes extremely delicate surveillance. It is a functionary who performs it, the amazzal, plur. imazzalen, or "runner" (cf. ar. /Arabic/ jerrây). The fulfillment of such [illegible] role requires initiative and integrity, but it especially requires that a collective order, made of unwritten laws, work. The personage who assumes it is in general subject to the unanimous designation of his fellow citizens and can stay, even though upheld by the temporal authority, only with their confidence. A very old order, with

/107 cont./
624 immediate sanctions, and calling for its /108/ own application,
312 without discussion or appeal (1).

[171] 1. J. Costa, *Colectivismo agrario in España* /Agrarian collectivism in Spain/, 1915, pp. 541 sq., also observes that the famous Water Tribunal of Valencia, the *Cort de la Seo*, is a very amicable jurisdiction. Conflict could, at any moment, be removed to a judiciary instance, but that never happened!

is glimpsed here. It sanctions a certain number of what we shall
624 call principles. For example, the upstream-downstream direc-
312 tion is the direction that governs the continuity of the irrigation,
578 and can, in case of conflicts between groups, give rise to au-
628 thoritarian application by the power. Thus the old legal dispute
between Gedmiwa and Mez'ud'a, for the séguias of the asif
el-Māl. Such a rule implies on the part of the upstream irrigator,
whom it favors, some discretion, community honor, care not to
harm the people below. That generally suffices among fellow
628 citizens. It is the primary step. Beyond that, there are agree-
312 ments between groups. Most often, they manifest very old bal-
578 ances and a statutory constancy. But occasionally also they are
more circumstantial: subject to mercenary debate or also to ritual
[754] proceedings. A part of the water is bought, unless it is obtained
by the "injunction" of the *šr* (2).

2. Cf. E. Westermarck, *Ritual and belief in Morocco*, 1926, t. I, pp. 518 sq.

[648] This is what happened in a. Musa for the use of the water from Aduz, in Ud Bessebā^c for obtaining supplementary portions from the séguias of the Seksawa or the Dwiran. This is what happens generally at the time of the floods: the unforeseeability of a windfall determines modes of distribution that amply go beyond any strict regularity.

/108 cont./

Pastoral Movements

233 If the agricultural and landed-property structures of the Seksawa could long since be broken up and truncated on the N.-S. axis, high and low country, it is not the same for their pastoral life. It still spreads amply beyond the edges of the mountains, and even of the piedmont. Why this privilege of the shepherd? Why this discordancy between two economies, not only complementary here -- "tillage and pasturage" -- but completely founded upon each other? The one curtailed, compressed, subdued; the other, breathing in its plenitude of space...

233 People have the habit of ranking the Seksawa among the
221 oldest sedentary populations of the Maghreb: and certainly there is much truth in the statement. But, from the angle of livestock-raising, they are transhumants. Moreover, during the winter
[648] transhumance, they spread among the Ud Besseba^{c}, Arabs who still not very firmly settled, and it is they who assume, among these cameleers, /109/ the attitude of the wandering breeder, sponging off the tillage. A change of character that should make one think. This Maghrebi antithesis between nomadism and sedentariness, the two terms of which, of course, are never found in a pure state, but which after all is one of the keys for deciphering the country, rests perhaps only on relations variable with each population considered and interchangeable to a large extent. In certain respects, one is always the nomad, or the sedentary one, of someone. The Seksawa, with their brothers of the western Haut-Atlas, briskly accumulate rights resulting from both characters. And the modest term of "transhumance," created to take account of combinations of this sort, wrongly conceals the complexity of it.

233 This latter further sharpens the internal contrasts between
241 the masses, the places, the rhythms of stock-raising and those of the plateau or valley agriculture. This peasantry is old and stable, certainly. But let us be careful about the exiguity of
[311] these superficialities when they are compared to the excess of pasturage that the size of the herd calls for. Less than 3,500

/109 cont./
233 hectares of cultivations, as against livestock amounting to 4,000
241 bovines, 20,000 ovines, 30,000 caprines. Also bearing in mind
[311] the practice of fodders, stabling, and transhumance, what counts in the landscape, for one who can see it -- and in any case for one who sees it with a local eye -- is the domain of the herd.

133 This domain starts below the calcareous entablatures that separate, to the E., the Seksawa from the Dwiran, with the
233 mamilliform expanse of the Imlilen, an enormous stretch of alfa steppe wedged into the mountains. Farther upstream, the counterforts of the axial chain. The forest there has retreated. Its role must have been more important formerly than at present. Still higher, between 2,500 and 3,000 meters, the mountain pastures, such as the Azur, the Tabgurt, or the Tichka. Three levels of pasturage, to which should be added a "ground floor": the Ud
233 Besseb^{c} plain. As concentrated and vigorous, as rich in institutions as the peasant life of the valley is, and as characteristic as its projection in high crops on the bare domes or the clearings is, it is the exception, and the pastoral space the rule. Old testimony will help to rectify the view on this point. It is that of Léon l' Africain /Leo Africanus/. He sees the Seksawa only as
[114] shepherds perhaps, it is true, on the evidence of an etymology, or from an Italian pastoral enthusiasm: but his testimony is there (1).

1. Description de l'Afrique, Schefer tr., 1896, t. I, pp. 222 sq.

Doubtlessly it would be inexact and paradoxical to insist too much on such an aspect: only putting it back into proportion interests us.

233 /110/ Let us pass now to a second contrast that appears in
221 the techniques of this breeding, between the solidity of foundations that an ancestral habitude of stabling supposes and the mobility of the herd. Undoubtedly this mobility does not affect

233 221 [171] /110 cont./ Undoubtedly this mobility does not affect the size of the veritable displacement of peoples which the ᶜachāba is in the Algerian South (1).

1. A. Bernard and N. Lacroix, L'évolution du nomadisme en Algérie, 1906, pp. 36 sq., on the sui generis law of ᶜachāba. Suggestive description of this displacement in E. Fromentin, Un été dans le Sahara /A summer in the Sahara/, 3rd ed., 1874, pp. 229 sq., and the Cl Villot, Moeurs, coutumes et institutions des Indigènes de l'Algérie /Mores, customs, and institutions of the natives of Algeria/, 1888, 3rd ed., pp. 383 sq. Let us add to this magnificent gallery of Algerian studies the work of L. Lehuraux.

or the slipping S.E.-N.W., followed by the fanning out of the ovine tribes of the Moyen Atlas (2).

2. J. Célérier, "La transhumance dans le Moyen Atlas /Transhumance in the Middle Atlas/," Hesp., 1927, pp. 53 sq.

Doubtlessly also it is now a matter only of the transhumance of professionals and not of the whole household, and that confers on the movement an import more economic than social. But that is perhaps only a decline. At any rate this veritable strewing of animals and men, which spreads the herds of the high valleys quite far into the plain every winter, is an important sign. And the contrasts -- at the very least immediate and tangible -- that have just been raised offer a not negligible grasp on the intimacy of the institution.

231 241 [342] Now let us approach this pastoral life under its most sedentary aspect, in its articulation with the mountain horticulture. Its liaison with the latter is fundamental. It manifests itself even in the house, where the human habitat and the animal habitat

/110 cont./
231 coexist. It is a "maison en hauteur" /high house/ (3).
241
[342]

> 3. This is the expression of A. Demangeon,
> [171] in his suggestive article on "L'habitation rurale
> en France /The rural habitation in France/,"
> Ann. de Géographie, 1920, pp. 370 sq. A
> comparison is made with an architecture common all around the Mediterranean: our Pyrenean
> and Alpine south, the western part of the Balkans,
> etc. A frequent feature there is the second-floor
> veranda, which we find here in the form of a sort
> of loggia: the assqif.

the base of which is occupied by a shady and oblong stable: the
agrur, plur. i^{W}grar, source of heat and laboratory of manure.
241 This manure, amazir, carefully gathered, then spread on the
[237] minuscule squares of irrigation, renews a soil worn out by maladroit immersions and a production always kept going. By that,
the Seksawa peasantry joins the oldest agricultural classicism of
the Mediterranean. It is based on a give and take between man,
[171] soil, and animal. It thus contrasts in quasi-absolute fashion with
the plains agriculture in Morocco, where this liaison between
herd and tillage disappeared sometime at an epoch otherwise uncertain, never to reappear any more up to now.

231 /111/ The stabling, propitious for the preservation of the
222 young subjects, implies coherent care of the pastures: natural
and even artificial. In the fields, at weeding time, for example,
[462] but also on the slopes surrounding the village, or in the forest,
one sees the women gathering, basket in hand or an armful on
the back. It is the men who cut and chop the young leaves of the
holm oak or of the juniper tree for their beasts: a resource for
231 winter. A whole range of plants is thus collected, and of such a
222 type that a continuity manifests itself between the foods of man
262 and those of the livestock. The difference between "salads" and
provender is not great, and the solidarity between them, as soon
as there is trouble or scarcity, is transformed into identity. Thus

/111 cont./
231 the acorn of the holm oak, *abuhu*, the berry of the juniper,
222 *abelhas*, dear to the goats, and whose dessication and grinding
262 give man a substitute flour. Normally, the dried turnips,
akhchawn, which play such a great role in the montagnard economy, are common to man and animal. The beast is not only
the neighbor, but the messmate of the village citizen. On the
246 other hand, this society is familiar with what we call artificial
fodders. Very rarely still lucerne, which, however, the Sous
practices (1).

> 1. But this lucerne, *lfesst*, did it not formerly serve as human food? Cf. the curious observations of J. Mathieu, "Étude des conditions de vie dans une palmeraie du Moyen Ghéris et contrôle de la nutrition de ses habitants /Study of the conditions of life in a palm grove of the Middle Ghéris and verification of the nutrition of its inhabitants/," *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Hygiène du Maroc*, I-II, 1939, p. 31.

What one finds here is the fleshy grass (*poa bulbosa*), maintained in the "damp meadow," *az'mu*. The mowing of the *az'mu* intervenes after maturity and deposit of the grains on the spot. One gathers there a Gramineae called *tàg*^{w}*last*, a name that approximates that of barley cut green for animal fodder (*àg*^{w}*las*). These prairies are prepared in the shade of olive trees, and especially of walnut trees, in all the upper Seksawa: a. Mh'nd, Fensu,
[343] Wanz'id', Iguntar, Agersili, Tabgurt. The fodder is kept in a
storehouse until the time of tillage, when it serves to strengthen
the animals.

246 Finally the mountain pasturages give rise to a wise organiza-
675 tion of "défens" /prohibition against cutting/. The ban

/111 cont./

246 prohibiting cutting or opening the ag^wmi constitutes an important
675 event in village life (2).

[171] 2. A good description of the Kabyle "summer pasturages," of the prohibition against cutting them, etc., all very analogous to our ag^wmi, in M. Rémond, Djurjura, terre de contraste /Djurdjura, land of contrast/, 1940, p. 221 sq. It will be instructive to compare these Maghrebi practices with the same Pyrenean practices: for Andorra, J.-A. Brutails, Études sur la condition des populations rurales du Roussillon /Studies on the condition of the rural populations of Roussillon/, 1891, p. 253: it is a matter of the devèse, "place removed from common enjoyment" (cf. Chleuh /Shluh/: ag^wdal).

246 Any transgression is punished by an "amende," /112/ az'z'ayn.
675 The pasturage agreements are among the essential circumstances
634 of the external law of the groups. Thus the Tichka, summer
pasturage, bitterly disputed between tribes, has doubtlessly animated for a very long time leagues and ententes, "lies et passeries" (as our Pyreneans say), which mark this history. It was
[175] the subject of a pact between a. H'adduyws and Idma in 1701. Even when the debate reaches the military or judiciary plane, that is to say, in cases of tension between groups, a rural order also acts, with an importance that one can measure by thinking of the vital necessities that it takes care of. It only rarely gives
675 rise to writing, because it is of a different plane. One will be
221 more surprised consequently that the ententes for transhumance,
although coming out of this international law, refer still today
178 to unseizable conventions and unnamed laws so much the stronger as their inconsistency and their unilaterality are now discovered

/112 cont./

675 by the users themselves. This is, moreover, not a trait especial-
221 ly Maghrebi. Elsewhere, too, these arrangements reflect an
178 "old, almost imperfectible technique" (1).

1. J. Blache, L'homme et la montagne /Man and the mountain/, 1933, p. 19.

which has struck all observers of the altitude life.

233 A problem that this society presents to us as settled once and
241 for all is in any case that of the marginal relations between the
pasturage and the tillage (2).

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2. The difficulty of these relations and the historical incidence of these very difficulties is one of the themes of the great work by Marc Bloch, Les caractères originaux de l'histoire rurale française /The original characteristics of French rural history/, 1931. The same guiding thread, for Spain, in the study of J. Klein on La Mesta /The Association of Livestock Raisers/; for the Maghreb, in that of Bernard and Lacroix, L'évolution du nomadisme en Algérie /The evolution of nomadism in Algeria/, 1905; for Sardinia, M. Le Cannou sees there the explanation for the famous system of the "vidazzoni," Pâtres et paysans de Sardaigne /Shepherds and peasants of Sardinia/, 1941, pp. 134 sq. On the "spirit of pasturage," R. Dion, Essai sur la formation du paysage rural français /Essay on the formation of the French rural countryside/, 1934, p. 55.

/112 cont./

233 A very delicate matter in an arboricole country and one which
241 is attached to goats. Our foresters manage with great diffi-
625 culty. In the montagnard customs, the problem is resolved by an institution of municipal police, that of the amchchard'u, plur. imchchurd'a, personage whose word is trusted and, through that, adhered to unanimously by the users. This institution is of a delicacy and a sensibility contrasting strongly with the contentious nature of our analogous institutions: rural constable, forest warden, or game warden. But it implies an order, preliminary and subjacent to the commutative law. By that, this society resolves one of the most difficult problems, that of the relations between the breeder and the plowman, a problem that all Semitic civilizations have had to deal with, were it within the dramatic species of the conflict between Cain and Abel.

233 /113/ On the mountain pasture, constructions in dry stone,
221 crowded into sometimes complicated networks, adaghas, plur.
34 indughas, mark a regular installation. Their commonly given Arabic equivalent is lɛzib. The land documents give another doublet, minhal = asggun, plur. isg^{w}an, "transhumance enclosure." These edifices stud in characteristic fashion the brows such as that of the Tasila, Tichka, Azur, etc. Thus it is that on the Tichka the idughas of Igenfis, for example, consist of very low constructions, with dry stone walls, with a roof of branches filled in with sheep dung. The whole is unstable in equilibrium and collapses from time to time. From the first cold spells, the shelter becomes insufficient, and the lambing suffers losses; the stay in the mountain pastures must be curtailed, it is time to go back down.

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Practice of the agg^{w}mi, "pasture in defense"

Name of the taqbilt	Name of the village	Place of pasture	Duration of the placing in defense	Comments
I. Geryun.	The ensemble.	Tichka (also called Tuchka).	From snowfall to a yulyuz date conventional among tribes.	International pasture.
a. H'adduyws.	Tasa.	Amerdul.	March-July.	Custom of the talddrar.
	Fensu.	Aziwal.	--	
Iguntar. a. Lh'sen. a. Mh'nd.	The ensemble.	Talburt n-H'sayn.	--	
Idma.	Asikis.	Agersili.	--	Custom of the talddrar.
Imt'ddan.	Ad'erd'ur.	Tasila.	--	
	Anchkrir.	Inraren Z'dinin.	--	
	Tasselli.	Tameksut.	--	
	The ensemble.	Afuzar.	--	

221 This short-term transhumance, where one does not leave the
233 limits of the canton, is a sort of amplifying commentary on the
241 valley-bottom life. It takes place at the end of the summer and
[634] lasts as long as possible: until the rain and frost are heaviest. In
a general fashion only the shepherds take part in it. But the
proximity of the village makes the visits of the master frequent.

/113 cont./

221 In one case, it is even the family as a whole that executes a seasonal
233 displacement. It is a matter of a part of the Idma. Specifically,
241 of the one from the oldest village, Usikis. Once the
[634] harvesting of the /114/ ground of Agersili is done, the people go
as a family to summer in two villages of "bordes" /small farms/
or "burons" /shepherds' huts/, as our Pyreneans say, Twurirt and
Agadir n-Tsila. Huts of dry stone are massed on the side of the
[361] mountain, on the right bank of the depression. They affect the
[346] form of villages, which appear in ruins to us, but which are indeed
221 lively and each has its *timezgida*. A life of milk products
and the consumption of young barley then starts, profoundly
[262] marking this period of the year. It is the only case where this
form of summering in the mountains is fully observable. On the
neighboring pastures of Amerdul, the people of Tasa (a. H'adduyws)
make only an incomplete application of it: only the
shepherds and the women come. An ethnological study pushed
further would undoubtedly end on the summering of Asikis /*sic*/,
on one hand, and the functional specialization which restricts
that of Tasa, on the other hand, with revealing images of the
pastoral spirit of these people: a general atmosphere of merrymaking,
of a concentrated and reconciled social life. The consumption
[273] of the young ears and the abuse of the whey provoke a
[832] sort of drunkenness, which occasionally has toxic and, for certain,
sexual effects. It is the period called *talddrar* or *tamakhirt*.
[574] The greatest manifestation of this general gaiety is the feast of
the Tichka, officially reorganized some fifteen years ago, but
according to an old intertribal tradition.

233 The movement of the Seksawa livestock is not summed up by
221 these summer displacements to the mountain pastures. A rhythm
648 of greater amplitude, and which could more accurately be called
transhumance than what precedes, animates the high-mountain
herds. Under the doubtlessly reduced aspect that the evolutions
of the livestock in Seksawa know at present, they nonetheless
constitute, on the scale of the present life of this society, a considerable
movement. After having followed, from S. to N., the
bed of the river, the stream diverges in two main directions. A

/114 cont./

233 weak part pushes toward the Dwiran-Ud Bessebâ^c confines, yet
221 without reaching, as does the herd of the more easterly tribes,
648 the well-known ground of the Lmjjûn. The larger part scuds along toward the W. Through the pass of the Amjnas, it reaches, in lower Mtugga, the grounds of Amskennid', of Sidi ^{c}Abdelmumen (already hagiologically related to the Haut Dwiran), of Berdami, of the Id'ergan. Still farther, it crosses the Jebel Kharruba, and, skipping over the collection of Zahr u T'âmer, it stops among the Ud Bessebâ^c, on their Jbayl "mountainettes" (1).

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1. If pasturage is poor in Ud Bessebâ^c, the movement is indeed even greater. The herd from the western Dir flows largely into a. Iggas, /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ into Chyâd'ma, up to the sea. That from the Haouz climbs back into Chaouia. In 1952,
[178] this return to the old wandering of the shep-
[427] herd, and also to his privilege, was some-
[494] times practiced according to the most modern modalities: the renting of farmers' lands far in the N., rapid transport of the sheep by truck.

The herd that descends from the Dwiran and /115/ the Mez'ud'a also splits into two branches. But its angle of divergence and the distance of its objectives are much greater, because on the one side it reaches the Lmjjûn, on the other Sidi Mokhtar, on the Mogador route, and even farther, the tribe of the H'mer. Moreover, the latter, albeit rarely, stays in autumn in the lower valleys of the Wâd l-lbûr, of the Lqihra, and the lower Mez'ud'a. But those are isolated cases. The rule is the irreversibility of the movement of hibernal descent from the mountain to the plain. On the other side of the peak, from the N. to the S., some a. H'adduyws herds descend in winter into the valley of the Sous, to

/115 cont./
233 the *azaghar* of the a. Iggas; the converse is never true. Besides,
221 this subsidiary direction rather has the value of a historical indi-
648 cation. But in both cases the important fact is the asymmetry of
the relations between the Atlas and the plain of the Haouz.

233 This asymmetry is not a fact peculiar to this part of Morocco.
221 It is found again in other domains (1).
171 But here it is all the more striking inasmuch as it is a question of transhumance from the mountain to the plain, thus the opposite of what the geographers quite arbitrarily call the normal type. Here, to speak as they do, it is an inverse transhumance (2).

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1. R. Capot-Rey, *Géographie de la circulation sur les continents* /Geography of the circulation on the continents/, 1946, p. 52. According to P. Deffontaines, *art. cit.*, "the pastoral mountain appears primordial and it has remained preponderant for a long time in the whole Mediterranean basin" (p. 25). As proof, the organization of the Castilian *mesta* /associating of cattle raisers/, the *lies et passeries* of the thirteenth century (p. 31). In the Alps, on the contrary, the pastoral life must concentrate on itself (p. 26).

2. J. Blache, *L'homme et la montagne* /Man and the mountain/, 1933, p. 31. And nevertheless, in Sardinia, for example, where this institution plays such a great role, it is the mountain flocks that descend to the plain, cf. Le Lannou, *Pâtres et paysans de la Sardaigne* /Shepherds and peasants of Sardinia/, 1941, p. 174. See the criticisms addressed by F. Braudel to this expression, *La Mediterranée...* /The Mediterranean.../, pp. 38 sq.

/115 cont./

233 But although this problem is enclosed within very wide perspec-
221 tives, perhaps certain historical features will confer a more
648 personal physiognomy on it. It is a fact that today the irreversibility of the movement has no explanation in the eyes of the people of the plain, struck by its inconsistency. But who knows
(312) whether it does not find its counterpart in the irrigation? The mountain tribes are masters over letting the water pass or not. A low-water custom and a high-water custom, applying different rates, govern the hydraulic and human relations, on both parts of the Dir. Perhaps also one might think that the ascent would not be favorable to the plains livestock, accustomed to a more /116/ clement temperature. Finally, the possibility of empty pasturage in the ample grain-lands of the plain exempts the tribes from below from going to search elsewhere. They consequently no longer desire the use of the high sectors and are not interested in it.

Nevertheless these explanations have left aside a fact more profound, although infinitely less clear: the solidarity between the mountain and the plain, point of departure of the present chapter. For what one finds here is a relation in a unique sense, singularly richer than the simple economic connection. Evidently, economic relations are largely outrun in the matter by other necessities, other habitudes, other feelings, other images. As proof, the political character of the relations that are established between tribes for the dispositon of sectors indispensable to their movements. The fact is known for the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/, where it has conditioned all the demographic evolution and the distribution of powers in the mountains or plateaus, from the Jebel ^{c}Ayachi to Fès and Meknès. But even in the zone that concerns us, recent incidences of these two orders of phenomenon one on top of the other have not been lacking.

578 /The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ Although it may go beyond the chronological cadre, and only by title of example, let us note that the possession of the Tichka, disputed among Seksawa, a. Tkasit, Ijjansten, Idaw Mçat't'ug, etc., failed, hardly later than 1930, to start a violent conflict.

/*116 cont.*/
000 etc., failed, hardly later than 1930, to start a violent conflict.
175 In the hegemonic action of the Mtuggi, the control of the lands
221 of transhumance and of the markets of the Dir gave the advan-
233 tage to the power of the plain, which used it wonderfully well to
[628] negotiate: shrewd discriminations, flexible finances, preferential
tariffs, all with a wide margin of abuse and individual transac-
[178] tion. These traits have disappeared since the pacification. By
[481] the same stroke some routes of transhumance have been abandoned, the security opening other, more advantageous ones.
"That is why the Idaw Mh'mud abandoned the pasturages of the Mtugga, why the a. H'adduyws gave up the Dir of the Dwiran to go to pasture on the Jbayl. These two former routes of transhumance, indicated by M. J. Dresch, were no longer being used already in 1941, when the work mentioning them appeared. It
[669] is even probable that the second was used only exceptionally in
the acute periods of the *siba* (1)."

1. Unpublished study by L. Robine on *La transhumance dans la région d'Imintanout*, 1949. Our debt with regard to him is considerable for this part of the account.

571 This "fiscality" of the great caids -- anachronistic word, of
431 course -- leads one to envisage the relations between the trans-
233 humant and his correspondent in the plain: *çaheb* or *amddak-*
221 *k^{w}el*. Whether they /*117*/ were individual or group, they no
longer arise from a debated contract, but from the exchange of favors or of "sweetnesses," to speak like these rural people. Hence, an ensemble of relations calling for, on the part of the man of the plain, security for the montagnard and authorization to share the pasture, in a general collective: it is a provisional naturalization. The montagnard assumes the attitude of the grateful beneficiary and of the protégé. At the time of his arrival, he presents *luqfa* (from an Arabic root signifying "to set up" /Fr. *dresser*/, corresponding to the Chleuh /Shluh/ *sbidd*, a verb used in the expression *sbidd* *l^{c}âr*, "to enjoin riturally" -- but here

/117 cont./
571 we are far from such emotional intensity). It is generally some
431 loaves of sugar as a gift and occasionally, depending upon the
233 importance of the parties and interests in question, a head of
221 small livestock. Over and above that, the appreciable counter-
part of the manure. All the collective and individual varieties
appear in the relations of proximity thus established. They last
several months between the partners, while the shepherd alone
[634] remains fixed. The owner makes only periodic appearances. A
"good shepherd," like the amghar of the Haut Seksawa still at
present, multiplies his visits: inspection tours, patriarchally
joined with proceedings of agreement and friendship. Another
such, from the I. Geryun, married an Ud Besseba^c girl and thus,
through love of his flock, did not hestitate to submit himself
to the troublesome subtleties of the notariate of the plain any
more than to risk the experience of an Arab marriage. All these
relations are in fact marked with a good nature doubtlessly inherent in the pastoral life, since, long after the pre-Islamic poets,
it further wrings from the moderns the most lyric of descriptions.

174 The winter movement, affecting especially the Haut Sek-
221 sawa, proceeds on these Pyrenean or Alpine models which, al-
233 though decadent and no longer achieving the amplitude of former
times, are nonetheless repeated all around the Mediterranean.
Here the reasons are probably above all historic and are related
to the exceptional density of life that the Atlas has preserved
above the warm and steppe plains. Since the Moroccan lower
Middle Ages, these plains have been the theater of much larger
pastoral migrations, like that of the Sofyān from the Sous to the
Haouz and to the Chaouïa. The contact between these two
rhythms, when the two confront each other still in the pure state,
in the fourteenth century, for example, must have produced
political and cultural interferences. The "alliances" noted by
[571] the chroniclers between montagnards and Hilalians or Ma^{c}qil, to
the N. as well as to the S. of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, were
[171] probably of this order. It has been observed elsewhere, in the
Pyrenees, for example, to what point /118/ these relations of
plain to mountain, the most important of which is the one that

/118 cont./

174 the pastoral exchanges establish, have acted on the political
221 structures. That is, in the epochs when these movements of
233 flocks reached an amplitude as considerable as from the Sous to
171 the Gharb, for example, did an organization comparable to that of the Spanish mesta arise? There is nothing of it. Whether the trait be old or new, we find nothing in Morocco that resembles the prodigious institutional life that for five centuries developed in Spain around these migrations (1).

> 1. Let it suffice for us, on this point, to refer to the masterly work of Julius Klein, La Mesta, Barcelona, 1936, in which the vast Mediterranean correspondences of the phenomenon described have not been overlooked. The Spanish case no less presents a great originality, as much by its geographical scope as by the colossal historical organization that it reveals, and which is of unilateral advantage in many respects for the shepherd. The contemporary period reacts against this privilege. There is nothing more enlightening than to compare the map of pp. 34-35, a map of the routes of transhumance and of the vast official placings in defense, or dehesas, with what could be reconstituted of a medieval Maghrebi stage.

221 In the present stage, we see here only unwritten relations,
233 plunging into a haziness that little by little the evolution of the
571 whole country belies. The migratory route does not have a firm
634 basis, the relations between shepherds and cities are not clearly delineated, and, all the more reason, no magistrature, like that of the Spanish entregador, comes to specify the matter. Not only does the Moroccan transhumance rest at the stage of unwritten tradition and discourage codification, but it is not at the level, or is no longer at the level, of the technique of purely cantonal

221 233 571 634 /118 cont./
or intercantonal agreements, placings in defense, for example.

It nonetheless reveals an old order (2).

[171] 2. It should be noted that in Spain the origin of the mesta is very obscure and that certain authors have even attributed it to the influence of the Berbères /Berbers/. Cf. J. Klein, La Mesta, p. 19.

Of prelaw, if one wishes. In the case of the Seksawa and of their neighbors of the western Haut Atlas, this order somehow or other survived the accidents of history. 174 648 To the natural determinisms of snowfall, pluviometry, and insolation, on the whole governing the nutritional possibilities of the pasture on the heights, are added phenomena of another order: the event that bolted the past of the Bas /Lower/ Seksawa and, by that, strangled the old agricultural rhythm; the frequentation, more and more vehement and finally permanent, of the plain by the Arab tribes. The node of all these facts is placed in the second half of the fourteenth century. This was doubtlessly one of the key phases of Maghrebi history. Decisive in any case for the Maçmûda. But inasmuch as a patient analysis of /119/ mediocre and dispersed elements, and the good fortune of texts, will not permit us to form a more exact idea of them, one will know nothing of what the relations were between the natives and the new arrivals, the incidence of one on the other, and the fashion in which the real history of the country was made or unmade -- it comes to the same thing -- at the time.

Continuities

133 It is evidently the submeridian direction of the Seksawa that constitutes the geographical axis of this society. Both path of descent and of penetration, the torrent, through its main bed and [634] the affluent ravines, by degrees up to the last cells of the mountain cadre, airs and vivifies the whole. The fractioning of the

/119 cont./

133 634 fluvial basin into secondary units, the cantons, thus corresponds to both a logical classification and to a physical division of landscape (1).

[171]

[1] Similarly, in the Pyrenees, the political state is formed, down to its subdivisions, "vicq," "locq," "cuart," "voisinages," by the relation between plain and mountain and the articulations of the relief (M. Sorre, Les Pyrénées, 1922, p. 73 sq., and, for Andorra, J.-A. Brutails, Études sur la condition des populations rurales du Roussillon au Moyen Age /Studies on the condition of the rural populations of Roussillon in the Middle Ages/, 1891, pp. 263 sq.).

Whence the profound insularity of the taqbilt, sunk into its hollow in the rocks and having only its torrent as vivifying artery to link it to the main valley and, from there, to the outside world.

184 But is this isolation a basic given, or a result? Does its picturesque reality not hide the fundamental relations that unite it with other parts of the system? The history of the Seksawa went toward a reply on that, which the present facts confirm. What is essential in this life is precisely that it surpasses any cantonal fragmentation. The attraction of the plain, the circulation of the channelized water, the movement of the flocks are only three signs, images of exchanges that link men and places beyond the narrow barriers.

121 619 634 One is thus led anew to the hypothesis according to which the Seksawa would today be only a mutilated system. Their present division into valley sections would only correspond to secondary necessities. The correspondences between high and low country that their Mez'ud'a and Dwiran neighbors have been able to maintain in their political and landed-property structure result doubtlessly from better preservation. Or rather, the present cutting-up of the Seksawa and their elimination from the plain

/119 cont./

121 do not reflect any authenticity, but, in a certain measure, the
619 event. This asymmetry which sets them against the neighboring
634 groups indicates the blows received /120/ at the time of a phase
of participation in the great history. More fortunate than their Hintata neighbors, who lost their tribal existence there, even to their name, the Seksawa have thus suffered from the common law, so oppressive to the actors of the Maghrebi Middle Ages. For them, the ransom was not to disappear, but to submit to this montagnard cantonment. They have nevertheless maintained themselves there, opposing the forces of disaggregation with other forces, which this analysis will try to disclose.

648 Still today, their emigration, their hydraulics, their live-
619 stock-raising reveal lines of movement which manifest the plain-
133 mountain relation in full vitality: Mediterranean-type relation.
Now, notably in its plant forms, their country, like the rest of
[571) the Haut-Atlas, constitutes in many respects a Mediterranean re-
[137) minder. Vox clamantis in deserto: at the foot of the chain,
here already is the desert spot of Chichaoua, with its yellowish and pebbly lands, its poor pluviometry, and its populations of Saharan look.

174 Of course, it would be far too schematic to suppose that in
648 this secular drama the people of the plain, Mérinides and Arabs,
have, by military force and cultural seduction, driven back and dissociated a former Mediterranean relation. There is certainly danger in such simplifications. But since thus are illuminated the past of the Seksawa, its archeological remains, and, upon reaching the middle of the twentieth century, the instinctive attempts at regrouping that they still put up against the wounds of history (1) . . .

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1. Here we are again led back to history: F. Braudel, op. laud., p. 38, n. 1, regrets that the study of transhumance on the periphery of the Mediterranean has not been carried out sufficiently on the historical plane.

/121/ II. Matter and Outlines of Peasant Work

The Field and Its Personality

241 Old and profound idea, the one of the field. A millenary tradition colors it with feeling. Studies as rigorous as that of a Roupnel can be wrapped in lyricism without, for all that, losing contact with science. Many generations have sought in the *Géorgiques* /Georgics/ both the most exact rules of Mediterranean agronomy and a charm which, far from depriving the exactitude of the discourse of anything, amplifies and extends it. This rare conjugation between "poetry and truth" is explained by the synthesis that is brought about by intellectual, practical, affective values, where rest the earth, man, his tools, his history, his solemn or familiar life. And the basic element of this synthesis is the field.

But what is a field, in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ (1)?

1. J. Berque, "Un glossaire notarial arabo-chleuh du Deren (XVIII^{e} siècle) /An Arabo-Shluh notarial glossary from the Deren (eighteenth century)/," *R. afr.*, 1950, pp. 359 sq., on the different names for the "field."

241 171 Would it be the individualized domain, continued in the time and space of the Romans? Or the long parcel of the Nordic plains, tied into clusters by the obscure agreements of the *open field* /italicized words are in English in the original source/ (2)?

2. M. Bloch, *Les caractères originaux de l'histoire rurale française* /The original characteristics of French rural history/, 1931, pp. 21 sq.

Or the same soles of strips /Fr. *soles de lanières*/ discovered in a completely different milieu, and undoubtedly amidst completely different environments, by Weulersse, in this Near East *muchâ*^{c},

/121 cont./
whose appellation (but not the reality) reappears among the Chleuh /Shluh/ (3)?

3. C. r. of the book by Weulersse, "Le pays des Alaouites /The country of the Alaouites/," Ann. hist. soc., 1943, III, pp. 116 sq.; Latron, ibid., 1941, p. 122, and 1943, III, p. 117, n. 1.

Or the close of woodland, which paradoxically evokes by certain traits, despite its dryness, with its woods and its enclosures, the H'fih'a country? Or the Mediterranean saltus? Let us stop at this last form. It is so appropropriate for Maghrebi antiquity that one of the first lines of research that one might imagine would be to check to see if anything in the present reality of the Moroccan South corresponds to it. But one can affirm without fear that, comparison for comparison, it is /122/ not to the saltus, but to a diametrically opposite rural form, and which the magnificent aerial photographs of the Constantine limes have restored, that our observations would instead make one think of in this part of the Atlas.

Nothing will appear closer to the ensembles of parcels "in a honeycomb" (1)

1. J. Baradez, Fossatum Africae, 1949, pp. 173 sq.

discovered by the flight over the Roman fossatum than the analogous ensembles, irrigated by a whole arborescence of ditches, of our high valleys. Doubtlessly, there and here the problem is not identical. The techniques described by J. Baradez would apply even better to the subdesert plain or to the Dir than to the montagnard horticulture. But the form of the grounds is there. Same agglomeration of minuscule quadrilaterals downstream from a basin. Same art of the bank of earth cutting and directing the development of the waters. Let us stop at this superficial

/122 cont./

analogy, quite justly proper, if one wishes, for adorning the account with images, and without posing the question that immediately comes to mind. Without discussion, J. Baradez attributes all this technique to Romanity. What one might conclude from the present historical account is that in a completely different part of the Maghreb, champion of African isolationism, analogous forms flourished. What differences, besides! The centuriatio is, in these confines of the African Romania, the very basis of the agglomeration of parcels. The exact boundary, the geometrical cadre, and the art of the land surveyor are necessary complements of the land. There is nothing more contrary to the notion of a boundary that our montagnard has. One could almost say, not without some paradox, it is true, that the limit of the field is not at all topographical for him, but is of a completely different order, which we are going to try to define.

At the antipodes of these montagnard parcels, let us first examine the field of the soft Moroccan Atlantic plains: in the Ghārb, for example (2).

2. J. Berque, Études d'histoire rurale maghrébine /Studies of Maghrebi rural history/, 1938, pp. 11 sq.

Here the agrarian unit is appropriately the social force, whose visible sign, and at the same time the unit of measure, is the zawja, "harnessed by tillage." A diffused landscape, a great excess of arable land, very anciently cleared, seem to oppose to the development of property only the exigencies of rival developments. A neutral milieu, where theoretically each one spreads out to the extent of his strength. It expresses in itself a liberalism of competition. One conceives that in such a milieu the boundary of the land may be shifting, retractile. If the field is cleared of stones, the stones are grouped in piles, kerkur, k^werkur, not on the /123/ periphery, but in the interior. Now this pile quite frequently assumes a magico-religious function, that of maqām, "mansion." At the end of this evolution the

241 /123 cont./
171 Semitic baetulus is glimpsed. It can be contrasted with the Latin
God-Term.

241 The lower valley, at Bul^{c}wān and Tuz'z'umt, where inter-
calary crops are spread quite widely on two levels very well
marked, almonds above, olives below, possesses several enclo-
[383] sures. The wall of dry stone, ad'erras, occurs frequently in the
country, for all sorts of uses.

[192] The most interesting names for the "enclosure" are agellay
and urti, this latter word having multiple acceptations. But the
form becomes rare as one penetrates into the middle valley. It
is hardly in accord with cantonal egalitarianism. It implies
larger facies than are offered upstream, and also a kind of life
that is no longer that of the rich man of the mountain. It cannot
be counted here as a type. Even in the lower sector, moreover,
it squares with completely different conceptions: one will see it
apropos the ground of Bul^{c}wān itself, which, however, constitutes
the extreme concession of the Seksawa system to the matters of
the Dir. There, as at Tuz'z'umt, one can move about for a long
time under the almond or olive trees without seeing any discover-
able limits in the topography, really marked out materially.

Second type: the crops of the thalweg sprouting up in the
masses of small stones and claiming a precarious existence in the
autumn floods. Very often, parallel bands are marked by ranks
of blocks. Clearing away stones contributes to the establishment
of boundaries and embankments. Sometimes with great difficulty.
The least freshet puts everything in question again. Remarkable
examples may be observed facing Bul^{c}wān itself. They bear an
[192] Arabic name, lulja: bottom crops, risky crops incessantly lost,
and begging for nourishing moisture from the inundation that
ravages them. In the higher valley, in a. Lh'sen for example,
the system becomes more original. One finds, on one hand, the
island of fortified blocks, reinforced by trees, and, on the other
[312] hand, the crop of long submersion. That is a matter of a form a
bit special: agriculture of chance and exception, that of these
akrium, where human effort indefatigably recommences its
humble edifice before the menace, but also the benefit, of the

/123 cont./

241 water. Certainly the torrential descent will carry away the
[312] pebbles, demolish the walls, bear off the seeds: but sometimes, too, it respects them. In any case, it wets the soil and deposits silt. A risk to run...

Third type: the dry agriculture, on high brows of hills or forest clearings. It is an important complement of the hydraulics. /124/ But we are too poorly informed on the altitude
243 pluviometry to analyze the conditions precisely. The grain-lands
423 always exceed the mark of 2,000 meters in the Tasila and the
613 Azuran. Rye and barley reach good yields there. That explains why the competition for the usufruct of these lands is lively. And why it is honorable. It is a competition between communes and between notables rather than between fellow citizens. The distance is a prize for the rich and for the bold. The only one of his ikhs, such and such an individual launches upon valorizations or
[621] clearings, which he will support, of course, with titles. Nevertheless the servitude of a community vocation remains keen enough to impose allotment in certain cases. If some of these grounds, like the Tasila, have been very much appropriated, others, like the Azuran of the Imt'ddan, suggest very closely the custom of distribution among ikhs-s. The vocation of each of these is still clearly affirmed, for example, in the albur of the a. M'hnd.

241 Elsewhere, and about wherever the forest domain rules, the
423 vivification by clearing or by removing stones will often be invoked as the source of right: the litigant has recourse in this case to the Arabic verb t'uww^c, and then a Mussulman principle, that of "vivification," in fact works for him. But to what extent is it an old institution? It is difficult to specify it. Perhaps one will find more authenticity and, at the least, originality in the customs governing certain plains of the Dir, on both sides of Imintanout. When the season arrives, a race to the tillage is organized. The first one who marks the furrow has the enjoyment of it for the year. In Seksawa, although it nowhere functions in the manner thus avowed, this practice is implied in everything that arises out of the notion of "communal" muchā^c.

/124 cont./

241 423 And that with a juridical clearness capable of still imposing a distribution among ikhs-s when the acuity of the competition or the exiguity of the land no longer permits the former system to function to the general satisfaction. In a. Lh'sen the word lghimer, plur. lghwamer, is used to designate something like the zone of legitimacy of a family or of a piece of ground (1): in general a geometric projection of the latter on the neutral space that borders it, fallow land or forest scrub. And it will not be our least surprise to bring the word, thus interpreted, into harmony with this ghâmir that the land documents of the /125/ Moroccan North oppose to the ^{c}âmir, as the agriculture in force is opposed to the agriculture of document, or the eminent vocation of a piece of ground in individualized possession.

241 This field of the albur is much larger than that of the valley lands. About ten times larger, on the average, if one believes the evaluations of it made at the time of the successoral divisions. It is, on the other hand, completely penetrated by savage nature. Delivered up in turn to fallowing and to cultivation, to fallow land, to pasture land, to adventitious plants, it is not clearly separated from the space that surrounds it. Finally its juridical vocation, its form, the techniques that it calls for vary in terms of the altitude. These classifications by height are a 133 241 speciality of this mountain society. The tectonics and erosion have brought about there, perhaps even more than elsewhere in this part of the Atlas, a relief by successive levels. The ground floor of the plain of the Dir, the sometimes spacious trough of

[192] 1. Elsewhere in Seksawa, and also in Demsira, etc., the Chleuh /Shluh/ word az'lag, plur. iz'lagen, is used. Transposed to the echelon of the collectivity, this idea of competency or clearances is not far from that of muchâ^{c}. Let us also add, as proceeding from the same "prelaw" basis, that of ad'erg, "route of passage for the animals," Arabic medwez.

/125 cont./

133 241 the beds of torrents, cut by progressive edges, the vast grassy epaulement terraces, answered by the acuity of the axial chain: each of these tiers inspires a new figure of the field, of the agriculture, of the law, and of the customs.

But to this world of horizontality thus contrived by nature in the bosom of the mountains is opposed another where the vertical, the oblique, the overhang prevail. It is that of the irrigated ground, constructed by man. It is all in redans, circumvallations. Walls and terraces, scaling the slope, superimpose their small, careful planes. The ensemble contrasts by color, character, toponymic density, and human presence with what surrounds it. There is the major type of this economy and also of this history. The irrigated ground is not only a material substrate. It is a social symbol (1).

[121] 1. In the exact sense defined for this term by G. Gurvitch, La vocation actuelle de la sociologie /The present vocation of sociology/, 1950, p. 74.

241 Let us observe the ensemble called Bukhemsin, where each group of the a. Lh'sen has its share. It is spread out on the left bank, between Awinas and Buteghradin, at mid-flank of the ascent, and is made up of two planes, which the path cuts diagonally. We are in March. A luxurious vegetation of barley is already starting to form ears. No break in the mass. Only by sweeping light do some differences in level appear there, depending upon the amount of manure that the different owners have supplied. It is with difficulty if an expert eye distinguishes in a quarter so homogeneous the 150 parcels that compose it. Such a distinction, to one who has no preconceived idea of it, proves impossible. It is at the very base of the barley stalks, and [131] completely hidden by the sprouting, that /126/ ideal boundaries [423] creep: abstract lines, of which only the angles are indicated by a modest stone driven into the earth, awuttu, plur. iwutta.

/126 cont./

241 Only the quarter has a personality, in the toponymy as in the landscape. But it is not united by appropriation, unless one sets it up as a "collective field," which one could not do without [423] abusing the expression. The parcels that are discerned there indeed arise from a molecular ownership, if I may venture to say it. But they hardly have any topographical existence. They are only crumbs of patrimony.

Divisions and Organs of the Field

241 423 Quite abstract as it may be, this fractioning plays its role. But its strength is not tied to a material demarcation, to the consistency of an area. It is connected rather to a verbal affinity. Such and such parcels, dispersed within the ground, are reputed to be the legitimate portion of such and such a family. [691] This qualification is their only defense. There is nothing more striking at the time of legal disputes over boundaries. What is affirmed in the procedure is not the concrete value of a limit, it [171] is, so to speak, the autonomy of a cell. Quite a difference from the Mediterranean type of the fundus. These parcels are defined less by a spatially determined cadre than by the fitting in of one having rights among others having rights. Aided by the modicity of the areas, the identification of each is not local, but onomastic. The names subdivide a quarter, which is itself a division of [634] the ground. Similarly the taqbilt is divided into subgroups, which are subdivided into families. Toponymy and anthroponymy are thus combined to form, with the help of other factors, a diversified and tiered system which is defined by the hold of verbal classifications on pieces of country, by the association of names with pieces of ground.

Let us grip more closely the identity of this patrimonial cell that the parcel represents. In general, it is a minuscule quadrilateral inserted among a multitude of others and defined by this very insertion. Its area is of a modicity that is astounding.

241 /126 cont./

423 Several experimental measurements give as an average:

Inheritance of the ikhs of the a. Watchaw (a. Musa) . . .	30 m^2
-- si Abdallah u. H'ammo (Taselli)	45 -
Sheik Wakrim u Lh'ajj H'fid' (ibid.)	70 -
Chkku Family (Imt'ddan)	26 -
Ground of Agersili (Idma)	102 -
-- of Z'init' (id.)	200 -
-- of Tabratjut (a. Musa)	75 -

241 /127/ Such an exiguity, aggravated by the dispersion over areas occasionally exceeding a kilometer in length, creates a thousand technical difficulties. No less than irrigation, it imposes the meticulous work of the "hoe," agelzim. At any time of the year, they are but bent-over peasants, "interrogating the earth," to return to a magnificent classical expression, and rebordering the smallest ledge of the relief, the smallest angle of the periphery, in order to spread there the windfall of the water. Though the quadrangular form is common, the agriculture does not neglect the minor forms. Thus, the "peduncle" of humus, ad'ar. All the same, a "redan," tighmert, sometimes remains abandoned. But generally, except for the cases of rotation of soles /Fr. sole, in agriculture, the expanse of arable land intended for a certain crop in the annual rotation/, as at Agersili or the a. Mh'nd, the space cultivated in the channel is full, without fissure. That is the very characteristic that opposes it to the spaced spots of dry cultivation, visible on the hill from afar. These fields are of irregular form, while the irrigated parcels, aligned in balconies or compressed into a damp and almost juicy bottom, are fractioned only abstractly and according to a system of four orients, of an onomastic nature.

But this exiguous parcel is often a composite itself. Depending on its area, and whether or not it is level, it may be fractioned into "lobes," tisirit or tirit, themselves divided into "squares" of irrigation, uz'unen. Or else the emptying ditch will open directly onto one of the latter. This divisibility may also result from the exigencies of cultivation by water, or from

312

/127 cont./

241 the market-gardening or cereal objective. Many varieties, indicating initiative and individual possibilities, come to diversify here, like the deposit of manure, the continuous and homogeneous band that the bench supports. But that will be evident only with the results, after sprouting. At this moment, as one has seen, the marks of appropriation are buried under the verdure, but the ensemble seen from above gives the effect of a patch of scales. The shades of green, like the germinative power, differ according to the subjacent property. A practiced eye can then decipher the whole network of land.

Thus the hierarchy of organs described above is formed in this way from the base (1):

1. For the Chleuh /Shluh/ nomenclature of these different forms, refer to our "Glossaire notarial ... /Notarial glossary .../," R. afr., 1950.

-- the square, first technical unit;
-- the irrigation bed, grouping several squares (optional);
-- the parcel, first cell of land, grouping several beds or squares;
/128/ -- the quarter, topographical, social, and technical unit at the same time, grouping a certain number of parcels served by one intake on the ditch, but possibly spreading over several benches;

[423] (613) -- the ground, topographical and political unit: a piece of landscape appropriated by the agriculture of the group, and distributing, as one will see, among the different quarters of which it is composed, a well-regulated sampling of the patrimonies of the ikhs. This ground is itself fashioned into "countries," with the habitat of the group, put together or cut up, and its hold over the soils and plants, more dense in the bottom of the valleys, more scattered in the ilburan (plur. of albur) that vertically hang over the village, embedded in the montagnard silva.

/128 cont./

241 In such a system, the privative appropriation comes down,
423 according to the modes peculiar to the irrigation, to the most
passionate individuation of the work and of the feeling, of the
trouble and of the persistence of the man, therefore, of his
[184] rights. Completely to the contrary, the dry cultivations, extensive and intermittent, are done in the muchā^{c} or muchū^{c}, a
type of collective. But these two types together contrast with
the disposal of the forest or pasture, regulated only by political
rights and the international balance. Nevertheless, within the irrigated ground itself, an order regulates the parcellary distribution. Qualifications of birth and of kinship are more essential
here than boundaries and, one might say, than the compost itself.
This plot, almost bare of matter, acts as and above all counts as
the illustration of civil status.

178 This perhaps explains the tenacity of this man with his complications, with his deficient methods. Everything takes place,
on this historical mole of the old, sedentary civilizations of the
Maghreb, as if a peasant society were seeking, in the economic
paradox, the exercise of itself.

Magic or Technique?

241 Human work does not only have to reckon with the resources
789 or the resistance of the milieu. Beyond the waters, the soils, the
plants, it must reckon with a benevolent or malevolent power,
diffused in things or being specified in figures. And the appreciation entertained for the activity of the peasant group will be very
different according to the scope of spontaneity, of conscious
bearing, and of efficacy that it arrogates to itself in relation to
the invisible friends or adversaries, and according to the degree
of existence that it recognizes for them. There has been a great
114 deal of insistence in Moroccan ethnology on the "magic" char-
241 acter of /129/ the agriculture. In this regard the work of E.
789 Laoust offers a store of information. The "mort du champ"
/death of the field/ and many other ritual deeds are described
there, with reference, if not to the Seksawa, at least to the
nearby Mtugga, among whom characteristic harvest-customs have

/129 cont./

114 been noted. The necessity of restoring to the soil its energy, its
241 baraka, to expulse or to keep away from it the evil forces --
789 these "deux pôles de la croyance populaire" /two poles of popular
belief/ -- animate rites and ceremonies which "constituent, en définitive, le fond de la vie berbère dans tous ses domaines" / constitute definitively the foundation of Berber life in all its domains/ (1).

1. E. Laoust, Mots et choses berbères /Berber words and things/, 1920, p. 321.

A serious hypothesis, which this is neither the place, nor the object of this study, to infirm or confirm. Imbued with the then recent theories of Frazer, following the book by Doutté on Magie et Religion /Magic and Religion/, which was the first attempt and the master stroke of this sort of investigation in the Maghreb, the inquiry by E. Laoust also has merit because of the linguistic curiosity and an ethnologists's intuition, which remain models. But on this second level it has hardly been continued. All motives of individuals aside, there is something a little disturbing there. It can be said in one sense that these interpretations, to which it is necessary to add, for Morocco, those of Westermarck and some of those of H. Basset, constituted an end point (2).

2. The book by Laoust appeared in 1920. That of Westermarck, Ritual and Belief in Morocco, in 1926; that of H. Basset, Le culte des grottes au Maroc /The cult of caves in Morocco/, in 1920.

They have inspired in younger researchers admiration, defiance, and lassitude at the same time. A result undoubtedly regrettable. If there is little chance of adding, in Moroccan matters, discoveries other than detail to those of these great seniors, certain problems are posed, hardly touched upon up until now, and which a critique, were it immodest, would at least have the merit of

/129 cont./
114 stating. It is to this that the following notations, which are far
241 from claiming to exhaust the debate, will respond.

789 Often the facts, carefully collected by these ethnologists,
are indicated without statistical context. Is the sacrifice at the
[782] opening of the tillage at Bwabbût' generally practiced, or does
it follow from an exceptional, or only peculiar, attitude? That
is what the suggestive description of *Mots et Choses* does not
say (3).

And nevertheless that is what would be essential in order to know if the fact results from the *magical* in the narrow sense of the term, implying a semiclandestine activity of a specialist, or from the *religious*, that is to say, brings into action a general social function, with reference to the divine.

/130/ On the other hand, does the commentary that ascribes
[776] the well-known beliefs in a spirit of the field to these people rest,
in the works of E. Laoust, on native expressions or on inductions
by the scholar? Certainly, posed in that manner, the question is
[778] captious. But, finally, if the notions of *baraka*, of good and of
bad augury, and more generally that of sacred, in its specific
[787] ambiguity, result from a mass of facts from belief and language,
one never finds any conscious expression of them. On the contrary, what one hears professed, and to the point of satiety, is the rationalistic explanation: "We do that because it is a good practical return," or else "because we are thus seeking divine favor." Or even, denials: "We never do that." Certainly, there are only elaboration and reinterpretation in these formulas. But they correspond to the stratum of Islam, which is deep. And the characteristic of a Maghrebi phenomenon is exactly to be amenable to these different orders of ideas. Thus the explanation by Laoust is legitimate, to the extent that it is completed by the contrary explanation.

114 Besides, if one gives the word *magic* the restrictive sense, in
121 which it was understood above, and which is that of Huvelin for
789

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3. E. Laoust, *Mots et Choses*, pp. 315 sq.

/130 cont./

114 121 789 example, it must be confessed that an analysis preoccupied above all with morphology, like ours, quite systematically omits the "magic" aspect of Maghrebi affairs. But, on the one hand, the acceptation of Laoust is much broader, and means all at the same time magic in the strict sense, religion, and folklore. On the other hand, if many of the facts that it embraces are only guilty of having been interpreted without a statistical context, they nonetheless exist. That is already a great deal. Would to God that the collection had been increased since Westermarck and E. Laoust with the same élan that animated these great explorers! Subsequent developments that will be devoted to the religious and juridical structures of the Seksawa will close up these distinctions. But here and now, and although, once again, the discussion of the Frazer thesis applied to Maghrebi phenomena is not our purpose, it is necessary to dispose of it, as evocative (or creative) of a partial, but incontestable verity of atmosphere, as it assuredly merits in any description of rural life.

805 171 In all of North Africa, the "tasks and the days" are ordered according to a double division of the year into months of the Julian calendar, with curiously Latin names, and into "mansions," *manâzil*, of thirteen days each, based on astrology (1).

1. This is in any case an extremely ancient genre in the Mussulman Occident. Cf. H.-P.-J. Renaud, *Le calendrier d'Ibn al-Bannâ de Marrakech (1256-1321)*, 1948, moreover on a Cordova prototype and, it seems, without reference /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ to the Maghreb. Cf. also Joly, *Arch. mar.*, III, 1905, pp. 300 sq. Léon, *Description de l'Afrique*, Schefer, t. I, pp. 112 sq.

The generality of this belief in the *manâzil* is attested by the fact that a small treatise devoted to them by a man of letters from Marrakech, Ibn Al-Muwaqqit, *Natîjat al-^{c}umr*,

/130 cont./

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/footnote 1 continued/ Egyptian edition, 1930, a breviary of erudite centos and good-woman advice, with numerous agricultural references, is sold throughout North Africa, and, it is said, even in Egypt. It would be interesting to know if the "mahone calendar" used in Algeria by sailors and peasants has any link with this Mussulman folklore.

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[796]
Finally, beside /131/ the old rural celebrations, like the "New Year," yenneyr, or "Candlemas," lançra, the Mussulman fasti, following the lunar year and hence disconnected from the first two rhythms, also introduce their holiday or cease-work periods. Whence a complex system. The study that might be made of it for a given milieu would be suggestive. But it would rather come under the jurisdiction of folklore. At first sight, it is the similitudes with the rest of the Maghreb, even Arab, rather than peculiarities that would constitute the principal problem here (1). [171]

1. We shall find at various times the same Maghrebi community, subjacent, in a way, to regional developments. To speak like A. Varagnac, the "archéocivilisation" of North Africa is one. From that perhaps comes the fact that ethnology is so little efficacious in accounting for the veritable characteristics of the different regions. The originality is not in the "foundation," it is in the treatments that it has undergone, that is to say, in the history.

128 Two investigations will be detached from it as better adapted to the character of our work: first, on the unfolding of the agricultural campaign; then on the functions devolving, in the bosom of the group, on such and such subgroups.

/131 cont./

The Agricultural Calendar

221 241 Despite the wild irregularity of the rains, despite the element of constancy introduced by the irrigation, the peasantry of the Atlas remains faithful to the notion of agricultural period. Undoubtedly a question of vegetation cycles: the growth of barley takes six months; that of maize, three months. And probably also, a question of high waters and of low-water marks. In this country without lasting snows, the reduction of the sources forces the crops to adapt to the diminution of the supply from May to September. It is thus with good reason that one can follow here the classical description of the unfolding of the campaign month by month. /The rest of this subsection, up the last paragraph, is in small type in the original source./

Chutanbir (September) is a prelude. If it rains, one takes advantage of it for tillage, in spite of the date of the "favorable tillage," amud ih'allan, which does not come until 17 uktuber (October). The earlier the sowing, the more abundant the harvest, [539] thinks the montagnard, not without reason. "September, get busy," the proverb whispers to him: chutanbir chuch t'ebber. In any case, it is the time when the fertilizer, the farming implements are prepared. /132/ One knocks down the walnuts, one [233] gathers the Barbary figs. The livestock breeders of the high cantons keep their herds in the mountain pastures: they will hold them there until the time of the hibernal transhumance, except in case of excessively bad weather. In 1951, September ended [796] with the ɛchura or amɛchur. Fire rites, water rites in the villages. People jump over braziers, they sprinkle themselves with water. In some a. Lh'sen villages, they strike each other with azzunt'i, nettles. Rite or game? The celebration releases an epidemic of marriages and legal proceedings.

Uktuber, classic month for the opening of the cereal cycle. [539] The rain falls, the torrents are aroused. Wa-nna iran amud, yasi-t-ann, "whoever wants to sow only has to do so." The 17th [178] inaugurates the sowings: just a generation ago, no one would have dared to violate the regulation. Contemporary experience

/132 cont./

221 has proved that it was better to take advantage of the rain: "but
241 things have changed." The amghar, a substantial cultivator, de-
178 plored before me that this principle, which he deems of religious essence, is being transgressed more and more, while the practices of the opening of tillage, with the distribution of dry fruits, breaking of bread, etc., which he devoutly qualifies as idolatry, laġnam, continue to be favored. The more so as they will not run counter to any economic opportunity. The good old times are disappearing.

221 Nuwanbir, "November." Except during the unfavorable
241 period of the thirteen days of lqâleb, the tillage continues. From October 17th to December 10th, there is the "early" cultivation, amenzu, then the "middle," arbâi. The harvest of olives begins in a. Lh'sen, a. Abdella, a. Musa.

[539] Dujanbir. "There is December: the cold closes discussion," Dujanbir aya ikks us'emmid' awal. This society is actually badly equipped to bear it. Snow covers all the heights. After the tenth, however, the "late" cultivation of cereals, amazuz, begins. In principle, it lasts up to February 20th, in Seksawa country and in the plain. Sometimes even much later, even into March, and almost up to the first harvests: such is the immorality of the game
[233] that the hazards of the climate impose on the cultivator! The montagnards continue to send their animals into the plain. Stabling for the bovines, pasture in a short radius around the village are the lot of those that remain.

[796] Yenneyr, "January." After the immemorial ceremonies of the solar new year, the peasant who has finished his sowing rests: inna ira ku-yan ikk, "wherever he wants to, he may go," proclaims the dictum, which omits, and for cause, the patient spots to be weeded, unfortunately too little favored, and the care of the plantings. The latter go on all alone, as people believe.
[539] And nevertheless the shrewd man knows that the campaign is already advancing: tlekmek tafukt n-f^{w}brayl, a-yamekraz n-yenneyr: "Beware of the sun of February, plowman of January." The time has come to begin to clean out the ditches and to cut the "green barley," àg^{w}las, for fodder.

/132 cont./

221 F^{W}brayl, "February," will decide the fate of the campaign.
24 The proverb assures igh tswa gh-f^{W}brayl, ar kullu tjjint lmrayr,
[539] "it rains in February: healer of troubles"; dry February: aggrava-
[233] tion. For the livestock breeder, the milking starts. The "whey,"
aghu, the "butter," udi, come to the point /133/ to permit "la
soudure" /the welding, the union, the joint/ between the pro-
visions that are exhausted, the souq /sook/, which becomes
dearer, and the still uncertain harvest.

Mars, "March," begins the sowing of the early maize, mil-
let, still grown occasionally, and garden vegetables. The epoch
[233] of the planting is finished. The shearing and the castration, both
very primitive, are undertaken. Notably in a. Âbdella, the
effect of the first warm weather helping, the harvest, if I may
venture to say it, will ripen in succession: hardly a pause be-
tween the amenzu and the amazuz. In the high cantons, the
[539] persistent coolness dissociates the two periods. March is absolute-
ly decisive: mars as-tt-id ih'ya, negh tt-inn iluh': "it vivifies or
loses everything." Other significant dicta, mars imerç ten-d
a^{W}kk, "March brings them all together" (the course of the seasons),
or: inna mars i-yiran: ggawrat igh ennghligh: "March says to the
other months: Peace you others, if I proceed well."

Ibril, "April," the harvest starts officially on the 15th. In
[539] the plain at least. For the mountain always waits. This is what
a picturesque adage expresses: ibrin gh-uzaghar, ih'una berren
gh'udrar igh-d-id' er ugherd'a zegh-tgejda ibbaqqi gh-wakal.
"From the boiling in the plain, from the emptiness in the cham-
bers of the mountain: if a rat falls there from a joist, it remains
on the square of ground." "Beneath the bundles" of the barley it-
self, the maize n-ddu tadla appears to be the best. The cultiva-
tion of vegetables is intensified: eggplants, tomatoes, gourds,
turnips, at least wherever this variety still prevails. The a.
H'adduyws give their mountain fields an irrigation and harvest
what they have in the plain. Inversely, and since March, the
first grains harvested in the plain were used to seed the soles /Fr.
sole, in agriculture, the expanse of arable land intended for a
certain crop in the annual rotation/ of barley of Agersili, free

/133 cont./

221 of their snow. Generally, from the middle valley going upstream,
24 this is the time, the rivers visibly failing, when one begins to
[312] put water in the séguias. Up until then, each one served himself at his discretion, where the rain, or moisture owing to the long snow-cover, did not make all irrigation useless or detrimental. For the livestock breeder, it is the return from the plains
[233] transhumance. Continuation of the shearing and castrations in a. Âbdella and a. Lh'sen.

Mayyu, "May": it is barely spring in the high cantons, where the cultivation of early barley starts about the 15th. The
[233] livestock breeder sells his wool and standing animals. He is suspicious of the morning pasturage, when the dew hides lghechch, "the spearwort." From the 1st to the 13th, it is "the Aldebaran," ddabaran, an important moment in the agricultural rhythms. One considers that after this time the fructification of the almond trees is definitive; this entails many consequences in the customs and the "judiciary year."

Nunyuh, "June," marks the beginnings of the maize harvest in a. Âbdella. The cereal grower must have sheaved all of his harvest on the threshing floors. The 14th, which coincides with the celebration of lânçrt, closes the sowing of late maize.

Lulyuz, "July," sees nearly everywhere threshing, irrigation of the maize, cultivation of the turnip, carrots, and now potatoes. The gathering of almonds starts in Bas /Lower/ Seksawa.
[233] After the 10th, the livestock breeders of the high cantons reach the mountain pastures. They will remain there /134/ somehow or other until the hibernal descent, despite phases of stabling.

Ghucht, "August," month of winnowing. The maize is harvested in a. Âbdella, a. Lh'sen, and a. Musa. It will not be done until October in the Haut /Upper/ Seksawa. The peasant busies himself with the irrigation of his turnips and his carrots. The olive trees fructify. But it is also, in general fashion, the
[574] season of the great gatherings, of the patronal feasts whose cycle embraces all of the western Dir.

[821] Month of closing: mayuh, nunyuh, lulyuz, wayyahu; ghucht,
[539] uhu. "May, June, July: keep going; but August: done." But it is

/134 cont./

221 also the month of retribution: ighli-d unamar f-taffa n-yan
241 iskummern, "the unlucky star haunts the grindstone of the lazy."
821 A moralizing adage that does not deceive: everyone knows that,
[539] even in the irrigated country, the fortune of the meteors still
conditions in great part the life of the vegetation. Beyond the dryness and the water, it is the wind that scatters the almond blossoms; the mist that brings on the fumagine of the olive tree, without speaking of the hatching of animal parasites.

221 Above all, this account is interested in retracing the unfold-
241 ing of the campaign with the succession of the different activities.
171 It is striking that the comparison of such an agricultural calendar
with those that our North African agronomy sometimes establishes (1) reveals, bearing in mind the particularity of a montagnard milieu,
221 many concordances. This particularity draws up, according to
241 altitude, the succession of dates suitable for each crop, for each
182 harvest. It divides the register in two by the distinction between
the early and late modes. What precision and even subtlety! The different terms of the system are articulated and fitted in among superposed cantons. They permit the barley harvested in a. Abdella to be sown in Idma, and the peasant of Iguntar to reap for others for money, before reaping for himself. Another "vertical liaison" among cantons that our chapter on the organization of Seksawa space neglected.

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1. Cf. notably Rivière and Lecq, Traité pratique d'agriculture pour le N. de l'Afrique /Practical treatise on agriculture for the North of Africa/, 1928, t. II, pp. 401 sq., on the calendar of the North African farmer, and p. 578 sq. (agricultural generalities on the region).

/134 cont./

Division of the Agrarian Functions

121 In the matter of descriptive ethnology, let us be suspicious of the present narrative saying in French: "les ait X font ceci ou cela" /the ait X do this or that/. And let us be suspicious above all if it is a matter of Chleuh /Shluh/ who have, in order to respond to this kind of question, the well-known "habitude mode," used to render the repetition or the intensity of the verbal idea, but, let us be /135/ sure, without the least preoccupation with statistical control (1).

> 1. This error in shading appeared at the time of the translation of the first Moroccan texts assembled by S. A. Boulifa and has become a law of the genre.

Where the informant thinks: "there are people who ....," the ethnologist records a general rule, to the delight of the interpreters at second hand. And nevertheless it is of very great importance whether the practice is the act of the ensemble or indeed of the majority of the group, or only of a qualified specialist or indeed of an aberrant one.

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[121] It is this sort of verification that we have devoted ourselves to concerning a question already dealt with by the authors (2):

> 2. Pointed out for the first time, it seems, in what concerns Morocco, by E. Laoust, Mots et Choses /Words and Things/, p. 313. For the general "ambiance," cf. also E. Westermarck, Ritual and belief in Morocco, t. II, Ch. XVI.

that of the agrarian initium, itself sometimes but not always linked to that of favorable or unfavorable days and of seasonal rites. Interesting differences between families reveal themselves, and it is thus of great interest to know up to what point of generality this practice is observed in Seksawa. It has not kept there,

/135 cont./

241 796 let us note, any special denomination. The term anflus has fallen into disuse. One is called only bab llkhir, that is to say, gifted with a "good hand"; and, further, this power is expressed by paraphrases: ifulki kh-tyuga, "he is good at cultivation," etc. This verbal haziness is perhaps, but not certainly, a trait

241 796 619 634 184 of decadence. However that may be, here are the results of an enumeration that was meant to be exhaustive. /The following enumeration, through 12, appears in small type in the original source./

1. Idaw Geryun:

Village of Targa Ufella (the last before the ascent of the Tichka): all the inhabitants are descended from a single origin, the old a. Chʕib. It is perhaps for that reason that there is no

[525] [782] [787] discrimination among them. Drawing lots to inaugurate the irrigations. On the first Saturday in May, a black goat is carried to a certain rock in the mountains and sacrificed. If the blood runs, the omen is good.

At Ighelmellen, the Ih'muchcha, surviving family of the Iqorran, first occupants, inaugurate the irrigation and the moun-

[782] tain pastures. Propitiatory libations, called ifyed'.

Rektu wasif: the a. Âbdelkrim have the initium for water.

Zaouia of Sidi Lh'sen u Tiqqi: these are the a. Umetjar.

Ikis: general initium (and not only for water) of the a. Uʕziz.

2. Ait Wasif (a. H'adduyws):

Igersafen: a. Sʕid.

a. Zemlal: a. Umetjar.

a. Bah'mmo and Uzaga: the a. Th'emjit enjoy a general

[784] initium, attributed to the ancestor Amer u H'addo. Period reputed to be unfavorable: Lmunah'is or Ih'h'yalen, and the lqʕleb: one does not shave, one does not till, one is in mourning.

/136/ 2 /sic/. Tasa (ditto):

Villages of Fensu and Tasa: the a. Ggahi have the initium for water, are in charge of the ifyed': same interdiction as

[784] above. In addition, during this period, one cannot wash the linen. The a. Umghar: initium for war.

/136 cont./

4. Idma:

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[613]

The a. Ilarzg of Usikis have the initium for putting water in the ditches. The Iseqqalen abstain from all enterprises on Monday: one time when they intended to climb to Agersili on this day some of their girls died. The a. Ikru of Ad'erd'ur and of Wanchkrir open the tillage. Here is why. For six years the Idma had remained without rain; others say seven years. The ikhs-s took turns watching for clouds on the horizon. When it was the turn of the a. Ikru, rain fell, to the general delight. Whence the present practice. The ikhs-s that open the tillage in the other villages are: for Usikis, the a. Ilarzg; for Taselli, the a. Lh'sen.

5. In Imt'ddan, the a. Uchikar open the tillage and put water in the ditches. The ait Ubaqa slaughter the cow of Lalla Aziza.

6. In ait Mh'nd, the a. Bakhkha open the tillage.

7. In ait Musa, no qualification of this sort.

8. Ait Lh'sen:

[782] Wanz'id'. Tillage: a. H'sayn; irrigations: sacrifice to sidi Lwʿali on the first Friday in March; harvest: a. Mulid; war: a. Berka.

Buteghradin. Tillage: 1. a. Messʿaud (Sunday); irrigations ditto; harvest: ditto.

[541]
[613] On the morning of the yenneyr, battle between ikhs-s by blows with clusters of nettles.

Agadir. Tillage: a. Naçr (Sunday); harvest (ditto); irrigation: a. Hammo; jumps into the fire the night of amʿachur.
[541] Battle by blows with clusters of nettles.

Awinas. Tillage: a. Amar; harvest ditto; irrigation, a.
[578] Umʿali. Aspersions between ikhs-s on the morning of amʿachur;
[262] dinner of porridge the night of the innair.

[613] Ighilen. Tillage: a. Messʿaud (Sunday); harvest: ditto; irrigation: a. Lechger. Same customs as above.

Tabratjut. Tillage: a. Mençur (Sunday); harvest ditto; ir-
[578] rigation: a. Ufqir Lh'sen. Custom of aspersions on the morning
[262] of the amʿachur and of the porridge the night of the Yenneyr;
[541] battle by blows with clumps of grass.

/136 cont./

241 9. Ibuban:

796 Amasin. Tillage: a. Addi u Lh'sen (Sunday); irrigation:
ditto; harvest: ditto; war: ditto.

619 Talburt i-yggayzen. Tillage: a. Wakrim Uâli; harvest
634 from the remise of the "Friday" for sidi Mh'and.

184 Tugg Lkhayr. Tillage: a. Bumellut (Sunday); irrigations:
a. Bihi u Addi; harvest: a. Bihi u Addi.

Timskert. Tillage: a. Ali Wakrim; irrigation ditto; harvest: a. Lh'sen Wakrim and a. Âli Wakrim; war: ditto.

[782] 10. Iguntar. Tillage: a. Lâsri (Sunday); irrigation: sacrifice to sidi Mh'nd; harvest: a. Lâsri, war: Ineqqachen.

/137/ 11. Sekrat:

Amsgerdat. Tillage: a. Urjdal (Sunday); irrigation: a. Wârab. Custom of the porridge. Harvest: a. Wârab. Custom of the amâchur; no linen washed, penitence.

F-umazir. Tillage: a. H'emmo (Sunday); harvest: a. Çalh'; irrigation: ditto. Custom of amâchur as above, for the a. Çalh' only.

Tagddut. Tillage: a. Bihi (Sunday); harvest: a. u Lârj
[783] (Sunday); irrigations: a. Ukhezzaz; penitence: on the day of amâchur for the a. Bihi.

Tigumma n-Skrat. Tillage: a. Musa (Sunday); harvest:
[983] a. Warir (Sunday); irrigation: ditto. Custom of amâchur, penitence of the a. u Musa.

[613] 12. Ait Âbdella. This taqbilt, important in size, wealth, habitat, and numerous in its ikhs-s, does not acknowledge the initium in agricultural matters for any of the latter. Only the a. Wanz'id', descendants of sidi Musa, the saint of the high mountains, bestow good augury in the matter of military expeditions.

121 A question is posed first of all as to the generality of these
241 practices: a generality in which the nature of the account that
796 ethnographers give concerning them and maybe also the very fashion in which the local informants describe them would lead one to believe. Secondly, what character should one ascribe to them: sacred or profane? A difficult distinction which only a

/137 cont./
121 veritable statistical and philological analysis could undoubtedly
241 illuminate. There is obviously no question of such a study here.
796 Only a few facts have been pinned down, by right of invitation,
in a way, for a specialized study.

241 The qualification of one ikhs to inaugurate certain group
796 activities, agricultural mainly, but also military, is established
in all the high cantons. On the other hand, it is wanting in a.
613 Abdella and a. Musa, which should not be surprising, in view of
634 the harsh history of these two groups, vulnerable to the foreigner.
[184] The initium can thus be ranked, with all sorts of other material
or spiritual traits that have turned up in passing, among the components of the montagnard physiognomy. A differentiation appears between two or three ikhs-s, each having its particular vocation. The richest example is offered by the a. Mh'nd, but also by many a. Lh'sen villages. These divisions in fact happen as often at the echelon of the village as at that of the canton, but one cannot discern the reasons for these inequalities in dignity.
[184] To a certain extent then, the local factor, producing narrow particularizations, on the scale of the hamlet, for example, Imud'a, acts on the foundation constituted by a social and political life whose organ is the taqbilt. Ancient trait, or recent evolutions?

241 /138/ It is very difficult to discern the reasons for the choice
796 of such and such an ikhs for such and such competence. Naturally,
613 the role of the unexplained is great here, by definition. Never-
[954] theless the case of the Ih'muchcha in I. Geryun, of the a. Ikru in
Idma, of the a. Bumellut' in Ibuban shows that this choice has nothing to do with political prestige.

In fact, that is a matter of descendants of conquered populations. It is rather the idea of powers attached to the antiquity in the country, the idea of legitimacy, that is evoked then. In other cases, however, nothing like that. What comes into play seems to be the vestige of former ritual personalities that have become inexplicable. Their etiology is sometimes sought and gives rise to legends. That is the case of the Idma: it remains

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241 796 613 exceptional. In most cases, one can only conjecture the motives of the vocations: antiquity, whence legitimacy (theme of the autochthony); holiness, power, or, on the contrary, sanctimonious poverty. There one certainly touches an old, but defaced and almost unintelligible foundation. There remains concretely only a notion of unequal qualification among ikhs-s.

The meaning attributed to this practice of the initium is also unclear. One expects good augury from it: it is the type of very vague benefit that is also attributed to other agrarian ceremonies: those of the yenneyr, of the amâchur, or of this tafaska with a name almost certainly Mediterranean ("la Pâque" /Passover/). [771] But no more. These practices are qualified as idolatry, açnâm, even by their faithful, who can very well and spontaneously distinguish them from the rites of orthodoxy, from the cult of the saints, or from communal practices.

Here it cannot be a question of analyzing the subjective aspect of these practices. Besides, differences between them are [782] evident. The libations of ifyed', where they are practiced, owe to the demonologic reference their characteristic precision and liveliness. Whether the interpretation is a good one is another [541] question. On the other hand, the battles by blows with clods of earth, bunches of nettles, jars of water (1) are in the province of games and tend to affect only the youth in 171 Seksawa, like our carnival. Elsewhere, on the contrary, among the Frûga, for example, the ceremony unleashes the whole community for a day, and the aspersions are mixed with equestrian contests. Everyone has his opinion on these practices. The superstitious, the joker, the strong-willed, the village bumpkin,

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1. Good observations by F. Gorjon, "Les rites du feu et de l'eau chez les Berbères du Maroc /Fire and water rites among the Berbers of Morocco/," Bull. EPM, 1952, pp. 199 sq. (for a region very close to ours).

/138 cont./

171 the traditionalist have one, each in his fashion, and /139/ manifestly none of them feels bound by the group. An important nuance. It happens that, defying the Berbère /Berber/ enthusiasms of our ethnology, the Arab populations display a wealth of customs much more general in application and more ardent in belief than our montagnards (1).

1. This is evidently an impression, which statistical analysis should cross-check.

Thus there are the games of the night of *amāchur* (ar. /Arabic/: the ^{c}Achūrā): the *cho^{c}ala* of the Ud Bessebā^{c} redden the plain,
whereas the *tijuffa* of the Seksawa, and especially of the Dwiran,
are evidently rarer and less frequented. This celebration, that
of the prophetic Mīlād and of the Aid Lkbir have moreover served
as connecting links between many native rites and the orthodoxy
796 that legitimates. Thus, the a. Ābdella make the fires of
241 *amāchur* a reminder of those that Abraham miraculously survived,
when he was thrown in by Nemroḍ. The distributions of dry fruits,
184 when the tillage is set in motion, are general in Seksawa, but
tinted with an avowed nuance of fancy and gratuitousness: they "do good," nothing more. Of two neighboring cantons of the Nfiifa, in the Dir, the one, the Amejnas, scarcely knows but a tiny minority to practice this custom; and the latter, immediately next to it, in the Wād l-lbūr, experiences, under the picturesque name of *jawjaw*, a universal and warm application.

Thus one finds, from *taqbilt* to *taqbilt*, from village to village, for these different orders of facts, the most diverse degrees of generality, of affective intensity, and of "sacred" coloration. But this degree is never completely that of the rite. Nor further is it ever only that of simple folkloric amusement, as still not long ago was the case among us for the fires of Saint John /Midsummer Day/.

What is striking in any case, or should have struck the observers where the practices of *initium* prevail, is precisely the antithesis between the incertitude of their content and the clear

/139 cont./

796 functional divisions that they evoke here and there. Today, in
241 themselves, they are no more than a heteroclite mass of facts
184 breaking out of context. What remains of them is precisely the
unequal distribution that they express between groups, or, within the group, between ikhs-s. Their extreme erosion, often reaching -- but not always -- the stage of folklore, often also preserving some ritual emphasis, discourages a general interpretation. At the very least, these inequalities, in their constancy or effacement, their generality or rarity, let two things be glimpsed under them. First, a plurality of persons. And, on the other hand, among these persons, certain relations observed better and better /140/ as one penetrates into the montagnard privacy. These relations, finally, are perhaps the vestige of old links between the structure of the groups, the agrarian life, and a magico-religious division of labor between the collective subjects. But the vestige is being effaced under the reconstructions.

241 Here one arrives at a very important idea -- as will be seen
121 -- for the rest of this study. A complete enumeration has been
necessary to establish it. Will it be necessary to make the present chapter heavy by other monographs? Permit us to refer to the publications where we have treated the two subjects whose development should logically come at this place.

First we have shown (1)

1. "Un glossaire notarial...," R. afr., 1950.

to what point the dry agriculture of the Seksawa contrasts with their irrigated horticulture, by the connections that it preserves with the spontaneous flora. Alimentation has not been completely separated from gathering. The profusion of edible plants, revealing man's efforts at appropriation in the natural milieu, contrasts with the monotony of the cultivated varieties. The latter have been subject to the influence of history. In particular, it is probable that maize, from the sixteenth century, has been substituted for millet as sole of spring; it has made this old African crop, bound up with the use of the hoe, retreat. On the

/140 cont./

241 121 other hand, one ascertains a curious inversion of the characters of cereal cultivation and market gardening. While barley is intensively treated by being irrigated, the turnip competes with the maize in the rotation. If the village peasant really does not have a vegetable garden, he is familiar with only, if one can say it, "large-scale crops" on a reduced model. Such a study was necessary for an understanding of this society. For the plant life surrounds the life of the man and of the citizen. What exchanges between the one and the other of these two realms! It is impossible to assign, in this botanical milieu, defended by the solitude or the altitude, a part that might remain completely screened from the stamp of the "son of Adam." Despite the careful demarcations that operate the technique, the ethics and history, nature and society interpenetrate each other.

43 121 But the work of the group is not expressed solely in these relations. Others, more mediate, more abstract, appear (2).

The principal one is the one that the movement of money expresses. This society has been monetarized profoundly and anciently. The exportation of almonds and other mountain products is attested to /141/ for at least two centuries. It has undoubtedly balanced the alimentary deficit of the Haut Atlas, its dependence on the plain, by the importation of money. But this undoubtedly provoked a paradoxical inflation which exacerbated, in this milieu already so inclined to mercantile debate, the social inequalities and the agility of the contractual life. A complementary economy, and, in certain respects, a rival of the peasant economy, thus came into play. The consequences of the debate between the one and the other will be grave on the structure of the groups as well as on the individual psychologies.

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2. J. Berque, "Recherches sur l'histoire des échanges dans le Haut-Atlas occidental /Studies on the history of exchanges in the western High Atlas/," Ann. hist. soc., 1953, n. 3, pp. 289 sq.

/140 cont./

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III. Compartments and Levels of a Rural System (1)

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1. This idea of compartments and levels arises from the hypothesis that the Moroccan agricultural system is not one; that there are divergences or shiftings between its different branches. It will be difficult for me to specify in this hypothesis what belongs to me or goes back to my friend J. Couleau, an agricultural engineer. As early as 1946, in fact, in a study that we wrote in collaboration, he proposed the idea that, contrary to our own peasant system, the native cultivation of cereals and raising of animals in the Moroccan plains did not originate from any synthesis, but, in sum, developed independently. This fertile idea came into my own research. I have every reason to believe that the recent analyses by J. Couleau in his work in preparation on L'agriculture indigène dans la région de Fès /Native agriculture in the region of Fez/ will return to this hypothesis in a great profusion of agronomic and social observations.

Routines Or Techniques?

241 The first glance at the Seksawa agriculture turns up many traits of advancement. The refection of the lands is being pursued there jointly with the administration of the water. A close relationship between the exhaustion of the humus by the plant and its renewal by the manurings is perceived. The latter are the object of a care maintained all the more as the practice of the submersion of the planches /Fr. planche, bed, border, land between furrows/ and a tendency toward abuse of the available module constantly dilute the soil. Experimentally, more or less manure or water visibly affects germination. All of this horticulture is to be placed under the badge of labor, of courage. It could not be

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241 otherwise in a country of channels and slopes, a country of scarce soil, and of domesticated rock.

A radical difference from the dry agriculture. An estimate of the annual number of hours of activity required by the one regime or the other would undoubtedly furnish decisive elements. One would have there a quantitative expression of the difference of the human rhythms. But it is impracticable in the present state of our knowledge of Morocco (2).

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241 171 2. And nevertheless how useful it would be at the time when the "watering" of the immense areas dominated by the new dams approaches in the Tadla or the Doukkala. If these researches still seem unbroached in Morocco, one might refer to a geographical milieu, the Spain of the regadio /irrigated land/, for which the following precise details are given. In the dry, an average of one person occupied on the hectare: in the irrigated, nine more. Naturally, the alimentary productivity /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ is related to this density of the human population: the value in calories of the production in the irrigated is about proportional. Cf. José Terrero, "El regadio en la España peninsular /Irrigated land in peninsular Spain/," Estudios geograficos, No. 39, May, 1950, p. 254. In Algeria, the number of annual days of employment is estimated in the dry from 14 to 18 (cereals); in the irrigated, from 21 to 25 (cereals), at 175 (fruit trees), at 175 (market gardening). Cf. Compte rendu de la journée technique du 10 mars 1951 de l'Association des anciens élèves de l' I. A. A. /Account of the technical day of March 10, 1951, of the Association of the former students of the I.A.A./, p. 10.

/142 cont./
241 Although one cannot /143/ calculate it, beyond doubt an enormous increase of density characterizes, in relation to the plains economy, that of the mountains.

A concentration of work and of life, the will marking everything, a deliberate agronomy, sharpening the ancestral practices
by a reasoning capable of evaluating the action of factors and
causes -- such aspects are frequent and decisive. But they are
[184] not observed uniformly in all the cantons. If the hydraulics furnishes a criterion convenient for classifying these small societies,
other factors compete there which are not found everywhere in
182 the same degree. Their ideal union would make this montagnard
182 an economic being perfectly adapted to his milieu, who would
241 squeeze from it, by livestock breeding and tillage, the tree and
the garden, every resource possible. But there is nothing of that.
Adaptation of the group to its natural milieu, realization of
equilibria, employing an economy propitious to a great history,
which other aptitudes of these societies would postulate: all that
has remained at a low, precarious level, or rather has consolidated in the regression. Why?

Creation of Soils, Collection of Water

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The basic work in the mountains is the preservation and even
312 the creation of soils. It is mixed with another essential task, that
of the regularization of the water. Let us therefore examine
128 simultaneously these two activities, which the native agronomy
does not distinguish.

171 In a completely different milieu, that of the pre-Saharan plateaus, a peristyle bordering on the S. this Mediterranean world that Romania energetically made advance into Africa, such techniques have been remarkably described (1).

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1. J. Baradez, Fossatum Africae, 1949, pp. 174 sq.

/143 cont./
171 Will it be geographical confusion, or false and paradoxical his-
torical assimilation, to refer to this description before passing on
132 to that of the Haut-Atlas? Let us follow J. Baradez when he re-
jects as a fundamental norm of the irrigation economy the ques-
tion of isohyets. On the one hand, in fact, nothing, in the pres-
ent state, gives us with enough precision the amount of the
precipitation in the mountains. All that one can say is that it
must be much more abundant than in /144/ the Dir, at Imintan-
out. And nevertheless this is not the case for Taddert, in Haut
Dwiran, where measurements have been made, in a domain
contiguous to the Seksawa (1).

1. J. Dresch, *Recherches sur l'évolution du relief dans le massif central du Grand Atlas, le Haouz et le Sous* /Studies on the evolution of the relief in the central massif of the Great Atlas, the Haouz, and the Sous/, 1941, pp. 571 sq.

The astonishing ecological variety of this face of the Atlas is
bound to teach prudence on this point. The compartmentaliza-
tion sometimes extends down to the ground, to the "recess." In
the plain itself, it is indeed less the quantity of water than its
distribution in the course of the campaign that prevails. Gener-
ally, the amount of 250 to 300 mm., theoretically necessary for
the dry cultivation of cereals, is certainly found on the high
terrains where the *albur* cultivations of the Seksawa are scattered.
But even there other factors intervene: snowfall for example,
hygrometry, ventilation, exposure. On the other hand, in the
133 valley economy, it is the use of streaming waters that counts,
even more fully than that of source waters.

The latter play a role in the dry season. But their contribution remains out of comparison with that of the flood that enormous collectors carry along, in discontinuous fashion in summer, continuous from October to April: the river bed, its tributaries, and all the ravines that flow there. The sources, and especially

/144 cont./

133 those that spurt resurgences in the bed itself, supply a vital contribution, despite their perceptible decline in summer. For example, the so-called source of Sidi Mh'and in the bed of the Seksawa downstream from T'abya. [312] The essential nevertheless lies in the collection of the wild waters, both by the mass of life that it bestows, and by the correlative interest that the native techniques bring to it (2).

133 312 191 [114] 2. E.-F. Gautier has devoted a magnificent chapter to the surface circulation of the waters in Le Sahara /The Sahara/, 1928, pp. 71 sq. But it was the privilege of J. Despois to emphasize the importance of this irrigation by accidental waters, completely neglected by J. Brunhes, and which plays the main role in North Africa. J. Despois, La Tunisie orientale, Sahel et Basse Steppe /Eastern Tunisia, Sahel and Low Steppe/, 1940, pp. 292 sq.; communication to the Congrès de Géographie de Lisbonne, 1949, on "L'utilisation des eaux de crue dans les pays arides de l'Afrique du Nord /The use of flood waters in the arid countries of North Africa/." Example of the plains of the Houdna, Actes du Congrès, 1951, t. III, pp. 245 sq., and Le Houdna, 1953, pp. 166 sq.

133 312 The proportion between these two orders of contributions is difficult to estimate. The local view distinguishes them poorly. For it, everything is a matter of "ravines," ighezraten, plur. of ighzer. It appreciates the value of the sources, which a saint legend often magnifies. But, curiously, it does not relate them to the birth of the rivers. That is why it is impossible to state precisely where the Seksawa came from. An idle question on the plane of objectivity. An instructive incertitude if one is in the least interested in grasping the native interpretation in order to
312 draw from it all that it might furnish /145/ in clues. What

/145 cont./

312 counts the most is the irrigation based on accidental water. Its role becomes vital near the end of summer, even in the time of winter, if it is the least dry, as was the case in 1952. But this flow carried by the ravines would be lost in muddy and devastating tidal waves without the action of man. Thus the job is going to consist of spreading the flood both in space, whence a gain in area, and in time, whence a decrease of the debit and better possibilities for absorption.

This work is permanent or seasonal, or even only episodic. The torrents are never perennial, except in their highest sections: thus from the Seksawa up to Z'init'. If a storm, rrâda, arrives unexpectedly. It fills the innumerable mountain ravines with water. This is the freshet. It has been long awaited. A diversion has been made at a favorable point of the bed. All the grooves, all the planes of the earth, natural or artificial, cooperate in the same task. A consummate science of the slopes and levels is shown. It cuts the ground into sheltered beds /Fr. ados/, into cells, in order to guide the water, to utilize its least drops. To this peculiarly montagnard specialty, the piedmont opposes its own, that of the "epandages" /"spreadings"/ of the freshet, lfid', and more rarely engi, plur. angyun, and that of the organization of the impluvium, lmejbed, iriq. The major form is nevertheless that of the "channel," targa, plur. tir^{w}ggin, rising from a "retenue" /reservoir, river water between sluices/, uggug, laid out in the bed of a river, or, more rarely, from a "basin," chcharij or afraw, where a source trickles. Moreover, the role of the basin is complex: accumulator, it is also divider, just as the channel is divided into submultiples, down to the tiny depression made between two beds, and thus combines adduction and distribution.

The mountains are familiar with a certain number of other types. There is not, truthfully speaking, any flow ditch that crosses a slope in order to drain the waters of a downpour. The abruptness of the precipitation in the mountains, the declivity of the slopes would then cause havoc that would make the conduit unutilizable.

/145 cont./

312 Where there is no trace of a permanent bed, where the toponymy no longer mentions, were it as hyperbole, either asif or lwâd, the least sloped "ravine," ighzer, "pond," tamd'a, or "hollow," talat, of any kind serves for the arrangement from a water hole to the confluence of the lines of slope. Thus in Ibuban. Finally, the catchment of what we would call resurgences is sometimes effected in the bed itself. One digs a well, which subterranean galleries fill up, or one builds a wall, which by its foundations reaches the subterranean pool of water: this is what the a. Abdella call ah'riq, plur. ih'riqen./

/146/ The native view does not see any difference between these methods, except one of degree. For it, it is not a matter of distinguishing, as we do, between these resources according to their origin: permanent course, or subterranean, accidental flow, source, accumulation, resurgence. What counts is the question of the soils and of the planes that concentrate in a more or less abundant or precarious fashion the waters coming from one knows not where, but always, more or less directly, from the sky. This homogeneity of origin is duplicated in practice by a homogeneity of utilization. For the fellah there is only a difference in intensity, or rather in rhythm, between permanent and accidental irrigation. The question of the soils and of the planes, of prime importance upstream from the basin, becomes so again downstream. The basin of reception and the basin of spreading are symmetrical. They are distinguished from each other only in that the second one, where the work of man predominates, is infinitely more concentrated. This feature is not negligible in an economy where the initiative of the group adheres narrowly to the natural cadre. The rural technique, correlative of the social structure, is adapted down to the details to the space where the group lives. And at the same time it fashions it.

One measures from there at what point the collection of water and the creation of the soils are but one. The treatment of the mechanical problem of the slope automatically entails trying to spread the flow over the largest planes possible: natural ones, if it can be done; but also artificial ones. If the slope is

/146 cont./

312 too steep, almost vertical, it is notched with stairs and benches. Networks of arable surface will then stretch in curves of levels, superimposed on one another by little walls of dry stone or talus: imaran, plur. of imiri, in the first case, igenzwan or igenzaten, plur. of agenza, in the second. That is a common form. The fullest application of it that can be cited here is that of Agersili. It is not rare that more than a hundred steps, as, for example, at Asikis, build a staircase for giants up to mid-slope. At the same time this system resolves what our engineers call the problem of colature. But it is resolved poorly. Although the excess moisture descends from tier to tier or accumulates in the drains that the stone walls constitute, and, in addition, undergoes an intense evaporation, the washing of the land is inevitable. Thus the yield is relatively small, despite the water and the fertilizer.

So, therefore, a struggle against the swiftness of the flood, itself resulting from the slope; therefore, the arrangement of the slope into graduated level-stretches as broadly as possible. Struggle both against the meteoric fatalities and against the penury of arable soil: the two things are conjugated. /147/ And since, in the most frequent case, it is a matter of, not permanent, but sudden and violent resources, all of this work requires, in addition to a permanent water-strategy, tactics whose sagacity is astonishing.

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114 Such is the peculiar nature of the montagnard hydraulics. It depends almost entirely on this technique of "unforeseen" waters to which J. Despois has rightly drawn attention. To what extent then is it necessary to distinguish an irrigation of diversion and an irrigation of accumulation, like J. Dresch (1)?

(1) J. Dresch, Documents sur les genres de vie de montagne dans le massif central du Grand Atlas /Documents on the kinds of mountain life in the central massif of the Great Atlas/, 1941, pp. 12 sq., a work whose remarkable cartography and all the more the commentaries have constituted for our own research a geographical cadre

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[114]

/147 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ and a useful means of cross-checking. In the same order of ideas let us cite, by the same author, in collaboration with J. de Lepinay, the guide on Le massif du Toubkal, 1938, pp. 55 sq.

Certainly, accumulation of the waters represents an idea that is never absent. Even on an intermittent course the slight obstacle constituted by the uggug starts to create a small reservoir. Moreover this reservoir takes on form and function: humble "water hole," afraw, or veritable "basin," chcharij. But the difference lies less in the reception of the arriving water than in its distribution. Whether the water comes in a state of continuous flow, or intermittent, or in the form of resurgence, or of concentration of the streaming down a slope, the problem is finally and always only a problem of collection. At the exit, however, a radical difference sets the continuous debit -- obviously conceivable when the reception is so itself -- in opposition to the discontinuous debit, which periodically empties the reservoir. In the first case, the role of the latter is only to raise the plane of water, while in the second this role is duplicated by another: that of concentrating the temporary resources with a view to a massive, though rapid utilization. A question of level in the first case. In the second, a question of debit. Accumulator in one case, distributor in the other, the basin is both one and the other. The distinction between the two operations would thus be subtle, if all the emphasis did not bear on the second in the local view. Extremely expert at gathering on the surface of the ground the complement of water that the rain withholds, the native method reveals infinitely more competence and obstinacy in assuring the distribution of it. It displays on this occasion marvels of industry and tricks. One feels that it contrives to split hairs, to subtilize if necessary, in order to transform the irregular windfall of water into debits for infinitesmal allotments. It tries to make social equity with the natural hazards.

312 /148/ A hundred séguias represent, for the Seksawa, a reali-
zation of considerable volume, although they might be only very
rarely walled up. The Talh'archt of the a. Abdella crosses sev-
eral aqueducts, one of which is eight meters high. It is so wide
that each year, at the time of cleansing, the old amghar Ah'med
u Lah'sen made a bundle of thorns float in it, from the intake to
the ending, without its catching anywhere. The thing has re-
mained proverbial. Sometimes, along a schistose wall, the con-
duit is conveyed overhanging, passes through tunnels under rock.
Even the saints are used there. But neither the intake, a simple
weir of dry stone, nor the line, which winds capriciously, for the
current is left to do as it pleases, neither the crossing of the hol-
lows, often reduced to a simple "gutter" of wood, lqend'ert, nor
the basin of distribution, chcharij, which is frequently reduced
to an uncemented hole, afraw -- none of all that is durable. An
infiltration aided by the axial impact of the water on concave
walls, the absorption by plants insufficiently cut down, finally
numerous losses in a system in which the sluices are made and un-
made by pickax, with a little mud: so many incessant deficien-
cies, the adding up of which soon makes the water dry up. Also
312 the abandoned séguias are numerous, notably in Moyen /Middle/
172 Seksawa, in the cursed sector which the a. Gasa formerly in-
habited. One can follow at long intervals, as though fossilized
on the slope, their network forever fruitless. The decadence of
the fields, the petrification, if one may venture to say it, of all
the countryside sanction neglect. There is nothing more melan-
choly. The native avoids reviving places that, according to him,
are demoniac. He does not persist in repair. He gives up the
place.

312 Thus the fragility of this whole agricultural infrastructure is great. It holds together only at the price of constant care. It is necessary to repair every instant what has not been built to endure and what it is nevertheless necessary to make endure. Veritable sieve of the Danaïdes, where the work of generations has been lost! Nothing is more proper to confer on this humanity at the same time as the idea of effort, that of its precariousness. An act of constant will is necessary to any survival. But this will is often wasted wrongfully, in the futility of perpetual repair.

/148 cont./

823 Same imperfection in the procedures of catchment. The
[192] vocabulary, so rich in the matter of plants, reflects this mediocrity.
Most often the soil, akal, is designated only by the color.
Barely a few denominations such as itqqi, "clay," rrmel, "sand,"
afur or afza, "limestone." What is more grave in practice is that
the idea of the permeability or impermeability /149/ of the rocks
is neither conceived of nor put to use. Hardly ever is it noted that
a certain soil, called aqaryan, used as revetment of a basin, no
longer "drinks" the water after a day or two. On the contrary, the
reddish soil, called amachcho (1),
823 "cat soil," is always very thirsty. Therefore, not only does one
not build with concrete, unless it is a matter of integral construction
312 of stone and limestone, but the digging of wells and the
search for deep water follow only irrational routines and, what is
worse, from an empiricism itself unskilled. Each well-sinker has
his procedures in order to detect if he has reached "the head of
the water": succession from powdery gravel to sand, appearance
of "roots" of water on the walls if one continues to dig, increasing
heat, extinction of a match flame with intense production of
[825] smoke, etc. The belief is that the water is held back by a slab,
under which is found the habitat of snakes, themselves responsible
for the heat.

312 At the bottom of the hazardous well, on the flank of the
privileged rock, the streamlet of water wells up where and as it
wishes. No notion of levels that the profile of the ditch must
obey. The staking is done by gropings, with verification by the
spontaneous progress of the water -- whence the strict caprice of
312 the first line. Finally one has recourse to the outsider. The
648 consciousness of this mediocrity is such that, for any delicate
work, one appeals, at great expense, to the artisans of Marrakech,
whose corporate body is recruited from the other side of the Atlas,

1. Such would thus be the origin of the appellation Tizi Umachcho, related to the characteristic hue of the Permo-Trias.

/149 cont./

312 in the Todgha and the oases. In the matter of hydraulics, as per-
[648] haps for certain architectural forms, the Haouz and the Sous are tributaries of the h'arrat'in /Haratin/. Obviously, the ingenuity of the montagnards is concentrated on the adduction and the dis-
[191] tribution rather than on the creation of the water. I well know that this "creation" poses difficult problems, where European agronomy and its "rural genius" have lost in the art of empirical utilization and above all of collective organization what they gained in the domain of the kilowatt. The present analysis, being interested in gauging as far as possible to their exact level the different parts of an economic system, must emphasize successes and imperfections in it. The native hydraulics of the mountains, like that of the piedmont, is more an art of planes and surfaces than of the depths that the men of the oases readily reach.

/150/ Use of the Water

Here we are at the stage where the water, whatever its origin may be, is concentrated in the reservoir in order to distribute it to a given point. It leaves by a channel, which serves one or several "quarters," tamazirt /Fig. 7 appears here/ or tighmert, each being connected to it by its particular "intake," açder or ighin. The latter feeds a supply ditch, which, by secondary intakes, feeds other ditches. These ditches are called "for distribution" or "discharging," depending on whether they open, directly or not, on the planches to be irrigated. These are the asaru, plur. isura. In fact, a whole liquid arborescence ramifies out from the big channel, connected to a reservoir, down to the last grooves. There, /151/ "ados" /sheltered beds/, abadu, plur. ibuda, finally determine the little quadrilateral of level, irrigable by submersion, the "planche," uz'un.

Naturally, the distribution of water among rightful claimants calls for an endless fractioning. It almost always works according
[804] to a rhythm in time. The cycle is of variable fullness according to the groups: week, ten or fifteen days. Thus it includes a certain number of basic units often called tiferday (sing. taferdit).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 211]

/From p. 150 of the original source./

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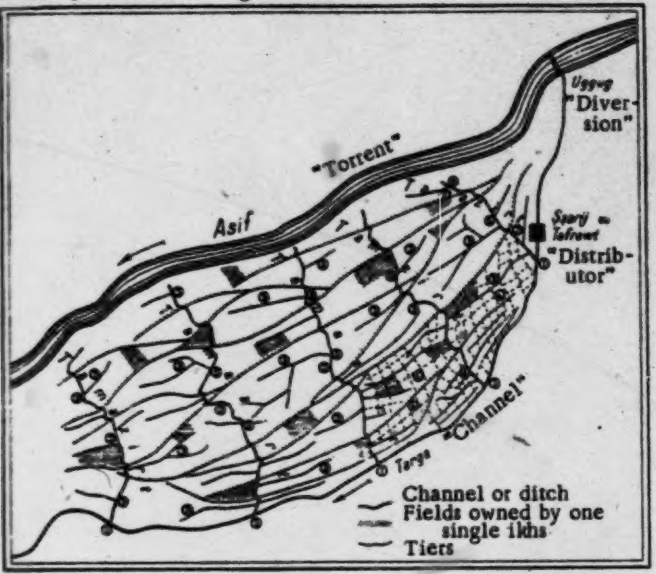
"Diver-
sion"
"Torrent"
Asif
"Distrib-
utor"
"Channel"
Targa
Channel or ditch
Fields owned by one single ikhs
Tiers

Fig. 7. -- Schema of the irrigation of a valley ground.

The "channel," targa, leaves from the ççarij, or chcharij, "distributor." It is divided into "distribution ditches," asaru, 2, plur. isura, which leave from "principal intakes," açder, plur. içdar or içdran, or further ighin, plur. ighaniwin, 1. On these ditches function small earthen sluices, taghamut, 5, plur. tighuma, opening on the "discharging ditches," isura, 3. Irrigation planches, tisirit, tisaratin, are themselves divided into a last agrarian subdivision, the "irrigation square," uzun, plur. uzunen, 4.

/151 cont./

312 "the entire day" or "the half day," distributed in "parts," tawala,
804 plur. tiwaliwin. For each tawala there is a multitude of rightful claimants, each of whom only benefits from a fraction or subfraction. The estimation of it is done sometimes with the aid of instruments such as a kind of clepsydra, called tat't'açt, or further by gauging in the reservoir.

But how does this water, distributed in so sagacious a fashion, act once it has come to the echelon of utilization? There again, an abrupt lag in the technique. At the end one finds no more than the procedure of submersion. Its letters of African authen-
[171] ticity are moreover immemorial, since it is the same method that the peasants of the Nile practiced until a recent epoch (1).

1. J. Brunhes, L'irrigation dans la péninsule ibérique et dans l'Afrique du Nord /Irrigation in the Iberian Peninsula and in North Africa/, 1903, p. 210, citing various works. See especially Descriptions de l'Egypte, 1824, t. XVII, pp. 10 sq., and the recent book by Muh'ammad Fahîm, Uçûl az-zirā^{c}a, al-Qāhira, 1952, pp. 37 sq. The manual of Rivière and Lecq, Traité pratique d'agriculture pour le N. d'Afrique /Practical treatise on agriculture for North Africa/, 1928, t. I, p. 185 sq., comments on the harmful effects of poorly managed irrigation, the exact modules needed by each crop (p. 193).

312 The long saturation of the soil and of the plant by water is judged
241 here to be the only efficient method. Preliminary to the tillage one practices a first inundation: this is the adunkal. Then a second one, intended to "break up the clods": this is the tirz'i wut't'ib. Then others "for soaking," isswi. Near the plain, the
[184] a. Ābdella practice three of them for barley, which conforms to
[243] the data of our experimental agronomy of the South. But higher, the a. Ih'sen and especially the Idma multiply them as often as possible: up to 10 or even 12 times. Perhaps because the

/151 cont./
312 241 fractioning of the module is pushed farther among them, a matter difficult to verify outside of a specialized investigation. But more probably because of a belief in the virtues of the water. The faith in this panacea, acquired with difficulty, wonderfully distributed, is so ardent that in widespread beds, as in a. Lh'sen or Sekrat, on a ground of pebbles and gravel, a sort of forcing-house of plants under permanent inundation is customary: that applies to edible flax, to meadows /152/ for mowing, and sometimes to barley (1).

1. Already observed by E. Doutté in Gund'afa, En tribu /In the tribe/, 1914, pp. 102 sq. Cf. also J. Dresch, op. laud., on the Toubkal, p. 59.

[243] Veritable cereal-cultivation in the manner of rice. The procedure is called tanuri. But an excess of water entails many unfortunate consequences, for the soil that it breaks up and for the plant that it etiolates. It is true that with the perspective of scarcity, felt even in these mountains, and which explains to a certain extent why every watering should be feast and revel, and delights in excess, a competitive economy incites each assign to dispose, to the depth and to the end, of his portion when it falls to him. It is drunkenness following thirst.

312 Such irrigation, sometimes wasteful, sometimes insufficient, imposes harassing tactics because of its uncertainty. It also contributes to forging the energy of these societies. But, bereft of deep installations, tied to the risks of a storm, accidental in its matter, it remains a technique of expedients. Its risky nature, which an excess of distribution is not able to palliate, but only aggravates, limits its creative value. It is inspired by a magnificent social equity. But it relies more on guile than basic treatments. It makes satiety and privation alternate. It reduces the yield of its very assets and demoralizes a gigantic expenditure of collective will and efficiency.

To this precariousness, now triumphant and satiated in times of abundance, now suffering in times of drought, a fatal blow can

/152 cont./

312 be delivered by penury or by the affluence of lands. The first dries up the ditches, effaces the tiers, leaves only relics in place: ruins inhabited by demons, black and contorted trunks of former plantings, thus in the former domain of the a. Gasa. But affluence inflicts the same disasters (2).

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241
2. When we are better equipped to investigate the subjective notions that flow from these features of the economy, one will perhaps be led to analyze the particular idea that this society has of the "measure" /see p. 22/: it is the life of the horticulturalist on tiers when he escapes the inconveniences as well as the gains of oppression. Another important notion in this order of ideas: the publicity of the field, exposed to the eyes of the commune, but which must not excite envy or the "evil eye." Whence, in certain respects, the disposition of the ground.

241 That is the way that the acquisition of arable lands in the plain,
178 an infinitely more profitable formula, and perhaps also responding to a montagnard atavism, has noticeably had effects on the slopes that surround Z'init'. This decadence responded, at the same time as to the opening of new possibilities in the plain, to that of the place of asylum, where formerly numerous refugee families had to brave an indefinite siege. Everywhere, today, the benches have fallen away on the walls. The notches that were formerly seen very high on the flanks /153/ of the Tamjlocht and of the Mzawt barely pick up the vertical noon shadow.

The historical factor, the psychological factor clearly stand out from this privileged example. But other causes, less tied to the event, are also at work. The deforestation, for example, the ruining of the soil. A striking contrast between the principal valley and those of Taddert and of the a. Lh'sen, which encase it on the W. and on the E. For reasons difficult to discern, the compost of the slopes here have resisted better than there. It remains

/153 cont./

241 178 covered with small bushy growth and fodder plants that have disappeared elsewhere. The land has remained richer and does not affect from afar the glossy polish that shows among the trees of the Mzawt. The decadence of the soils and the ruin of the high fields are obvious in the principal valley. Upstream from Lalla Aziza, a cemetery of almond trees. Downstream, notably near Imt'ddan, visible abandonment of the fields in balconies, which climbed two-thirds of the way to the crest, and the plaques of albur on the elevated brows. A color of the soil, a different vegetation, characteristic "screens" still mark these places. One reads there the effects of a former deforestation, which doubtlessly had a definite cause. There doubtlessly was an accumulated play of natural and human factors to ruin this historic axis of the Seksawa. But beyond individual causes, there is a permanent one for it: the vulnerability of the system. Neither benches, barriers of pebbles and branches, nor ditches of earth withstand a moment of weakness or forgetfulness. The loss of the high pastures soon entails, by the rarefaction of the livestock, thus of fertilizer, the sterility of the soil. Internal discords immediately engender drought through the abandonment of the ditches. This system, skillful but posed rather than anchored on the soil of the ancestors, then submits to the ransom for its precariousness: it dies without even leaving great traces. This horticulture exists only as an exception. Lodged in an eternal cadre that makes one see permanence where there is only ingenuity, it is slave at the same time as ruler of man.

A Distributor Genius

312 Collection; irrigation: between the two, a phase of purely social emphasis, that of the distribution. And all the more essential because the milieu reveals on this occasion a dazzling, an exorbitant virtuosity. One distinguishes at least three styles.

312 613 423 The first method, the one most bound to the montagnard closeness, is that of the gentilitial distribution. Disregarding the losses by infiltration, escape, evaporation, it leads the water to all the fields /154/ of one ikhs, even if they are far from one another. And as a general rule they are. It thus passes over the

/*154 cont.*/

312 vast intermediate areas that separate them. It is discontinuous in
613 space. It makes the turn of each of the *ikhs*-s alternate in time
423 and makes it come again according to a periodicity peculiar to
each group. This rhythm is naturally a function of the abundance of the debit expected, of the number of the *ikhs*, and of local preferences for such and such a series.

/The following listing is in small type in the original source./ 1st. The last village downstream to apply this system is Tuz'z'umt. At Tuz'z'umt, in fact, and for that of at least two séguias peculiar to it (the Targa n-Z'alt, from Agawz), the distribution operates in 12 turns of one day each (from *^{c}açr* to *^{c}açr*), allotted among the *ikhs*-s. The other séguia, the gigantic Talh'archt, common to all the a. Âbdella, obeys other principles. But from Tuz'z'umt upstream, the gentilitial distribution prevails.

And here are some striking examples, borrowed from the Haut Seksawa.

2nd. In Iguntar there are 9 séguias. That is to say, from upstream to downstream:

t. n-yattuyn, t. n-bu teghradin, t. uzeddar, t. n-ddutgumma, t. ugerd ugadir, t. n-a. Mh'nd u Mh'nd, t. n-tghula, t. u-wrti n-H'chmad, t. n-tawart.

525 The irrigation turn is decided by "drawing lots," *s-tekch-*
634 *chut't'*, in the presence of the whole *jemâa*, among the members
representing each of the *ikhs*-s. This drawing takes place each year. The length of the turns is proportional to a surface evaluated in lengths of reeds, and whose computation is periodically readjusted. An old document -- such at least is its appearance and the inference that its content authorizes, for it is not dated -- mentions probably the last of these computations. The merry-making that followed cost about 50 reals advanced by notables. The division, which still prevails at present, of the water roster into 12 days, accruing unequally to each of the *ikhs*-s, is fixed very precisely in the document.

But the properties of each of the benefiting *ikhs*-s are entangled with those of the others. No correspondence between the topography and the rhythm of distribution.

/154 cont./

312 In fact: except for the a. Naçr, who have their lands
613 grouped in the immediate surroundings of the village of Tagenza,
423 the 4 other *ikhs*-s are all represented in each of the quarters, but it seems without any definite part where the "parcels" under their jurisdictions are grouped. The entanglement seems to be greater and greater from upstream to downstream. In all the "quarters," except for what concerns the a. Naçr, only two do not group the integrality of the *ikhs*-s: Tamayust and Talɛint u-wdi. All the others contain a whole sampling of *ikhs*-s.

3rd. At Fensu there are 10 séguias. Some come from the high valley of the asif Uziwal, others from the direction of Tasa. This abundance of water makes the portion a day and a night. Eleven turns, including that of the mosque. These turns fall to the *ikhs*-s, which divide /155/ the water among the foyers in proportion to the surfaces. At the top echelon, which is that of the distribution of turns among *ikhs*-s, the topography does not count for anything, each *ikhs* irrigating in turn its lands scattered over several quarters.

4th. At Tasa, three séguias and two orders of distribution. The one bears on the Imengad' and Anngar séguias, the other on the Ti-n-wammam. Here are each of these two orders:

1) a. Ggahi, a. Badis, a. Mh'nd u Mençur, a. Khald, a. H'ddan, a. Skurin, a. Yah'ya, a. Ch'ɛib, Izzuhra, a. Mazuz. Plus a turn called ass i-ymengad', privilege, moreover transferred, of the one that regulates the source.

2) a. Badis, a. Mazuz, a. Sɛid, a. Lh'sen, a. Chɛib, a. Izzuhra, a. Berka. Plus Aternaggo (individual privilege).

The irrigation rotates by *ikhs*-s, but within them it is adjusted according to surfaces and gives way when necessary to a drawing by lot, according to the general procedure.

A second method is called *taghamut s-tghamut*, "sluice by sluice." Without concern for appurtenance to the *ikhs*, it irrigates by large pieces that are continuous and contiguous to such and such a sluice. The order observed among them is from upstream to downstream. It is a form of decadence, of rupture. It may be due to either a particular abundance of water, rendering useless

/155 cont./

312 423 [613] the rotation by ikhs-s (explanation given at Lalla Aziza, where this method has functioned for several years), or to an excess of litigations and privative claims, or even to the gigantism of the system.

/The following four paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ The second motive operated in 1949 in the village [627] of Ad'erd'ur, which, in order to cut short a threatening dispute, distributed the water of the Tzemzgart. For the whole ensemble of the network of the Amerdul, a claim of this sort: it has not yet won. The order of the ancestors still holds good here.

The third motive results from the case of the a. Lh'sen.

These conquerors of one of the affluents of the middle valley have preserved a vitality which, by a nice correspondence, is also connected to the relative conservation of their soil, to the consistency of the timbering on the sides, and to the abundance of water. They have 14 séguias, beyond the one that Wanz'id', the highest of their villages, draws from a source peculiar to it. Despite the lengthwise stretch of this whole system, the basis for the [613] distribution is not topographical. Being a matter of an important grouping, the ikhs-s here are grouped into two subgroups, ait Mençur and ait Ddaud, each of the two having each year, alternating with the other one, the privilege of starting. Within the two subgroups, it is the "sluice by sluice" system that functions. The lands of each of the two are entangled the whole length of the valley, from Buteghradin up to Tabratjut, to the confines of the a. Abdella. But this gentilitial system works only on the first four days of the week (starting from Sunday, a day reputed to be favorable in /156/ this taqbilt). The rest of the week, definite portions of the valley receive water: three of them are distinguished. Finally, the distant Tabratjut possesses, with other villages upstream, a special séguia, departing from the place called Ukhriben.

In sum, here there is a combination of the gentilitial system and of the system based on the continuity of several great soles /Fr. sole, in agriculture: expanse of arable land intended for a certain crop in the annual rotation/. The irrigation calendar, which one has tried to represent below, will give an idea of the complexity and at the same time the harmony of the system.

/156 cont./

Beneficiary of the turn for irrigation	Day of the week						
	S.	M.	T.	W.	T.	F.	S.
1) ait Ddaud.	For the morning	Up to the fǧr					
2) ait Mençur.		From the fǧr	All day				
N.B. There is an annual rotation between these two subgroups.							
3) Section of the valley between Bukhemsin and Zzit u Bachtut.				From the fǧr	All day	Up to the morning	
4) Section of the valley between Amelwan and Urti n-Sʕīd below.						All day	
5) Lands served by the Targa Wukhriben.							All day
6) Lands served by the Targa Wukhriben.					x	x	x
Tabratjut.	x	x					
Awinas, Agadir.			x	x			

/156 cont./

312 423 624 A third method subordinates the irrigation to the evaluation of the amazzal, who judges in a discretionary manner the need that the crops feel for it. In a society of so contentious a spirit, one is surprised that such a method is possible and does not unleash inextinguishable litigations. There is none of that: there one is on a plane of rural order, prejuridical in a way.

[178] /157/ /The rest of this section is in small type in the original source./ It is according to this third procedure that the Talh'archt séguia, of the a. Ăbdella, was traditionally administered until an administrative reorganization intervened only a few years ago. [173] The amazzal was chosen in the old family of the a. Lᶜanayt of Ilutjan, whose members still today occupy, on the knoll of Tigudar Ijjawn, facing the n-Lmakhzen agadir, places that tradition always connects with a "Caid ᶜAbdallah Sseksiwi," doubtless the king of the fourteenth century. These legendary persistences give an idea of the foundations of such a rural order and what forms its solidity.

[178] Indeed, the organization observed in a. Ăbdella is undoubtedly not a form of decadence. But rather, just as in a. Lh'sen, a form of amplification. These two taqbilt-s have surpassed the cantonal echelon. Consequently another rhythm governs them.

The Order of Irrigation As Document

312 423 178 [613] Moreover, where there is decadence, all the signs do not occur simultaneously any more than they affect in equal fashion the different orders of phenomena. In a. Ăbdella, despite the mobility of the landed life, the disaggregation of the milieu, and the absence of a water roster, a certain distribution of the ground among ikhs-s is still decipherable. As a general rule, however, the gentilitial rhythm of irrigation still exists, when the play of factors of change has distorted the order of the patrimonies. Nearly everywhere the turn for water reveals an old order.

This discordance between the evolution of landed property and the unchangeable cadre of the hydraulics, itself linked to the

/157 cont./

312 423 178 structure of the milieu, and to a certain scansion of the times, is of keen documentary interest. It perhaps reveals a former stage of this montagnard culture and permits discovering, beneath the individual variety that female inheritances and mutations have amassed, triumphing over many obstacles, the authentic rudiments. Secondly, it acts in itself as a conservative brake. The water is by no means "attached to the land," as our books claim. But the land and the water, correlatively, are attached to the group. One who sells or lets alienates a part of the collective personality, which is serious. In addition, the evasion of the right for water out of the turn of the ikhs, the intrusion of a third party in the roll of "sons of the uncle" cause a perturbation that the collective organism will try to eliminate. In fact, these mechanisms imply delicate connections between all the elements of an agrarian order. If one of them happens to be missing? It is a cause of conflict and failure in these operations of great style that the maintenance of the ditches, the repair of the sluices, the pulsation of the precious fluid according to an impeccable /158/ time switch constitute. Any lag between the gentilitial appurtenance and the tenure of the soil thus arouses reactions that tend toward the eviction, peaceful or not, of the foreign body. Firm or resolutory sales, inheritance by the women meet the opposition of new conservative mechanisms. In this sense one can say that the system of water distribution is a veritable legitimacy machine.

When the forces of mutation sweep it away, whether by their own action or by the decadence of the community or simply its technical resignation before too much complexity, the old mold shatters. The turns for water will henceforth be based on something else: the estimation of experts or topographical continuity. At the end of this evolution, the portion of water, attached to a certain landed property, would flit from hand to hand according to [425] the uncertainties of individual transactions. Even worse, completely detached, it would itself form the object of sales and loans, of pledges or speculation: these last two stages do not appear 312 423 171 among the Seksawa any more than in the neighboring groups. For stronger reasons one does not observe there the supreme stage that

/158 cont./

312 is constituted by the auction of water, of which Brunhes has given,
423 for the Valencian Elche, so strong a description (1).
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1. Op. laud., p. 98. Other examples cited by Joaquin Costa and others, Derecho consuetudinario y economia popular de España /Consuetudinary law and popular economy of Spain/, Barcelona, 1902, t. II: the water market at Alicante, pp. 135 sq. The hila also bears the name of dula, evidently Arabic: dawla = Chl. /Shluh/ tawala. For Spain itself, perhaps it would be interesting to compare the strange measure of irrigation called hila or hilo with what our Mezʻudʻa call lme ref and the a. Ābdella lmçerf. The first give it a precise definition: it is "module of irrigation whose full use can be assured by the unit of habitual agricultural work," to wit, the work of one man in two days or of two men in one day.

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182 On the contrary, what is striking in the Atlas is a prodigious organization. A discordance is even manifest between the social rhythms almost perfect, or postulating perfection, which preside over the division, and the mediocrity of the material, such as the tools. The nice equilibrium, the consummate science of the distribution contrast with the precariousness of this whole hydraulic system. The disproportion between the social constructions and the material techniques bursts forth. It surprises all the more the "European" or the "modern," whose analysis generally overlooks
312 the meticulous harmony of the former. Thus the prestigious work
114 by Brunhes nowhere discloses, in the section that he devotes to the Maghreb, collective modalities in the administration of the water (2).

2. Op. laud., pp. 73, 251. Is it not significant that, inversely to the preoccupations of the

/158 cont./

312 114 /footnote 2 continued/ French geographer. Joaquin Costa, Colectivismo agrario en /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ España /Agrarian collectivism in Spain/, Madrid, 1915, should give a large place to the community traits (pp. 532 sq.)? Independently of the tendencies of the work, the atmosphere of the institution seems to be rendered better in the Spanish descriptions.

On the plane of techniques themselves, it has missed an /159/ important problem, that of the utilization of accidental water. It seems that one would find in the Maghreb, in the conservatories such as the Atlas or the oases, the explanation of forms applicable to the whole Mediterranean basin, and notably to the single European sector where they have kept some fullness: this Spain which, in that, has shown itself to be obstinately faithful to the heritage of the Mussulman Occident.

121 182 In the part of Morocco studied here, is the disproportion between the social edifice and its material substrate a trait of origin or of decadence? Does this contrast between so perfect an organization (1)

[657] 121 182 114 1. Whence the inextricable difficulty of the litigations for the division of the water in the regime of European administration. Examples abound, which will not be cited. To keep us on the scientific plane, the best description that we have found and which moreover alludes to a neighboring sector, that of the Idaw Mh'mud, is given in an unpublished work (Arch. d'Imintanout) by Lieut. Oqbani on La législation de l'eau dans les tribus d'Argana /Water legislation in the Argana tribes/: attentive observation, describing curious procedures of drawing lots, but only at the stage of the result; the author seems to have missed

/159 cont./

121 /footnote 1 continued/ completely any refer-
182 ence to organization by ikhs. For the Algerian
114 S., I found valuable notes in D. Moulias,
[171] L'eau dans les oasis sahariennes (organisation hydraulique, régime juridique) /Water in the Saharan oases (hydraulic organization, juridical regime)/, 1927, where one will note suggestive details on the unending conflicts -- conflicts of the blind and the deaf -- between a legalist regulation and the customary reality in the Algerian S. in the course of the nineteenth century.

121 and a total module which, for the Seksawa, does not appear to
182 exceed 250 ls. for several hundred kilometers of ségula and some twelve thousand inhabitants point to authenticity or, on the contrary, indicate the effects of history?

Modes and Manurings

241 Tillage differs from the bottom to the top of the mountains
184 and by tools and by modes.

241 First, by the tools. The hoe, agelzim, plays an increasing-
412 ly larger role from downstream to upstream. Its domain is
184 horticulture, the intercalary modes, and in that case parcels too exiguous to permit the evolutions of the swing plow. At Bul^{c}wân, it intervenes only as an instrument of finicky work on the edges, or else in places where the plow, coming and going, is obliged to leave certain corners in order to turn. In a. Mh'nd, on the contrary, it is the required complement of the plow, so that the tillage is usually done by two together, one holding the stilt, the other the tool in hand.

241 In Bas /Lower/ Seksawa, the classic harnessing of two beasts,
407 zzuja, is used. But in the montagnard domain, there is no more
492 than one beast, /160/ lferd. Yet it is always the man who plows,
184 and never the woman, as is done in the far Sous. A statistical sample gives for each of these two forms of harnessing, zzuja
[462]

/160 cont./

241 and lferd, the following distribution:

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	a. Abdella	a. Lh'sen	a. Musa	Iml'ddan	Idma	a. Mh'nd	a. H'adduywe	I. Geryun	Total
Two-beast plow	287	76	58						421
One-beast plow...		273	12	63	293	57	145	141	984
Totals	287	349	70	63	293	57	145	141	1,405

The distribution is regulated according to the line of the slope. Upstream, only the lferd is known. Downstream, only the zzuja, which is logical and expected. For the intermediate taqbilt-s, let us go into more detail:

	zzuja	*lferd*	
a. Lh'sen :			
Tabratjut	11	13	
Tamesdakht	5	8	
Awinas	10	1	
Agadir	6	3	
Ighilan	9	11	
Buteghradin	2	22	
Iwulla	2	30	
Wanz'id'	3	28	
That is	48	116	for the a. Lh'sen properly speaking.
Iguntar :			
Tagenza	8	22	
Tanammert	1	5	
That is.............	9	27	for this vassal taqbilt.
Ibuban :			
Talburt...............	2	20	
Amasin		18	
Timskert		16	
Tugg Lkhir		12	
That is	2	66	for this other vassal taqbilt.
Sekrat :			
Amsgerdat		26	
Fumazir	5	10	
Tageddut	4	8	
Tigumma n-Skrat	8	20	
That is	17	64	for this other vassal taqbilt.
a. Musa	58	12	

241 407 492 184 /161/ The limit of these two types, or rather their fringe of interference, can be clearly figured by a line that would follow from E. to W. the small plain of Tabratjut, downstream from Z'init', and the valley of the asif n-a. Lh'sen. This symmetry is all the more remarkable because it does not correspond either to a difference of agricultural richness or to a change in the availability of surface. For example, it is certain that the affluence of soil is indeed greater in a. Mh'nd than in Iguntar: but the latter has zzuja-s. It is thus a matter of something other than the simple play of physical conditions.

241 192 184 This impression is confirmed by the fact that this threshold of tools is duplicated by a technical and lexicographical threshold. In the mountains, the word tirit or tisirit designates the planche of irrigation, edged with borders, smoothed, prepared for the water. In a. Abdella, the same word designates the initial "marquage" /marking/ of the fallow land (1)
241 before sowing. The common practice is in fact that of immediate sowing before plowing. From that one understands the sense of this checkerwork, or rather of this carving in parallel lines, the whole of which affects the form of a grill and which one sees dividing the work fields in autumn. A demarcation for the casting of seeds, a discrimination perhaps between zones where the density of the grain will be more or less forced -- and one knows that in Moroccan agriculture these variations can go from the simple to the double, depending on qualifications of the soil most often obscure to our agronomy -- all of that is understood: it is as well a technique that is conscious and defined completely by the fellah. But, in the Gharb, where the glib, "first plowing," most often precedes the sowing, and where the direct cast, ᶜala ujeh, is practiced only on the sole of sorghum, bernicha, the preliminary technique of the marking also exists. In this way small squares or

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1. Summary bibliography of this obscure notion in J. Berque, "Un glossaire notarial arabo-chleuh du Deren (XVIII^{e} siècle)." R. afr., 1950, p. 372, n. 11.

/*161 cont.*/

241 *mt'fra*-s are brought about, whose explanation is absolutely not perceived by the peasant.

The requirements of the circulation of water, this whole art of planes, declivities, furrows, develop the agricultural modes for the irrigated. For the dry, on the contrary, they are limited, as everywhere in the rest of Morocco, to a scratching for burying in the ground, well adapted moreover to the nature of many of these fields. Nevertheless, one practices the loosening of the [171] compost by dressing, *ttkerbil* or *ttneqqich*, around the olive trees, but without using a special tool, as is done in Tunisia and even in the Aurés.

242 The imperfection of the system is manifested in particular by the rusticity /*162*/ of the rotation of crops (1).

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1. Let us compare it, for example, with Roussillon, M. Sorre, *Pyrénées méditerranéennes*, 1913, p. 304; with Andorra, Brutails, *Étude sur la condition des populations rurales du Roussillon au Moyen Age* /Study on the condition of the rural populations of Roussillon in the Middle Ages/, 1891, pp. 5 sq.; the Valencian huerta /irrigated region/ and the instructive rose of cultivations figured by Brunhes, *op. laud.*, pp. 56, 65, 66; J. Caro Baroja, *Pueblos de España* /Pueblos of Spain/, Barcelona, 1946, pp. 401, 423 sq. (interesting bibliography on irrigation).

242 Even the name of what might correspond to it among the advanced agriculturalists of the Gharb or of the Doukkala, the *bernicha*, is known by only a small minority. It is to be noted, however, that a piedmont *amghar* cites in this regard, but in Arabic, a disabused axiom: *lberninch ih'iyyed t'innich, t'innich ma idir lberninch*, "rotation would eliminate poverty: but poverty is incapable of putting it to work." The lack of available

/162 cont./

242 space excludes fallow land in the irrigated. But it is practiced in the dry, in a system of ample and loose rotation, being combined with clearing and burning. Adage: ad assiki ij'j'i, "fallow land" /Fr. jachère/, or rather, "untilled land /Fr. friche/ enriches."

Generally, two campaigns are combined in one. To the extent at least that water resources let one anticipate the success of a spring sowing, it is maize that follows barley on the same parcel. Or even the turnip, cultivated on a large scale. One can (171) only compare the mediocrity of this binary method with the crop rotations of five, six, or seven terms, where barley and maize are included with the green bean and tobacco, in similarly montagnard milieus, like the Mediterranean Pyrenees. One will see to what point the scale of crops is poor or has become impoverished in Seksawa. As for the blocking of two campaigns into one, it is supposed to proceed from the exiguity of available land. Far better, one draws from it glory, and system. Nothing is as good, one says, as "maize under sheaf," asengar n-ddu tadla, that is, that sown even before the removal of the loose sheaves. It is true that one thinks that fertilizer will mend everything. Two larger sectors, such as Agersili and a. Mh'nd, hardly practice a movement by biennial soles. But the problem is doubtless not reduced to that of usable space. In the approaches to the plain, at Bulᶜwân, for example, there is similarly a superposition of maize on barley, without the excuse of the exiguity. The rotation practiced at Agersili and in a. Mh'nd, and only there, seems to respond to an ensemble of conditions, among them a character of plenitude and of integrity of the montagnard system, rather than to an agronomic conception.

241 However that may be, the exhaustion resulting from this exploitation without respite is combated by the fertilizer. Manure and water are the two /163/ great remedies, object of a passionate care, of an attention without relaxation, and of an administration without measure. One deems that will remedy all the misfortunes of the milieu, aggravated by the defects of the method. Universal expedients. The fertilizing of the soil in Seksawa is a rational practice, and the advantage that results from it evaluated in terms

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/163 cont./
241 of mercantile economy. The case is all the more striking be-
441 cause, in the old rural order, a number of things are removed
237 from commerce: milk, for example, which is never sold, and
straw, which is carelessly left on the fields. But the animal ma-
[675] nure not only forms the tacit counterpart of the pacts of trans-
humance or of common pasturage, but can even give rise to
ciphered dealings.

[692] These particularities appear in full light in an arbitral de-
cision of the fqih Belwâh', of the Bas /Lower/ Demsira, a magis-
trate whose montagnard appurtenances (he was born in the wild
valley of the a. Mh'nd u Musa, which the Bwibaun separates
from our a. Lh'sen) render very revealing judgments of the view
of a milieu intent on compromising between the law and the an-
cestral custom.

691 It is a matter of litigation between a sâkin, "a precarious
692 resident," and the master of the house, who suddenly asks him
237 for a rent of equivalence. The other one retorts by demanding
427 the price of the manure of his beasts. The fqih, by dint of cita-
tions from ^{c}Amal, came to establish that the first demand was
unjustified, and the second one justified. He knowingly refers to
the rural custom, which does not recognize rents for this kind of
installation: without doubt (and although this is unavowed) be-
cause such pacts depend upon the clientele and thus contain a
deep antinomy with the contractual law. On the other hand, it
is not at all the same for animal manure: this is a commodity,
which comes to the owner of the animals and, on the other hand,
cannot enter in as a gracious counterpart of hospitality.

237 Such a case in point gives a measure of the importance that
241 fertilizer assumes in this system. The great suppleness, if I may
[191] venture to say it, of the European peasant economy, to wit, the
correlation between livestock breeding and cultivation, is thus
found again here, evident and calculable. The accumulation of
[342] the manure in the stable, agrur, often arranged on the ground
floor of the house, its handling, and its being placed in piles be-
fore the tillage of autumn and spring, its dispersion on the field:
so many practices to which the high-valley cultivator devotes

/163 cont./
237 himself with ardor. Necessarily, they express inequalities of
241 means, for all do not have the same effective force of animals
for stud or in the stable. Consequently they diversify this agriculture.
[554] Much more than food or clothing, it is /164/ the fertilizing
of the land that indicates the social hierarchies here.

242 A beginning of a science of fertilizers is appearing among
237 the better peasants. They are familiar with the "manure hole"
or even collect vegetable waste and fecal matter in their *agrur*
and make a sort of compost out of them, in a propitious humidity.
They differentiate according to origin. The manure of ovines is
the "warmest": its effect lasts for three or four years; that of
bovines, they say, is "colder," is of value for only one campaign.
Some, shaping with a pickax the solidified layers, which sometimes
accumulate for several years, to form a carapace immensely
appreciated and which is called *afghyus*, add them up in superimposed
beds: between two layers of the manure of ovines are
spread layers of the manure of bovines and Equidae. This flaky
mass, this is already advanced agronomy. It is observed, among
others, in a. Mh'nd.

But why must it be that, as in the matter of water, the contribution
of the precious substance is compromised by the procedures
of use? This society is only familiar with manure long
exposed to the sun "in small piles," *s-tgud'iyin*, in quincunxes on
the field, and which remains there indefinitely to await the rain.
241 This belief in the virtues of insolation curiously reappears at the
237 time of harvest. The "loose sheaves," *imadaghen*, stay in the
fields for long weeks before being transported to the "threshing
[343] floor," *anrar*, plur. *inraren*. After which -- at least on the Dir
-- the straw will be transported anew and ensilaged in small huts
of dry stone, called *aqerbus* (1).

1. *Tagud'it*, "the small pile" of manure, is to be compared with the etymology given by G. S. Colin for *aqerbus*: Lat. *acervus*, "the pile." This parallelism in signification is not without interest.

/164 cont./

241 When there is an abundance of these curious silos on the plain,
237 punctuating the esplanade of stubble fields whose individual ap-
343 purtenances they mark, the ensemble from afar gives the im-
pression of a material spangled with press-studs. However that
may be, this going-and-coming is so uneconomical that one is
tempted to compare it, as to origins, with some rite of exposition
of the fruit on the soil or of appropriation by signs. It is cer-
tain, in fact, that the virtue of a manure subjected to such in-
solation is weakened. On this point the peasant of the Dir is
behind the one of the Géorgiques /Georgics/.

Livestock Breeding and Arboriculture

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824 At least he shares with him the belief in the perfect sponta-
neity of the tree. While he devotes a whole book to the vine, the
poet disposes of the olive tree in a few words: contra non ulla
/165/ est oleis cultura.... and he passes to the trees and wild
bushes furnishing berries and leaves. Similarly, let us remember
that the Seksawa are people of the forest. They do not conceive
of the cultivated tree as discontinuous with the tree of the tagant,
with which it is so often mixed. Common species make a transi-
tion between the one type and the other: for example, the carob,
with precious pods. To a lesser degree, the oak with the acorn,
which nourishes animal and man, and the modest and obliging
245 opuntia aknari. The forest, in a way, is the place where two
233 techniques, and two spirits, are joined: livestock breeding and
horticulture. And it is not because of a taste for paradox that the
present section was entitled with a binomial of terms that would
clash so much in the European conception. For the latter, in
fact, the animal is the enemy of the tree. Especially the goat.
We are not in the coastal zone where the argan tree sometimes
tolerates, and without perishing, the so amusing trimmings of
animals browzing on its foliage. But here even the ends of young
branches, the acorns, the juniper berries, fresh or preserved,

/165 cont./
245 offer a wealth of fodder for the flock. A veritable "aerial mead-
233 ow" (1).

(114) 1. The expression is Algerian: Rivière and Lecq, op. laud., t. I, p. 235. Cf. t. I, ibid., pp. 207 sq., and also t. II, pp. 13 sq., an excellent description of the wild forage-flora in North Africa.

It is true that this conjunction between livestock breeding and arboriculture yields immediately to vehement differences in style, going as far as contrast: but this contrast is precisely not of European type. In the Atlas, it is the livestock breeding that is knowing and careful, and the arboriculture offhand, and, as we might say, extensive.

233 The flock gives the impression of a profound adaptation to the country. The sturdiness of the goats, their agility in providing for their subsistence in the most difficult and poorest reliefs make them a redoubtable adversary of the forest. The bovines are small and sturdy. The ovines belong to the same stock as those of the Tubkal, of the Tidili, of the Sirwa: bare legs, head and shoulders relatively high above the feet, the aquiline profile on the ram.
[232] The percentage of black coats corresponds to systematic research on the part of the breeder: the beginning of selection. The latter, to tell the truth, most often operates backwards, the best-developed animals being precisely destined for slaughter. The fat lamb is in fact either a small deposit that is changed into money or the material of numerous family or social rites. Fiduciary economy or feasting thus comes here to limit the technique of the livestock breeder. That is, moreover, a general Maghrebi trait.

However that may be, the practice of sheltering, the ensilage of feed, the /166/ cultivation of fodder, the putting in defense endow the system with all the elements of a modern organization. The animal marvelously performs his role as the provider of meat, of substances to spin, and of fatty materials, tamudit, ultimately
000 coinciding with the product of the olive tree. Milk is never

234 [262] /166 cont./ Milk is never consumed directly; a prejudice, maintained by the women, is opposed to it, with the avowed goal of turning it all into butter. The preservation of this commodity, subjected to salting and melting, is indefinite; it is passed off as improving with age, just like wine. Certainly our pastoral societies extend these resources by a substantial gamut of cheeses which is not known here. A serious gap; it is hardly the case, in the course of the high pasturage, that the shepherds make more or less clandestinely, by adding to the milk the juice of the fig or that of certain plants, what they call tak^{w}mmart (1).

[171] 1. This is the same name that the Ahaggar dialect gives it. The Touareg /Tuareg/ know and utilize the hardened cheese, capable of being carried and pounded.

232 233 [171] The procedure is retarded, not only in relation to ours, of course, but even in relation to those of the Arab transhumants of North Africa or of the Touareg /Tuareg/. Besides, although it is not ignorant of a barbarous method of castration, native technique incurs criticism by its blind confidence in biological increase, subject to such terrible hazards. The goat, the sheep, and, to a much lesser degree, the bovine have assumed a monetary value, symbolic in a way, and their multiplication is not regulated according to either the possibilities of pasturage or the climatic incertitude. Another general trait in the Maghreb. [171]

These are serious weaknesses. But the coherence and the care outweigh this for the breeder, both in relation to the other divisions of his economy and in relation to the breeders of the plain.

245 Opposite to this, the precariousness of the tree.

Almond trees, olive trees, and walnut trees prosper or perish without the work that would be suitable for them. Naturally, they participate, like all other crops, in the preoccupation with water. One notices, for example, the almond trees having fallen to a zone higher than the irrigated, the care with which they are often placed against a supporting wall of dry stones in order to gather in

/166 cont./
245 the humidity that it collects. Almost constantly, a "basin,"
tanut, plur. tuna, is arranged at the foot of the olive trees: a
[312] concave angle, outlined by a little flow-trench, takes up the
descent of the impluvium, where the séguia water is not led by
gravity in turns.

But no choice of the varieties of almond trees: those that
scale the middle slopes, and testify moreover to a /167/ meritorious
hardiness, do not result from any selection. They are
[433] bastards made up of dozens of origins. Their yield is normally
tiny, even though occasionally the surprise of an abundant fructification
[426] bursts forth. The risk is enormous. It enters into the
calculations of the moneylenders. Sale while green, called
bay^c u-ssalam, at usurious rates, formerly drained the almond
near Mogador at the same time that it supplied the rich man of
the mountain with liquid money. Around the olive trees, the
"suckers," ayyawn (plur. of ayyaw), are carefully safeguarded.
They pass for a sign of vitality, just as an excess of foliage does:
they are compared to the beard of a man. Native aesthetics opts
not for the single and thick trunk, but for the thicket of shoots
[242] which finally develops at each base. Of course, neither grafting
nor pruning. The "oleander," tazemmurt, is left to its decorative
role, and, for us, a Mediterranean reminder, for the oleolentiscetum
of the botanists has almost completely disappeared; it exists
only in rare patches in the region of Imintanout. Diseases and
parasites ravage every planting. For everything, this rural society
-- quite significant poverty -- has only one word, the
bu-zegg^{w}agh, that is, "the red," and, of course, cannot help it.
The harvesting is a brutal beating, which abolishes hopes for the
following year. Whence a productivity generally biennial. As
for the walnut trees, the stripping of the roots in the search for the
sswak (cf. name of the walnut tree, tsswikt) and even premature
felling ravage the plantations. The resources of the orchard are
reduced to these three species. The rarity of the fig tree in
particular is noticeable. And despite the altitude, no apple trees
or cherry trees. Here and there, in the high mountains, some
[251] peach or apricot trees. They give rise to a fairly expert canning
industry, notably at Ikis.

/167 cont./

245 [178] industry, notably at Ikis. But one could think that the present monotony of species is a recent trait and that their variety was greater in former times. In any case, several indications of this exist in sectors which other traits permit one to consider as having safeguarded better an ancient originality: thus, the I. Geryun and Sekrat. In I. Geryun one finds in open space the shoots of ancient apple trees, lh'lu, and cherry trees, asemlal.

Thus a lively contrast sets the tree, which grows itself, in opposition to the field, which is made. Whence, in a society with rural, yet firm techniques, a relative and paradoxical disgrace of the arboriculture. The latter is entrusted to fate, whose steps, represented by the drought which shrivels the fruit, the fog which develops the parasites, the wind which makes the flowers fall, and the insect, which God alone knows, escape the action of man. Having reached /168/ such a degree of agricultural quietism, the montagnard will plant no more: for the olive tree, the suckers will take it upon themselves to grow; for the almond tree, it has proliferated once and for all beyond any possibility of maintenance. Generally, the effort of planting is a matter of the great ancestors. Thus with these beautiful squares of olive trees, which surround intercalary crops, as one sees at Taqennurt, in the same style as in all of the Moroccan South. Who planted all that? Mystery. Some speak of Andalous /Andalusia/ for the olive tree, just as any monumental ruin makes one think of the mythical Portuguese. The extreme case is that of the argan tree; to tell the truth, having taken refuge far to the W., it no longer affects our sector. But what a confirmation to what has just been said in the native legend, according to which this tree cannot be replanted! In contrast to the tree, the field, it, in its very material, this earth fashioned into tiers, requiring water and fertilizer, proceeds from a untiring desire. Tree given, field constructed.

423 245 [171] While for the Mediterranean peasant the tree is individual -- to the point that in Kabylie /Kabylia/ the ownership of a branch is divided among several -- here the usufruct includes an initial share of indivision, and there is a community harvest. Of course,

/*168 cont.*/

423 the tree is private property (our sector is not familiar with the col-
245 lective argan tree). But the "harvest," *azegg*^{w}*ay*, is collective.
Interesting organizations intervene at this time. If, on the
landed plane, the orchard is divided into individual lots, the
plantation coincides in general, and by great masses, with the
part of an *ikhs*. But dispersion among "quarters" would produce,
it is said, irremediable confusion at harvest time if the harvest
were not done by collective bans. What is the explanation worth?
Let us take several examples:

245 /The following paragraphs, up to the last one in this section,
476 are in small type in the original source./ In a. Musa, the har-
184 vest of almonds is done quarter by quarter, within limits for which
guardians, *imchchurd'a*, are responsible. The work is collective
[624] and echeloned. The almonds are put in a pile and then divided
"by basket," *s-taryalt*, in proportion to individual rights, after
the shares of the saints and the workers have been subtracted from
the pile.

[613] In Imt'ddan, tetrapolis where the initial equilibrium of the
ikhs-s is manifested by a nearly regular land-sampling on all the
grounds, the harvest of almonds, done in common, gives rise to
the laying of heaps of fruits (20, for example, for the almonds of
Tagunit), which are then divided by basket among the *ikhs*-s and,
within these, among those having rights.

In a. H'adduyws, except for recent trees, exploited individ-
ually, the whole orchard is harvested collectively and the fruit
divided by basket, after, if it takes place, the removal of a fifth
[624] for the work force. The *imchchurd'a* /*169*/ occasionally take
turns on watch, as at the outlet of the ravine of Ikis, and thus
have the harvest discipline respected.

In Haut Dwiran, the harvest is done by collective ban: one
"ties" the valley, *qqen*. Then one "releases" it, *rz'em*, zone by
[613] zone. The work is done "by echelonment," *s-warrabo*, among
the *ikhs*-s, whose name here is *arktun*, plur. *arktyun*. The prac-
tice is likewise applied to the gathering of carobs, which are
scattered on the ground in September, but no one is allowed to
gather them.

/169 cont./

245 476 829 These different notes led me to group, with a view toward a general inquiry, the agricultural experts of the Seksawa, and here, just as it is, is the note that I took down from them.

[624] "The orchard is divided into sectors, and no one has the right to start gathering or beating before the opening of each one of them, which is announced by the *imchchurd'a* of the village, or by the *jemâa*, according to the classic procedure of the ban.

[613] "The fruits are then gathered by all those having rights to them and placed 'in piles,' *s-igud'iwn*. The number of these piles is equal to that of the *ikhs*-s: 12 for Fensu, 6 for Tasselli, etc. Then they are divided by basket among the heads of 'foyers,' *takatin*. Recent and individual plantations, purchases or antichreses are excluded from this mode of collective harvest.

"On the third of January, 1949, this description was confirmed by an ensemble of Seksawa cultivators representing the different fractions. Only the term 'family,' 'relatives,' *aytma*, *tarwa n-âmmi*, *ulad el-âmm*, was used by my interlocutors, to the exclusion of the word *ikhs*. The Imt'ddan custom was declared general. The sheik ^{c}Omar noted the contradiction existing between this mode of exploitation of the trees and the one, entirely individualized, of the earth."

245 476 Thus nothing is missing from this note. Not even the analytical expression that those interested seek from it, or the surprise that it begins to cause for the most critical among them. In fact, contrasting with the individuation of the land law, the community technique of harvest can only surprise one. Sharp contrast with the Kabyle society. It is to be noted in fact that it is not just a matter of a harvest police ordering, as a security measure and in order to avoid marauding, simultaneity of action. Conventions of this sort [613] are observed at Moulay Indrîs of the Zerhoun. But here, individual distribution intervenes only on the echelon of the *ikhs* and ends at the collective pile of fruits. It is only a preamble, but a community one, and one cannot underestimate its value as indication or vestige. Even more than the gentilitial atmosphere in which it plunges, let us note the indivision of arboricultural techniques that it reveals. It ends up characterizing a system and a level.

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Crop Variety

241 Monotony in the cereal cultivation: barley and maize. Monotony in the arboriculture: almond trees, olive trees, and walnut trees. And monotony in the market gardening: turnips and carrots. Other crops may interest us: that of millet in the irrigated, by its residual character (1);

> [178] 1. On the replacement of millet by maize in the sixteenth century, cf. J. Berque, "Antiquités Seksawa," Hesp., 1953, pp. 405 sq. Cf. also M. Sorre, "Les céréales alimentaires du groupe des sorghos et des millets /The alimentary cereals of the group of the sorghums and the millets/," Ann. Géo., 1942, pp. 81 sq.; D. Faucher, Géographie agraire, 1949, p. 40, on the millets that are wild or have become such. One finds some in the S. of the Drâ (Salvy, "La crise du nomadisme dans le S. marocain /The crisis of nomadism in the Moroccan South/," in CHEAM, 1944). [412] With this very African crop of millet had to be associated a tool, the hoe. Cf. L. Febvre, La terre et l'évolution humaine /The earth and human evolution/, 1922, pp. 345 sq.; A. Leroi-Gourhan, Milieu et techniques, 1945, p. 125, on the prodigious adaptation of the forms of this tool to the societies that utilize it. Our milieu is familiar with several of them: achaqur, agelzim, etc.

that of the lentil in the dry, by its victual interest; that of alimentary flax, by its evocative archaism (2).

> 2. D. Faucher, Géographie agraire, 1949, p. 302.

/170 cont./

244 The ensemble appears nonetheless as a decline of a former state, which must have known a completely different variety. That is true not only of the fruit trees, but further and especially of what we call "vegetables." The valley of the a. Lh'sen, whose conservation and vitality are striking, keeps a whole gamut of these crops: eggplants, gourds, pepper, tomatoes. The present success [177] that the potato, recently introduced, finds there, as in Idma, is perhaps a sign that this variety is an authentic trait, merely better preserved there than elsewhere. A new phase of progress could bring it back. In any case there is a relationship between the crop variety and the vigor of the group. We perceive there, very much alive, a new trait of these correlations between space, techniques, and the social structure, the delicate firmness of which the populations of the Atlas make us understand.

244 242 Let us carry on the observation. Market gardening is not at all amenable here to the perspective of gardens. It is a large-scale cultivation whose value in rotation, in the formula turnip on barley, would be efficient if it were not borne on too-restricted areas. The distinction, for each of these crops, between an early kind and a late kind also contributes an element of interest. The eggplant and the tomato give rise to cautious sowings in general near habitations. Flat flagstones or interlacings of pink laurel protect the delicateness of the young sprouts from the beak of the hens and the danger of frosts. Some crops, like that of the gourd, present, according to cantons, instructive diversities. /171/ In the high cantons, it creeps among the stalks of maize. In Idma, it adorns the banks separating the benches. Lower, it grows in special squares. Mint, alone of all the plants of the valley, including fruit trees, knows grafting. It is crossed with the 244 "origanum," flayo. One would not know how to carry away an optimistic conclusion from only such details; they are in fact only details, or curiosities. The important fact is that this agriculture has become poorer in gamut without perfecting itself. The use of wild or subspontaneous species is no more than residual. The reduction in the number of cultivated species does not express, as in Europe, a selection of types, but a decline. Monotony reaches

/171 cont./

244 a summit, economically ruinous. As proof, the unfortunate cultivations of turnips and carrots. These roots tend toward gigantism and are as demanding of water as they are miserly in calories.

Everything happens as if the historic coil of a system formerly open to the outside had brought these populations to an agronomy without variety or invention (1).

1. On this notation of decline, J. Despois, Le Djebel Nefousa, 1935, pp. 270 sq.

That, if one wishes, is only a hypothesis. We venture it only for what it is worth. But many traits suggest it, and the attempt at critical judgment that one will bring to bear on the system will feel the effects of it.

Adaptation or Not?

121 The adaptation of a society to its natural milieu is "an old geographical dogma" (2).

2. A. Cholley, Géographia, October, 1951, p. 4.

Healthy, since it is progress over the too-ready disdain as well as over the suspect enthusiasms that, depending on the case, economies different from ours arouse. But also, a simplistic and distorting dogma (3).

3. All the effort of the French geographic school has been to show that the influence of the milieu should not be interpreted in terms of dry determinism and that the initiative of the social and its reaction on the physical milieu itself, as imperious as the conditions of the latter formerly appeared (cf. Vidal de La Blache, Principes de

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/footnote 1 continued/ victual cultivation. Other "archaic" Mediterranean traits might interest one in a comparison with our milieu: M. Sorre, Les Pyrénées méditerranéennes, the insufficience of hoed crops, being reduced to the bean in Ampurdan (p. 240), certain inadaptations (p. 205), etc.

To come back to North Africa, it is necessary to note a great difference between the formula of the Haut Atlas /High Atlas/ and that of the Kabylie /Kabylia/. The Kabyle has a kitchen garden: these thimizar, "close by the habitations" (Hanoteau and Letourneux, La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles, 1872 ed., t. I, p. 414, and also p. 422, where an interesting distinction from the "irrigated vegetable gardens," placed very far from the village, is introduced). Is the term tamazirt to be compared with "manure," amazir, and should it be translated strictly as "land likely to be manured"? This is what would be conveyed by the Arabic translation that the jurists of the Sous give for it, because of a pedantic pun, one might say: ad-dimna. However that may be, E. Laoust observes, Siwa, 1932, p. 274, that in the general sense of "country" the Berbère /Berber/ world is divided into two zones: tamart for the eastern and Zénète dialects of the N., tamazirt for the Çanhâja and Maçmûda.

182 nor does the profusion of rites lock them into a material inertia,
121 like certain black peoples. Then on what bases is one to judge
(171) their system? (2).

2. A consultation with the best agronomists convinces us that up to now this question has never been the object of theoretical developments, at least for North Africa. On a general plane, cf.

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/footnote 2 continued/ E. de Martonne, Traité de géographie physique /Treatise on physical geography/, t. III, 5th ed., 1932, Biogeography, pp. 1245 sq., and especially M. Cépède, Du prix de revient au produit net en agriculture /From the cost price to the net product in agriculture/, 1946, pp. 347 sq. "How to judge a system of cultivation?" The equation proposed evidently does not take into account the values attached subjectively by the milieu to such and such production. The phytosociological notion of climax thus has some vigorous moral components.

One will be reduced to comparing them with the data established by the observation of a single sector; their hierarchy in the native system itself will offer the least uncertain criteria. In the Maghrebi studies an abstraction of the interpretations and /173/ elaborations of the Maghrebi man has too often been made. It will have been a constant theme of our research to restore them 233 to their true place. And here they offer us a precious value judgment: their preference for livestock breeding.

These ancient sedentary ones, these patient villagers are above all shepherds (1).

[191] 1. In another montagnard milieu, although completely different, the French Alps, livestock has been "the very principle of Alpine life" (Arbos, cited by R. Blanchard, Les Alpes françaises, 1925, p. 50). Pastoral alternations have formed the oldest basis of the habitat (ibid., p. 90). Cf. in this sense J. Blache, L'homme et la montagne /Man and the mountain/, 1933, pp. 13 sq.

[433] The flock clothes, nourishes, heats the house, and, with its manure, remakes the soils. It occupies the major position in all this

/173 cont./

233 433 economy. Bearing in mind the hazards of fruit arboriculture and the mediocrity that blemishes the cereal yields, it is considered the major source of subsistence. Central in relation to the other elements of production, it is the one that, in its alternations of mountain pastures on the heights, stabling in the village, and distant transhumance, brings about the junction between the city of man and the space that surrounds it. In sum, it forms the unity of the countryside. Its synthesis value is felt, and one must not be surprised by the primacy of interest that tradition confers on it. Its excesses -- overtaxing the pastures and, finally, destruction of the land -- are never envisaged. Or rather, by the infinite agility of its effective forces, it appears as the most appropriate procedure for sponging the last resources from the soil. Even the devastations of hunger, cold, and sickness are considered as bringing about an automatic regulating. In other words, this society exploits to the last consequences what might be called an ecology of the domestic animal. In livestock breeding it finds
[182] a middle term between its tendency to the demographic maximum and the resistance of the milieu (2).

2. Cf. A. Sauvy, Théorie générale de la population /General theory of the population/, 1952, vol. I, chap. I, pp. 9 sq.; cf. also, on a more directly agricultural plane, the interesting reflections of M. Cépède, Du prix ..., pp. 246 sq., chap. on "L'homme et la nature /Man and nature/." According to him, the pastoral economy is "victime du concept d'infinité" /victim of the concept of infinity/, p. 258, that is, of the belief in an infinitely extensive resource for the movements of the flock. To the limit, "surpécoration" /pecora, plural of the Latin pecus, "cattle," figuratively means "stupid persons," hence the expression here can be taken as "excessive livestock" and "excessive stupidity"/, id., op. cit., p. 258.

/173 cont./

233 182 The flock expresses a living equilibrium between man and country. From which arises the fact that it is endowed with moral values, and probably ritual ones.

312 Secondly, the native techniques are concerned with irrigation. But there, as has been seen, they depend on collection rather than hydraulic creation. The energy and the shrewdness of the system for collecting the wild waters, directing them, and administering them fail and resign before any attempt tried in order to make new resources appear. It is not the lack of success in this /174/ difficult domain that should strike us here, but the relative inferiority that is revealed by it in relation to the art that the same people manifest in leading the precious liquid for some distance and according to tactics whose success astonishes us. This art of circulation carried to incredible lengths becomes no more than inertia and inconstancy in the creation.

245 As for the fruit tree (1), the native poorly succeeds in dissociating it from the forest. Certain species, which come by themselves, or are considered such, put one on the wrong scent. The general antiquity of the planting, the irregularity resulting from unnamed ailments or parasites, from the water, the wind, from chance, or from the favor of occult powers make arboriculture, at least in what concerns the walnut, almond, and especially the carob, a resource as little constructed as that of the forest. It is not the same for the olive tree, which here, as elsewhere on the Mediterrannean periphery, has its civic and almost moral value. But if one compares its techniques, the tools utilized, to what they are elsewhere, in the Tunisian Sahel, for example, the same impression of deficiency results for the Atlas.

[171] 1. Vidal, Principes ..., 1922, p. 83, sees an old Mediterranean idea in the primacy of shrubby cultivations. But he sees just as profoundly an even more archaic type in the arboriculture in the dry, which corresponds here to the almond tree, to the carob tree.

/174 cont./

233 241 182 Primacy of livestock breeding, arboriculture of gathering, irrigation that is a collection and administration rather than a hydraulic one: the important fact is the hierarchy according to which the system is conceived. It is remarkable that these archaic peasant societies, the most authentically sedentary of all the Maghreb, the most obstinately stuck to the soil, and in which we sometimes seek the vestige of what in other epochs could have been a rural life more widely master of the North African plains, are concerned above all with the flock and its periodic rhythms. This creator of soils, this subtle administrator of water, is a routine irrigator, mediocre cereal-cultivator, evasive arboriculturalist, an even worse market-gardener. By a kind of paradox, his technicality, which asserts itself fully in the difficult problems of the constitution of the soil and the distribution of the water, slackens in putting to work the resources thus released. It asserts itself, one might say, in inverse proportion to a logic of adding value.

121 171 [233] Can one try to explain this pastoral primacy? It is known that, lost in the darkness of time, even in the Europe of the *open field* /the words in italics are in English in the original source/, it is a phenomenon of this sort that would provide the explanation for rural structures still characteristic. In the case with which we /175/ are concerned is it then simple prehistoric survival? Such an explanation poses more problems than it resolves. We shall not stop there. Similarly, would the problem be advanced by invoking the existence of a montagnard character, to relate it to traits of the same genre observable in the Alps and Pyrenees? In this case, it is no longer by an excess of hypothesis, but by too much modesty that the answer would be deficient. An explanation more appropriate for the milieu studied would attribute the contrasts of this peasantry to its hesitation between Mediterranean traits, preserved by the altitude, and African desert influences which press in on it from all sides (1).

1. Another "Berbère" /Berber/ montagnard milieu, that of the Ahaggar, likewise

/175 cont./

121 171 /footnote 1 continued/ accumulates Mediterranean traits at high altitudes, and frankly tropical traits lower. This dissociation of the plant milieu obviously implies a difficult and divided economy, and postulates the historical event.

Although the effort of the men has constantly conspired with the first of the two terms, the second is revealed perhaps by some of the traits that surprise the observer. As one sees, we are excluding, as even more hypothetical, the objections that the agronomy of the manuals might inspire. There is nothing more arbitrary -- or premature -- than to try to evaluate, in a milieu as little deciphered by modern experimentation, the yield of
243 such-and-such a practice. The so-striking paradox of these lands sown with barley or maize in irrigated tiers -- a cereal cultivation in flower pots -- is doubtlessly explained by history. It is a trait of geographical repression. And, besides, barley is the least demanding of the large-scale cereals, not only in module of water, but in the annual distribution of this module. Its choice, sup-
[242] posing it deliberate, would have nothing irrational in it. Barley has the shortest cycle, which agrees very well with the necessity, imposed by the lack of space, to force two campaigns into one on the same soil. Finally, the deficit in barley, that is, in "bread," is the fright that everyone tries to avert more or less, without ever
[182] succeeding completely. The love of cereals is thus not only alimentary foresight. It is also a social precaution, tool of equality.

182 171 Unfortunately, the vulnerability of the native equilibrium is great (2).

2. The modern balance of a region like that of the French Alps is the combined resultant of a better opening to exchanges, hence elimination of the archaic primacy of cereals, of a reciprocal arrangement of agriculture and livestock

/175 cont./

182 /footnote 2 continued/ breeding, of the field and
171 meadow, and finally of industrialization. Cf. R.
Blanchard, Les Alpes françaises, 1925, p. 52.
This last factor reacts even on the use of the geological
givens: thus it is that our Cantal knows an
industry of enameled lava, pozzuolanas, /this footnote
is continued on the next page in the original
source/ pumice powder, phonolites, prismatic
basalts, kieselguhr, and even volcanic sands. In
other French mountains, it is in the direction of a
class of artisans (clockmaking, cooperage, turner's
shop, forge) that the populations seek resources
complementary to the agricultural activity. Cf.
the very interesting collection of communications
made at the 1er Congrès national de la Vie rurale
en Montagne /First National Congress on Rural
Mountain Life/, Paris, March, 1952. And also,
for the Pyrenean milieu, whose comparison with
the Atlas milieu would not be absurd, the collection
of the Annals de la Fédération Pyrénéenne
d'économie montagnarde (Toulouse), the consultation
of which was valuable for us.

178 It withstands neither war nor peace. The /176/ demographic
182 thrust and the expansion of the flocks, the first resulting from the
advances of public hygiene, the second, from increased security
in the exercise of civil rights, are in the process of ruining the
country. Deforestation has had a role over the lapse of time embraced
by a man's memory. The solution is certainly neither in
the coercion of the flock nor in Malthusianism. It is in the pursuit
of a new equilibrium. Another blemish, no less incontestable, in
243 the traditional economy is its monotony. What poverty of these
182 soles, reduced to barley and maize! It is, if one may say it, a
monoculture with two terms. The absurdity of such a combination
of words renders well the depressing and ultimately ruinous effect
of the system. It is not impossible that it imparts to all local life
a contagious feeling of boredom and almost of despair.

/176 cont./

000 /The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ "Once there was a child who went out each day. And the first object that he looked at, he became this object; the sprouts of the fields, in April and May, became a part of him, the sprouts of winter grain and those of the bright yellow maize ..." (1).

1. Walt Whitman.

But, beyond the field, there is the mountain. The grandeur of the cadre discourages all mediocrity. The narrowness of the canton forces man to adventure. But let us not go on imagining these contrasted feelings. Later, perhaps, people from here will write a literature of escape, the very one that the barbarian scholar and the emigrant worker now live in their fashion...

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IV. Some Analyses of Grounds

A) Montagnard classicism: the ait Mh'nd

312 [634] /All of Chapter IV is in small type in the original source./ The a. Mh'nd, with Iguntar, Wanz'id', and Iwulla, are one of the cantons backed up to the abrupt barrier which, to the S., separates the Seksawa world from the Sous. From the escarpment gush perennial waters, though subject to estival diminution. Those of the a. Mh'nd, the most abundant, form a torrent that never dries up, which descends, under the walnut trees, toward Ad'erd'ur, the zaouia of Ammern, and ends up by rejoining the main valley at Tabratjut. Its opening is sometimes difficult, thus below the former village of the a. Irz'z'i, whose name, close to the root rz', "to be broken," has given rise to an etymological pun inspired by the ruiniform aspect of the rock at this place; the a. Irz'z'i, in a struggle with the Idma, are said to have had their village shattered by a miraculous collapse. Farther upstream, almost immediately below the sources, a basin spreads out: this is

[Ait Mh'nd]

/177 cont./

312 the ground of the a. Mh'nd. The sources, Walmdeyn, Talâint n-tauddwa, t. waman i-ygadern, suffer a diminution of 75% during very dry summers, such as the one of 1951. But this is exceptional. Generally the fall is not so great. A basin, Tafrawt ddu-lma, collects them and distributes them, by an ample system of séguias, to a mass of well-worked fields. The lively waves, the glacial shade of the walnut trees, and the profusion of greenery make a charming coppice in the most torrid of summers. The village, where the ikhs-s each have their quarter, faces the mountain and towers over the mowed meadows, az'mu, a theater wholly denoting an active and original community life: it is there that people dance and assemble. Dominated, as has been seen, on the side of the Sous by the E.S.E.-W.N.W. barrier of the Ighran, from the Tabgurt (3,205) to the Akyud' n-Zkkat'; communicating toward the S.-E. with the Idma and the a. H'adduyws only by the Tizi Wudud, which opens on the plateaus of the Amerdul; with the Ibuban highlands by the Tizi Unluf; with the Seksawa by a valley with numerous constrictions, this canton has been able to develop an extreme individuality.

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(361)
[613]

General Characteristics of the Population

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(173)

It refers to a former immigration from, it is said, the Ilalen (Sous). But among the ikhs-s inhabiting the village today, only two, the a. Bakhkha and the a. Umghar, go back to this origin. Each of the two forms the essential part of two subgroups: a. Zbayr, a. Wajmirro, a duality in which the taqbilt finds tension and internal equilibrium. /178/ To these two ikhs-s are respectively added, but with less dignity and without autonomy in the irrigation distributions, four other lineages of immigrants. The organization of the ensemble presents itself as follows, as the irrigation roster expresses it, with a clearness free of ethnological preoccupations, certainly, but forced to exactitude by its practical incidences.

[Ait Mh'nd]

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General division of the group	Subdivision into basic ikhs-s	ikhs-s superadded	Origin of the superadded ikhs-s	Turn for water
	a. Umghar.			One day.
a. Zbayr.	a. u Mbark.			Three days, two of which for each of the partners alternatively.
	a. Abdnnûr.			
a. Wajmirru.	a. Mençur.	a. Umzil.	a. H'ogg^{w}a expelled from Fensu a century ago.	Three days, two of which for each of the partners alternatively.
	a. H'sayn.	a. Lamin.	Demsira from Iguntar.	
		Imzilen.	Came from the Wijjan two centuries ago.	
		a. Lkut'ayn.	Ibuban.	
	a. Bakhkha.			One day.

312 N.B. The basin, called Chcharij ddu-lma, functions only from the rising to the setting of the sun. The irrigation roster covers eight days.

[613] 634 613 173 669 Below, we shall find other details on the irrigation. Let us observe here and now that the order is rigorously gentilitial. The adjunction of new elements, although of an antiquity sometimes exceeding a century, has not at all influenced the dualist structure

[Ait Mh'nd]

/178 cont./

634 that was reflected up to the last times of siba /revolt/ in the
613 political rivalry between the two original ikhs-s: a. Umghar and
173 a. Bakhkha. The former was traditionally devoted to municipal
669 preponderance. The latter, to the agricultural initium. Neutral, the ikhs of the Imzilen provided conciliators: it was again asked recently, by a tumultuary election, for a customary judge. The a. Lamin started the war. The ait Umghar, having formed an alliance with the Idma and their emerging dynasty, the a. Ânunu, consolidated their own power and ensured the advantage to the amghar Âbdesslam b. Âbdelmalek, father of the present chief.

634 Today, the a. Mh'nd include 120 foyers, to which it is
619 proper to add 44 emigrant ones, more or less settled outside.
592 These figures, at the time of the 1929 investigation, were respec-
162 tively 100 and 13 hearths. Progression of 1/5 in 20 years.

/179/ An Archaic Emigration

166 This emigration is an ancient phenomenon. The travelers
167 establish residence in the country of their choice, but keep their lands in their native country. They are seen again at harvest time. In April, 1951, a force of 60 men, that is, one from every two foyers, descended into the plain for the harvest. On the other hand, a worker emigration is still unknown.

About a third of the a. Mh'nd have settled outside of the
[177] Seksawa. This phenomenon, of ancient type, and not yet influenced by the industrial thrust of Morocco, doubtlessly has a certain documentary value. Among these emigrant foyers one counts: 1 settled in Marrakech, 4 in Casablanca, 3 at Imintanout, 3 at Agadir Inflas (Dwiran), 8 in ait Âbdella, 2 at Ghdir Bnan, 4 in Ud Didan, 3 in Ud Mumna, 4 at Lalla^{c}Ariba, 1 in Ud Sawla (Ud Bessebâ^{c}), 10 at Tafttacht (Chyâd'ma), 1 in ait ^{c}Aliwach (Mjjat'). That is, all departed toward the north.

It seemed interesting to find again in the plain, where they are within direct reach of the investigation, some of these temporary or definitive emigrants.

166 Brahim u H'ammo n-a. Umzil (60 years old), although living
159 at Agadir Inflas (Dwiran), still has all his relatives in a. Mh'nd.

[Ait Mh'nd]

/179 cont./

166 157 From the time he was 40, he has shuttled between the two villages; it is doubtlessly his example that made several of his neighbors decide to settle, like him, in the plain. In a. Mh'nd he has kept some lands, which his son exploits. He trades at Agadir Inflas, despite his already old blindness. He is married to a woman from the Dwiran and counts on ending his days in the plain.

Lh'sen u Abdallah n-a. Barka (40 years old) came to Takennurt (lower Seksawa) in 1945 (famine). He lost his lands in ait Mh'nd, but has not given up getting them back. For the time being, he cultivates his wife's field at Takennurt. His wife, originally from the ait Âbdella, has given him three children. He regards himself as established in residence; nevertheless he still has a nephew in a. Mh'nd.

His nephew Moh'ammed u Âli n-a Barka (30 years old) emigrated in 1945 (famine) to Agadir Inflas (Dwiran), lives there without land, as an agricultural day-laborer. He has kept some fields and a house in a. Mh'nd, to which he hopes to return one day. Married to a woman from the a. Lh'sen and father of 4 children.

Lh'oseyn b. Lkhd'ir n-a. Âbdennur (50 years old) has no lands at Ilutjan (Bas /Lower/ Seksawa), but he possesses some in a. Mh'nd, where his son has stayed to cultivate them. At Ilutjan, he lives as an agricultural associate /Fr. associé, associate, partner, member/, has married a foreign woman (Idma), from whom he has five children. He does not count on remaining at Ilutjan forever, but on going back to end his days in the country.

Moh'ammed u Bella n-a. Umzil (35 years old) has been at Bul^{c}wân for only a year. He does not have lands here, but keeps some in a. Mh'nd, from where poverty drove him. Married to a woman from his home, he counts on returning for the harvest and coming back only for the next tillage, still as an agricultural associate.

Nearly analogous case of Âbdallah u Moh'ammed (40 years old), working at Agadir Inflas as khammès /settler to whom one fifth of the produce is allowed/, of Lh'oseyn u Lh'sen n-a. Barka (40 years old), hireling at Taqennurt, of Lh'sen u Abdallah (20 years old), khammès at Tizi Wargyun, and of several other young men.

[Ait Mh'nd]

166 159 /180/ Moh'ammed u Ah'med n-a. Umzil (45 years old) has been settled since his youth at Bul^{c}wân, as a client of the amghar. He has built himself a house and is considered a man of the country, although his wife is also from the a. Mh'nd. He considers himself permanently established. Similarly, his relative Lh'sen u Ah'med, although he still shuttles to and from the mountains.

Ăddi u Moh'ammed n-a. Umzil (55 years old) has been at Ilutjân as khammès since his youth. One day he married a woman from Ilutjan and acquired some lands at the place. He nevertheless returns to the mountains each year in order to buy walnuts.

His relative Ăli u Moh'ammed (50 years old), who similarly married at Ilutjan, lost his wife and has been married again to a compatriot. But he has kept some lands at Ilutjan, where he is permanently established.

166 This report, made on the spot by L. Robine, who should indeed find here an expression of my gratitude, gives information on about a dozen individual cases. The same inquiry, carried out at Tafttacht in Chyâd'ma, gives another nuance: that of people naturalized earlier in a foreign tribe, but still preserving more or less this landed and sentimental tie with the village of origin.

However that may be, and even being a matter of the limited sector at the outlet of the Seksawa in the Dir, this emigration, thus fixed at different moments of age and antiquity, does not fail to illustrate the essential mobility -- arrivals and departers -- of the population in the western Haut-Atlas. But this mobility modifies neither the basic rhythms nor structures.

Improving the Ground

241 The a. Mh'nd ground, in relation to the rest of the valley agriculture, constitutes quite a strong unit, as the figures below prove: cereal cultivation, irrigated, barley, 50 ha. -- maize, 25 ha.; dry, barley, 32 ha. Arboriculture: 1,590 almond trees [233] irrigated, 5,750 dry; 2,230 walnut trees. Let us add a stock of 195 [556] bovines, 470 ovines, 720 goats. Sign of affluence: 14 mules.

241 233 To each of these activities, irrigated crops, dry crops, livestock breeding, correspond organized sectors, among which some

[Ait Mh'nd]

/180 cont./
241 notable differences in physical nature, utilization, social rhythm,
233 and even toponymic density introduce not only a division of labor,
but a qualitative order linked to the life and to the conceptions of
the group.

Livestock Breeding

233
221 From the village, which is itself at more than 1,800 meters,
one sees the mountain covered with snow for a good part of the
[361] year. As in all the Seksawa, stabling, with prepared fodder,
[184] mowed forage, collected grass, stored straw, and preserved acorns
and turnips, is imperative for long periods. Nevertheless, pasturage is organized over two sectors, by rotation. One, the mountain pasture, above and to the S. of the village, the Adrar, is placed in defense from March /181/ to June. The other, on the Ameznir, toward the Ibuban massif, is placed in defense from June to January. One recognizes this procedure of placing in defense, ig^{W}mi, represented in many other cantons of the Seksawa. Together with the practices of mowed forage, preserved fodder, and shelter, it indicates a well-adapted, coherent system.

Dry Crops

241 If one excepts some tillage practiced on the periphery of the
311 crater on the S. side, the great part of the a. Mh'nd sown fields
[243] extends, in the direction of the Ibuban massif, on a bulge of land
[132] of some 2,000 meters in altitude, where, thanks to a favorable,
even though indeterminable pluviometry, and also doubtlessly to
311 momentary snowfall, barley and rye prosper. A very clear thing,
[103] the albur is divided into "quarters," tigh^{W}mrin, or simply
tismawin, so that -- if we follow, from the S. peak, the arc of the circle that is presented to us with, far in the background, the Ilikri -- we find the following toponyms: Iz'ran Ŭmliln, Anrar^{W}-Waman, Naâtjur (characteristic rocky points), a smooth

[Ait Mh'nd]

311 /181 cont./
103 dome stretching from these rocks to the Ameznir, and which bears
the name of Un-an, Tag^{W}d'ayt, etc.

423 On each of these quarters, all moreover privately appropri-
311 ated, is affirmed the vocation of each ikhs, just as on the irri-
[613] gated. But the distance, the difficulty of transport, and doubt-
lessly also the character of confines that, even on the scale of
[578] these cantons, these expanses offer in relation to the density, to
the proximity, and, if I may venture to say it, to the "presence"
of the irrigated ground, all of that results in the fact that the
rivalries between the powerful are given a free course there, more
or less excluding the weak. But the latter are aware of their
[103] rights. In August, 1950, interrogating with J. Dresch a modest
livestock-breeder met on the side of the source, we were able to
note that he enumerated, as his land right bearing on all the
albur quarters, the following names:

-- periphery of the crater: Anammer Udrar (on the Zkkat'), Inwalen (on the Awrir Iwiggin);
-- in the direction of the Ibuban: Griighrad'en, Anammer n-a. Lghachi, Unan (toward the Tizi Unluf), Talaint Umeznir, Ag^{W}ni n-Ish'aq, Akhbu^{W}wagaywar, Albur i-ysekni;
-- finally, in the thalweg: Imd'rar, Az'ru n-tmedda.

That is, for a very small country, a dozen quarters where, if one may say it, his vocation as owner and especially, in the case in point, as claimant will be exercised; this "right" ends up by constituting a sort of permanent blackmail of the poor.

423 Let us say, in anticipating a little, that this rule has been
182 cross-checked many times. It presents itself to the people of the
country with the clearness of an organic law. It unites the life
of the group and guarantees its equilibrium, through the judicial
and moral tensions that, no less than the fruit of the fields, form
its vitality, its virility, and ensure it against the precariousness
and the perils of mountain life.

[Ait Mh'nd]

/182/ Toponymy of the Irrigated Ground of the Ait Mh'nd
/Left side of chart/

423
103

Names of quarters	Names of subdivisions of quarters			
Twuttyan (cf. awuttu, "limit").	Talghachit (derived from an ikhs name).	Agerd'^{w} Wazar, "col of the fig tree."	F-usderm-an, "on this escarpment."	Iwchchah'en.
	Dar-uzerg, "at the mill."	Ifdisn-an, "the walls of dry stone."	Taglagalt-an, "the place where the waters stagnate."	Uzrar, "thirst" (very dry place where there is gravel, "lmezrar").
Tacddut, "the declivity."	Wa-lemri, "the reflecting."	Asdrem^w Wanz'et't'a, "the escarpment of the a." (cf. below).	Ihlawen (derived from a name).	Ush'aq (derived from a name).
Tighermin, "the fields in tiers."	Amlal Wuggug^{w}en, "the fine sand of the catchments."	Tagh^{w}zit n-ait Said, "the field of the a. S."	Ughzif n-tghermin, "the fields lengthwise."	Agd'ay n-tghermin, "the pool of the fields."
Amegdul w-uzddar, "the park below."	Bu-ih'chach, "the huts."	Talh'chut, "the pebbles."	Dar wad'il, "at the vines."	Mm - wamimrad (plant name).
Amegdul ufella, "the park above."	Amegdul Ichahan, "the park of I."			
Tawddwa.	Targa n'ayt Zbayr, "the séguia of the a. Z."	Makan^w uchboro, "beyond the retrenchment."	Tamalut l-Leftrug, "ubac of L."	
Anammran, "the adret."	Adukk^{w}ali.			
Ddu-wanz'et't'a (*anz'ell'a*, "pellicle of moss on a stone or on the water").	Tagh^{w}zit m-Mazuz, "the field of M."	Findus.	Tighedwin-an, "the poles" (long and parallel parcels).	Mm-ti-leh'la, "at the apple trees."
Tafarnut, "bread oven."	Tafarnut n-ayt Umghar.	Tafarnut n-a. Bakhkha.		

/adret, flank of valley oriented toward the south;
ubac, flank of valley oriented toward the north./

1: Berque--257 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955. MW11 Shluh MW11

[Ait Mh'nd]

/183/
/Right side of chart/

103
423

Mm-uqelmun, "in hood form."	Im-tmid'i (timid'i: "the 100 walnuts").	Agerd' wad'il, "the col of the vine."	Agh^{w}zafan, "lengthwise."	Bu-tfaliyn, "at the fallen rocks."	Tar agharas, "without road."
Imi l-lutrat, "the opening of the harness collar."	Ag^{w}mmad' i-yghzer, "the bank of the ravine."	Bu-lh'chu, "at the gravel."			
Tamggaynant, "the damp hollow."	Ddu-taswikt, "under the walnut tree."	Mm-telggut, "at the aloggo (genista)."			
Ag^{w}mmad'n-tafrawt, "the bank of the basin."	Ikniwun, "the twins."				
Ag^{w}dal-an, "the park."	Aghda^{w} wagmar. "the pole of the horse."				

/184/ Toponymy of the Irrigated Ground of the Ait Mh'nd (cont.)

Names of quarters	Name of subdivisions of quarters		
Afud-an, "the knee."	**Amlal^w wafud'-an,** "the fine sand of Afud'an."		
Talat n-tenghort, "the hollow of the excavation."	**Lluz n-ait Naçer,** "the almond trees of the a. N."	**Tinummar l-lmechh'i,** "the adrets of the dry fruits."	**Tagh^{w}zit u-wamalw-an,** "the field of the ubac."
Tagenza ufella, "the talus above."	**Ddu-Tgenza,** "under the talus."	**F-ugenza,** "on the talus."	**Amlal n-fu-wasif,** "the fine sand above the torrent."
Ddu^w-wsderm, "under the escarpment."			
Wankutuf.			
Ddu-tg^{w}mma, "under the houses."	**Içd'ar-an,** "the sluices."	**Talat n-wkhrib,** "the hollow of the ruins."	
Ddu-wz'ru, "under the rock."	**Amlal i-ymzilen,** "the fine sand of the blacksmiths."	**Ait Lamin.**	**Ait Bakhkha.**
Ughad', "of the goat."	**Ibh'irn n-ait Umghar,** "the field of the a. U."	**Ibh'irn n-a. Lah'sen u Said,** "fields of the a. L."	
Igherman-an, "the parcels."	**Tagh^{w}zit n-ait Abdennur,** "the field of the a. A."	**Tigh^{w}ziwinn ait Umghar,** "the fields of the a. U."	**Amlal n-ait Umghar,** "the fine sand of the a. U."
Dar - Talmechmacht, "at the apricot tree."	**Tagh^{w}zit n-a. Umghar,** "the field of the a. U."	**Tagh^{w}zit n-a. Abdennur,** "the field of the a. A."	
Tifratin, "the small basins."	**Tagh^{w}zit n-ait H'sayn,** "the field of the a. H."	**Tigh^{w}ziwin n-a. Umghar,** "the fields of the a. U."	**Tagh^{w}zit n-a. H'ammu u-Bella,** "the field of the a. H'."

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/185/ Toponymy of the Irrigated Ground of the Ait Mh'nd (cont.)

Names of quarters	Names of subdivisions of quarters		
Iger zegg^{w}aghen, "the red field."	**Tigh^{w}ziwin i-ymzilen**, "the fields of the blacksmiths."	**Tigh^{w}ziwin n-a. Lamin**, "the fields of the a. L."	**Tagh^{w}zit n-ayt Lkut'ayn**, "the fields of the a. L."
Dar-uzerg, "at the mill."	**Ibh'irn n-ayt Mençur**, "the fields of the a. M."	**Ibh'irn n-a. Lkut'ayn**, "the fields of the a. L." (cf. above).	**Ibh'irn n-ayt Buirddamen**, "the fields of the a. B."
Amettul m-Merzug, "the land of M."	**Ibh'irn n-a. [illegible]khkha**, "the fields of the a. B."	**Ibh'irn n-ait Mençur**, "the fields of the a. M."	
Talat n-tsettuft, "the hollow of T."	**Ibh'irn n-T't'aleb ᵉAli**, "the fields of the T'."	**Ibh'irn n-ayt H'fld u yidar**, "the fields of the a. H."	**Ibh'irn n Abdella**, "the fields of A."

Irrigated Crops

103
423
[312]

What is striking first of all is the extreme toponymic density. If our appellation of ground can be turned to account for the ensemble, keeping in mind the fact that it is a continuous whole, a first differentiation by quarters appears at once. I mean here by "quarter" an agrarian unit having its irrigation autonomy. The ground of the a. Mh'nd includes some 25 quarters thus comprised. Here are the names of them: Twuttyan, Taçddut, Tighermin, Amegdul, Tawddwa, Annammeran, Ddu-wanz't't'a, Tighedwinan, Ag^{W}dalan, Tafernut, Afud'an, Talat n-Tnghort, Tagenza, Ddu-wsderm, Wakuntuf, Ddutgomma, Ughad, Dduw-wz'ru, Ighermanan, Dar-talmechmacht, Tifratin, Iger zegg^{W}aghen, n-dar-uzerg, 'Amtul m-Merzug, Talat n-tsttuft.

But many other names, corresponding to smaller spaces, could be cited, within the still rather exiguous cadre (about 1/2 ha. each) that the quarter constitutes. A veritable toponymic pullulation comes out between the meshes. In relation to the

/185 cont./

103 spacious "albur" quarter, such as Unan, the irrigated quarter, ddu
423 waman, is very exiguous. But it is itself a vast multiple of other elementary cells, being able to go as far as the humble series of "parcels." Would it go even to the "parcel," if our study could go down so far? "Each tibh'irt has its name": such at least is the saying that one hears uttered spontaneously during this kind of inquiry. Concerning the land, however, it is necessary to state that if the "quarter" is split up into secondary names, there is no /186/ /left side of map appears here/ /187/ /right side of map appears here/ /188/ name for each tier, still less for each parcel. A variable density of names is, moreover, observed by the peasant himself. If he does not have any abstract notion of "quarter," he obviously carries it out, and the etiquette of the terms of tamazirt or ar. /Arabic/ bot'Ira. One sometimes hears tighmert, put in connection with ar. rokna, "corner," doubtlessly "corner
[823] of earth." Tighmert was defined for me as designating the convex angle that the salient of the talus delimiting the tier forms, while the area thus circumscribed was called tawz'z'ut, plur. tiwz'z'a, this is, perhaps: "the redan" and "the recess."

The picture above, drawn from direct information at the places, shows that, for 25 quarters properly speaking, about 80 names of lesser local units are known. That is, three or four toponymic submultiples for each quarter. But this density is very unequal. The central quarter of Twuttyan, the best irrigated, the most harmoniously placed at the heart of the ground, a privileged quarter in a sense, contains 17 names in itself alone.

Mechanism of the Irrigation and of the Crop Rotation

312 This whole ensemble is not irrigated by less than about 15 ditches, each having its name. Here they are: Targa umegdul, t. ti m-mkan Uchboro, t. n-a Zobayr, t. Umegdul, t. n-tuz'z'umt, t. n-tarmin, t. n-dda-Wanz't't'a, t. n-tfarnut, t. n-tmazirt, t. g-ifdisn-an, t. n-temj'j'ut't'-an, t. Wankutuf, t. w. Ugdal-an, t. Waghad, t. n-ddu-wz'ru, t. y-iger zegg^{w}aghen, t.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 263]

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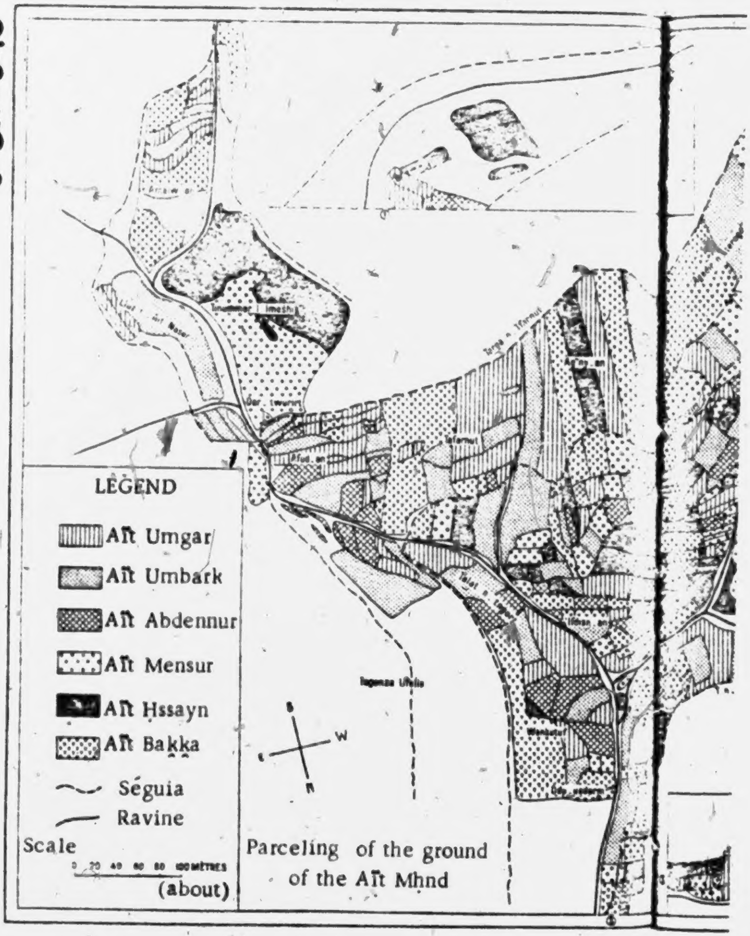
133
312
423
613

[Ait Mh'nd]

/Left side of map, p. 186 of the original source/


LEGEND
Aït Umgar
Aït Umbark
Aït Abdennur
Aït Mensur
Aït Ḥssayn
Aït Bakka
Séguia
Ravine
Scale
0 20 40 60 80 100 METRES
(about)
W

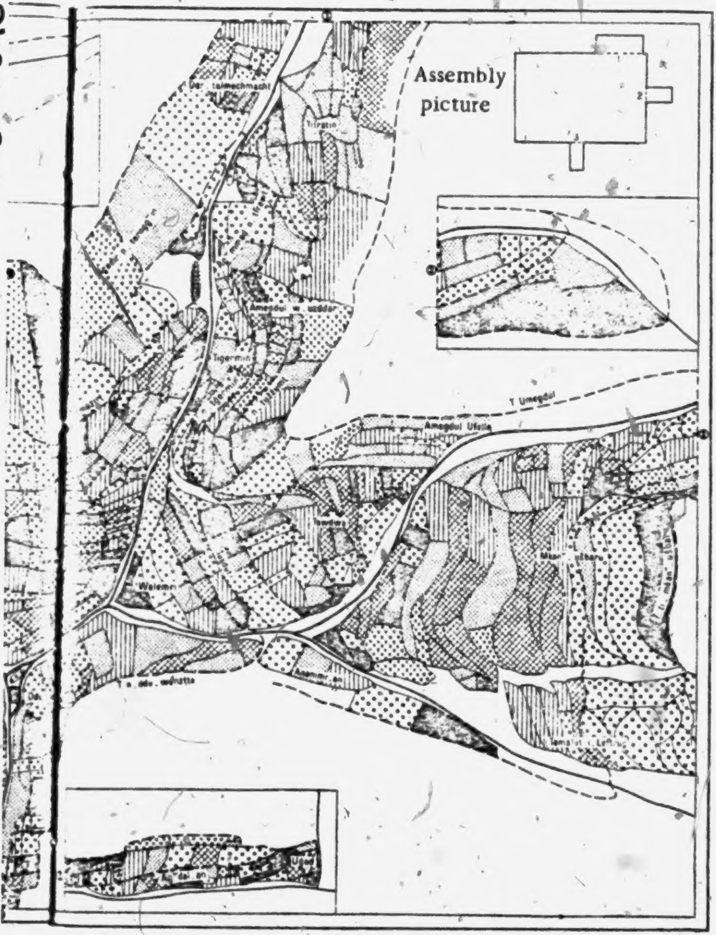
Parceling of the ground of the Aït Mhnd

1: Berque--262 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

[Ait Mh'nd]

/Right side of map, p. 187 of the original source/

102
133
312
423
613


Assembly picture
Tirratin
Amegdul w uddar
Tigermin
T Umegdul
Amegdul Ufella
Walemri

/188 cont./

312 n-dar uzerg, t. n-talat nnur (accessory, collects the streaming water).

312 423 The irrigation mechanism has been dealt with above. It only functions, or in other words the water roster, tiwaliwin, only goes into effect, at the time when the low-water level, at the beginning of the dry season, imposes regulation. Thus it is this physical factor that will impose recourse to the rhythm of distribution. Similarly, and within each portion, in case the module is insufficient to irrigate simultaneously the ensemble of those having rights, there will be a drawing of lots among them. [241] It is still this pure question of fact that will determine whether or not there is a possibility of cultivating on the stubble fields after the 242 barley harvest and of laying out the market gardens. On the other hand, what does not depend on outside circumstances is the biennial crop rotation, by alternated soles (Fr. sole, expanse of arable land intended for a certain crop in the rotation/ of barley and maize, which we see here. This movement bears on only four quarters, which are, to tell the truth, the best irrigated ones and like the heart of the ground: Twuttyan, Taçddut, Tighermin, Amegdul. The figures given above indicate that the crop rotation functions over some 25 ha., that is, over half of the ensemble of the irrigated crops.

Comments on the Parceling

613 423 Over all the expanse of the irrigated ground, each ikhs is represented by several fields in each of the quarters. Without exception. Despite sales, female inheritances, pledges, usurpations, etc., this rule /189/ still stands out from the perusal of a parceling established in 1948 (Fig. 8)[1] and about which it is advisable to state that it is the work of a young agricultural engineer uninformed about the custom and consequently not suspect a priori. In the numerous cases of the rrahn-s, he evidently noted the possessory situation. One will also observe -- and this deformation is interesting -- that the four superadded ikhs-s were indicated as being mingled with those of the basic ikhs-s, which are in a way

[1] [For figure 8, see pp. 261-262--Analyst]

[Ait Mh'nd]
[Agersili]

/189 cont./

613 423 [312] their respondents: another trait of structural permanence. The informants on the scheme evidently based their own declarations on what they knew, as a. Mh'nd, on the distribution of water: confirmation of the integrally gentilitial nature which affects the latter. Finally, the figure thus obtained gives an idea that still remains below the regularity attributed by the local interpretation to this parcellary sampling of the ikhs-s among the quarters. Examination of this scheme, as it is, and subject to the above, is nonetheless conclusive.

One will observe the denser concentration of the pieces toward the center (Twuttyan and others): evidently the alternation between the soles implies that, in each, each one is represented equitably. Elsewhere, on the contrary, the parcels are more spacious. At two peripheric places (Ag^{w}nian and Mkan Uchboro), they affect a parallelism in strips, which evokes a systematic division.

B) Another case of montagnard classicism: Agersili

133 J. Dresch describes, under the name of capture of Agersili, a characteristic phenomenon of the changes in basic levels intervening on both sides of the sub-Atlas flexure. A whole ramification of valleys with a mature appearance, descending from the flanks of the Tabgurt, extended through the Inraren Z'dinin threshold into a depression with gentle slopes, the Ighzer n-Tzemzgart, toward the Ammern torrent, where it flings itself to the height of Ad'erd'ur. But the upstream system was collected by another ravine, this one abrupt, the Ighzer Wanchkrir, which seized it through a sudden denivellation, forming a cascade, and drawing it toward the main valley. The ressaut is 300 meters. It is that "the progression of the Ighzer Wanchkrir has been favored by the weak resistance of the Ordovician schists hugging the length of the sub-Atlas accident." Coming from the source of the Amerdul and from the high pastures of the Tabgurt, concentrating the moisture from the snows that cover Agersili for two or three months each year, a stream of water gushes downstream.

[Agersili]

/189 cont./

133 312 But, channeled by the work of men, it will not yield to the attraction of the capture. It is in the direction marked by the tectonics, that is, toward Ad'erd'ur, by following the Tzemzgart, that it is directed: art has re-established the state of things prior to the altering of the basic levels and the action of regressive erosion. Whence a very long séguia, which the streamlet of water takes, it is said, about twelve hours to flow through in its entire length.

It is the vital artery of the Idma. It serves the crops of their oldest habitat: first Asikis, with its Agersili fields, then /190/ Ad'erd'ur. Wanchkrir has always had a service less favored than [175] the two metropolises. One of the first acts of the history of the Idma was certainly to verify juridically, by transactions with the neighbors and the former occupants, a. Umgan toward the Tabgurt, a. Gasa toward the main valley, the situation of the lands and waters. Elsewhere I have given the texts of two of these treaties, dated 1702 and 1703, respectively.

133 When from the Tizi Wudud, on the North flank of the Tabgurt, one observes the downstream panorama, one has under one's eyes the very bifurcation of the history of the Idma for two or three centuries. Doubtlessly just about what was presented to the invaders from the Anti-Atlas. These places are imbued with the past, with this montagnard past which the chronicles did not know, of course, and which modern observation, before so many traits of a rustic immutability, would itself neglect, if one did [172] not take care. Among other archeological indications are crowded, in a paltry perimeter: the "boundary," tiktit, of Lalla Aziza, marking the separation between Idma and the people of Tasa on the pastures of Amerdul; the grassland, az'mu, of the ait Irz'z'i, where there took place a massacre of this old population, new Canaanites of these newly chosen; the "Aires jointes" /joined directions/, Inraren Z'dinin, threshold dominating Wanchkrir at 300 meters, sheer, and where the annual elections of chiefs took place; at the same place, an edifice of dry stone, which is supposed to be the tomb of one Lalla Azzo nt Amer, whose name plunges the investigator into great perplexity: would it not be Lalla Aziza?

[Agersili]

/190 cont./

241
133 Agersili, with its terraces descending over some 80 ha., is the most beautiful and, all allowances being made, the most colossal example of crops in tiers in this part of the Atlas. On the two faces of a ravine, the system extends over three kilometers. We shall command a better view of it by backing up to the flank of the Tabgurt, on the side of the small intermittent source called Talat wuz'ma. From here our view plunges into the axis. Toward the N.-E., on the right, there appears to us a limestone peak pointing like an arrow to the Agadir waleggu. In the background, the dome of the Tindri, which commands Ikis. [361] On the right bank of the small valley, two villages of dry stone, [illegible] and Twurirt. What is striking [illegible] the alternation of colors, which the [illegible] the soles brings about, according to the season.

311
312 The ground is divided into quarters, each corresponding to a principal intake, açder, on each of the 11 channels, that is, from upstream to downstream: targa n-Talburt, y-imi n-tanut, Ddu wg^{w}erd'an, umalu y-imi y-iz'ma, wannammeran on the right bank; n-tghuni, n-tsila, y-Irzzi, w-wammas, wanammer, y-imi y-iz'ma on the left bank.

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619 This irrigated ground, about 40 ha., belongs to the Id [illegible]. A first analysis registers their subdivision into six great ikhs-s. But, although these six names are also found within the limits of the other bourgs, in general there is specialization of submultiples of ikhs, if one wishes, among these different sectors. Here, it is essentially the people of Usikis who cultivate, at the same time as lower, on the deep terraces of the village (a staircase with 200 steps), and at Imi^{W}Usikis and Tighwla in the main valley. The ensemble of these four grounds constitutes the /191/ irrigated part of the bounds of Usikis. The lion's share. At Agersili, for example, among the representatives of the great ikhs of the Iseu [illegible]

[Agersili]

/191 cont./

634 619 613 This specialization by sectors seems to be a corollary of the amplification of the group. It is complementary to another rule ordering the equilibrium of the group on the space that it occupies, by the minute samplings. Thus it is that the Idma are divided into five branches. They themselves are divided into 33 [162] ikhs-s, two of which now extinct. The average size of an ikhs can thus be estimated at 13 houses, 15; 5 foyers, 67; 74 persons. Of these five branches, four are represented at Usikis, three at Ad'erd'ur. Two seem to be concentrated particularly in one village, for example, Tasselli or Ad'erd'ur. Among the ikhs-s themselves, two are represented in several villages. One, the Iseqqalen, is represented everywhere. It is evidently the dominant group.

A harmony, obeying simple laws of balanced representation, is thus recognized in the composition that prevails between the Idma and their country. But an even more refined harmony prevails in the distribution of the grounds. How, in the case of Agersili, the division of the ground into quarters is combined with that of the group into ikhs-s: This is what will stand out from the table on the following page. See p. 269./

Comments on the Table

613 423 242 312 [T26] This table with its figures was drawn up by myself, following numerous cross-checkings on the spot, one of which was made in August, 1950, in the presence of J. Dresch. It is confirmed in large part by another table, this one figurative, drawn up by a scholar from Ad'erd'ur. The native figure is based, no longer on the division by quarters, but on the service by ditches. As the quarter here has a technical definition, that is, of being served by one main sluice, the result comes out the same. Nevertheless [illegible]

[Agersili]

/191 cont./

The Distribution of Landed Property

423 The indications recorded here about property come especially from the awareness that the group has of its land bases, that is, from a beginning of interpretation that has taken into account, in certain cases, the owner rather than the occupant. In other cases, on the contrary, it is the possessory situation, based on a rrahn or
423 from an old usurpation, which has influenced the notation. Nota-
613 bly being the matter in the case of the family of the present amghar, the Iseqqalen. Such as it is, however, and despite all the avatars resulting from alienations and female inheritances, /192/ /left side of table appears here/ /193/ /right side of table appears here/ /194/ /chart appears here/ /195/ /chart appears here/ /196/ this document establishes, with a coefficient of cross-checking of about 75%, that each ikhs is represented in each quarter. This cross-checking, bearing on more than 25 quarters, on six ikhs-s and 3,500 parcels, has weight. But inequalities appear, as much in terms of the respective patrimony of the ikhs-s as in the proliferation of these into minor ikhs-s, then into "families." That is, for the Iseqqalen: 7 families, a. Ilarzg 11, a. H'sayn 2, a. Mh'nd u Âbdallah 5, a. Ulila 3, a. Uh'qqi only

The law of sampling verified above would be such much less exactly (at 52%, however) if we took into account, not the ikhs-s, but their subdivisions. It no longer applies to the family echelon. Nothing surprising in that. It is a rule of public law, we might say, and not of distributive justice. It stops at a certain èchelon, which is that of the ikhs. But the proliferation of certain ikhs-s into certain sectors, where the others are reduced to a representation by principle, doubtlessly reveals complex symmetries. Perhaps there has been division of villages among groups. All are represented in each one, but in variable proportions, and the [illegible]

1: Berque--269 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

[Agersili]

/Left side of chart, from p. 192 of the original source./

Analysis of the Parceling of Agersili

Number of parcels belonging to each of the ikhs-s in each of the quarters below

242
312
423
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Names of the ikhs-s	1. Talat-an.	2. Tanluft.	3. Tamsayt-an.	4. Is'mayan.	5. Ddu y-lrz'.	6. Ftuberin.	7. Talat n-ifrawt.	8. Talburt.	9. Amaluyalch.	10. Amalu ddu wgadir.	11. Ddu Turirt.	12. Targu wammas.
Iseqqalen	88	41	152	132	110	66	44	11	73	61	46	16
a. Ilarzg	77		27	33	98	106	36	27	13	37	16	69
a. H'ssyn		3		29	24	33			6	5	10	18
a. M'hand u Åbdellah	12	2	20	13	75	55	43	21	3	19	5	18
a Ulila			24	10	41	7			10	19		13
a. Wah'qqi			15	8	12					14	16	
Totals	177	46	238	225	360	267	123	59	105	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible] (maize), indicate the crop cultivated in each of these quarters during the campaigns:												
1948-49	m	m	m	?	o	o	m	m	m	m	o	m
1949-50	o	o	o + m	m	m	m	o + n	o	o	o + n	m	o
1950-51	m	m	m	o + m	o	o	m	m	m	m	o	m

[Agersili]

/Right side of chart, from p. 193 of the original source./

242
312
423
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13. Ims'ughan.	14. Firazaten.	15. Uggug i-ymi y-iz'ma.	16. F-lghuni.	17. Amalu y-imi n-tanut.	18. Telaggut-an.	19. Ddugord'an.	20. Awrz i-ymi y-iz'ma.	21. Amalu y-imi y-iz'ma.	22. Talat Unghar.	23. Wanammer-an.	24. Targa y-irz.	25. Awrir-an.	26. Talat n-Tirawt.	27. Ait Yus.	
6	6	5		11	27	13	10	7		56	33	50	5	12	1,095
56	57	18	48	20	11	52	9	23	35	118	9	111	80	63	1,270
			15			3		7	26	10	30	30			213
43	35	21	11	13	3	23	7	2	11	15	3	91	20	13	637
31	1				13	12		9	2	9		29	13	13	256
															65
136	99	44	74	44	54	103	26	48	74	208	75	311	118	101	3,546

[Agersili]

/From p. 194 of the original source./

Toponymy of Agersili

a) Left bank

103

Toponyms	Approximate meaning	Toponyms	Approximate meaning
Targa n-tghauni.	"the séguia of the cascades."	AytYuš.	(proper name).
Imi n-talat i-Ylarzg.	"the entrance of the hollow of Ilarzg."	Ighzer-an.	"this ravine."
Tanluft.	"color of blight of erosion."	Ddu-wderg-an.	"under this rock."
Talh'yant.	"with goatee."	Asarun-temd'a.	"the ditch of the pond."
Talat-an.	"the hollow."	Asaru n-ait-Yirz'.	"the ditch of the a. I."
Adaghas n-talt-an.	"the shelter of the hollow."	Ighzer n-ait-H'sayn.	"the ravine of the a. H."
Ddu-f-igherm-an.	"under the top of the bench."	Asaru awragh.	"the yellow ditch."
Tiz'ma y-Ij'anaten.	"the grasslands of I."	F-tabarin.	"succession of vertical tiers (tamart or tabart)," "beard."
Uggug n-trga n-tsila.	"the head of the séguia of the Tasila."	Az'ru^{u}wawuk.	"the stone of the owl."
Talat n-ggud'it.	"the hollow of the pile."	Amalu n-talat n-tfrawt.	"the ubac of the hollow of the basin."
Amettul n-^{c}isa.	"the field of Aïssa."	Tinummar umençur.	"the adrets of A."

[Agersili]

/Continuation of p. 194 of the original source./

103

Tigh^{w}za-y-an.	"the parcels."
Ag^{w}erregg^{w}in.	"between the séguias."
Alkawsu.	"the billhook."
Iz'ma-an.	"the meadows."
Ighzer ulberj.	"the ravine of the château."
Imi n-tghersi.	"the mouth of the sacrifice."
Asaru y-imezran.	"the ditch of I."
Targa y-Irz'.	"the séguia of I."
Tirwil.	"narrow band of parcels enclosed between several séguias."
Uggug i-ymi y-iz'ma.	"the barrier to the entrance of the grasslands."
F-yighil-an.	"on this crest."
Ddu-wdaghas.	"under the shelter."
Bu-yilf.	"the place with the wild boar."
Targa wammas.	"the séguia of the willows."
Uggug n-trga wammas.	"the head of the séguia . . ."
Imezughan.	"red earth."
Talat n-tfrawt.	"the hollow of the basin."
Bu-lkhukh.	"that with the peach trees."
F-takuj'j'ut.	(improper word).
Timezgida n-f-irazaten.	"the mosque of Firazaten" (araza: cleared land).
Badis.	(proper name).
Timutar-an.	"kind of genista."
Taghuni.	"the cascade."
Ighzer n-ait-Ali.	"the ravine of the a. A."

[Agersili]

/From p. 195 of the original source./

Toponymy of Agersili

b) Right bank

103

Toponyms	Approximate meaning	Toponyms	Approximate meaning
Targa n-tussairh'h'alen.	"the séguia of the esplanade of the nomads."	Talat Umghar.	"the hollow of the chief."
Targa n-talburt.	"the séguia of the field in the dry."	Targa w-umalu n-talat u-wmghar.	"the séguia of the ubac of the hollow of the chief."
Amalu.	"the ubac."	Imi n-tegsart-an.	"the outlet of the steep."
Targa w-umalu.	"the s. of the ubac."	Targa-wan-ammr-an.	"the s. of the adret."
Awerz n-wmalu.	"the fine sand of the shade."	Talat i-Yburk.	"the hollow of I."
Berqiqch.	"the plums."	Ddu-ws^{w}g-glegh.	"under the flagstones with salt."
Talat g-ys^{w}g-gligh.	"the hollow of the flagstones where one puts salt for the flocks" (asswgglagh).	Idughas u-wgerd'-an.	"the shelters of the butte."
Amalu n-ddu-wgadir.	"the ubac of the under side of the fortress."		
Asaru l-lbaz.	"the ditch of the falcon."		

[Agersili]

103 /Continuation of p. 195 of the original source./

Ddu-turirt.	"under the hill."
Tanikt.	"stone having the appearance of the remains of smelting."
Targa n-tanut.	"of the entrance of the small well."
Amalu y-imi n-tanut.	"the ubac of the entrance of the small well."
Talggut-an.	"kind of genista."
Targa n-ddu-wgerd'an.	"the s. of the under side of the buttes."
Isdram.	"the escarpments."
Targa w-umalu y-imi y-iz'ma.	"the s. of the ubac of the entrance of the meadows."
Awerz i-ymi y-iz'ma.	"the fine sand of the entrance of the meadows."
Imi n-talat u-wmghar.	"the entrance of the hollow of the chief."

/196 cont./

423 613 In either case, the analysis of landed property thus leads to the question of the relation of the families and of the minor ikhs-s, between them, on the one hand, with the genealogical memory of the ʿaqbilt, on the other, and finally with the landed and agricultural structure. A complex and obscure relation, but, very certainly, a relation.

The Quarters

311 423 Relatively precise measurements give, for the irrigated part of Agersili, 42 ha. Thus, each of the 27 quarters covers on the average 1.55 ha. A considerable size in the high-mountain economy; it is triple of what we observed among the closely [103] neighboring a. Mh'nd. On the other hand, the toponyms are very clear. One realizes that from the list above, which does not leave room for any etymological speculation, but simply notes the meaning immediately perceived and translated by the user. This list includes, besides the 27 quarters, 48 other names, which are the subdivisions of them. There are chances that the enumeration is not exhaustive. But there, too, the impression of a density with meshes larger than for the a. Mh'nd, expressing more freedom of space, asserts itself. These subdivisions into quarters do not enter into consideration, it seems, for the play of the soles, characteristic of Agersili. Their true nature is thus more complex, and doubtlessly destined to escape us. They are perhaps the trace of an earlier system, more refined and where the sampling of the lots went still further. Perhaps, on the contrary, they offered historical arrangements only a raw and preexistent material.

/197/

Agriculture

241 The average area of the parcel is 120 m^2 on irrigated land: on that, one can arrive at a fairly exact approximation. This figure has a symptomatic value.

[Agersili]

/197 cont./

242 241 [184] The second striking trait, and which has already been indicated, is that at Agersili, as in a. Mh'nd, and only there, the area is judged sufficient in order for a crop rotation dealing with barley and maize, but accessorily also with the turnip, to be practiced. On one of our tables we have entered indications gathered over a five-year cycle. That is not very long. But, cross-checked with the local tradition, very affirmative on this point of technique, this rotation may be considered as established. There comes out very clearly a two-part cadence, the classic Mediterranean rotation, with intercalation, if I may venture to say it, of a six-month fallowing: everywhere else, in effect, two campaigns, one of maize, the other of barley, are superposed in the same year. Besides the relative size of the available land, the delay on the cultivation of barley that the annual snowfall imposes at Agersili is perhaps responsible for this slackening of the agricultural rhythm. It seems, however, that there is nothing to that. Another mountain ground, in the Aziwal, practices late sowings (March). Elsewhere, on the contrary, at the same altitude, one sows at the usual time, that is, before the snow falls. That is notably the case for the a. Mh'nd.

242 233 Let us add that, in summer, the harvest of barley and the milking of the animals, which then feed plentifully on the stubble fields, provoke a general displacement: short in terms of the distance covered, but important because it concerns not only the herd but also the families. They establish themselves in the two villages of dry stone that we have observed. The disposition of the crops in continuous soles makes this grazing place possible. In return, the herd fertilizes the earth.

242 The system is thus well contrived. Its size helping, and also the privileged character that it draws from its belonging to the victorious village of Usikis, the most prestigious of the Idma villages, one can recognize in it a veritable classicism of montagnard agriculture.

/197 cont./

C) Rural order and fiscal attraction: Z'init'

778 This is the holy place of the Seksawa, their asylum,
794 lh'orum. But it is to be noted that its inhabitants, ministers of the cult of Lalla Aziza, do not descend from her. They are neither chechref, "shorfa," nor ig^{w}rramen, "marabouts," but only lfoqra, "beadles," whom no prestige distinguishes from surrounding populations. With their profane origin, they are to be respected less than the descendants of Sidi Mh'nd of Ammern, or of Sidi Lh'sen of Asttif, although their saint is the most venerated one. Doubtlessly that is a trait of equilibrium or of instinctive reserve of the group with regard to the political dangers that an overly powerful lineage of "marabouts" would have caused to pursue it.

241 311 [133] /198/ When one considers the zaouia from the escarpment of 1,000 to 1,200 meters which commands it, one notices, downward and downstream from the village, a cultivated terrain called Tamazirt, of some ten hectares, which is reminiscent of the form of the Ile de la Cité. It is divided into sections by channels and paths, then subdivided into more or less large quadrilaterals, all differing from one another by the strength and color of the vegetation, that is, according to the cultivator's wealth in fertilizer.

423 Several quarters: Imi-n-tankt, Ddu-wgadir, Takriwin, Imi-n-talat ulili, Ddu tgumma, Tibh'irin, Aghella, Imi n-Tzennu, Iwanghasen, Dar ukhyam, Lefççа, Igd'ayen, Talmechmacht, Amkuku, Ddu-rrma, Akhferga, Tizergi, Tamsult, Tamsult n-a Uʿziz, Talburt n-teg^{w}rramt, Imi-l-lqus, Ddu-wmedduz i-yghd, Fefgun, Amlal n-talluzt, Tawnaght. These 26 quarters, each having only an average area of 40 ares, are dispersed in a mass of individual parcels, of which one counts about 500. Whence an average unitary area of some 200 m^{2}. That is not as microscopic as one might have expected. The parcel is relatively
[794] extensive in comparison with the quarter, itself abundant and exiguous. But that is perhaps a consequence of the rather

/198 cont./

423 peculiar character of the returns effected by the owners on the
794 occasion of feasts, offerings, visits. The money is shuffled here,
[452] and the investment relatively large. The budget of the group is
credit. Whence purchases far away in the plain, which correlatively led to the abandonment of the high terraces and a certain decadence of the montagnard cultivations. But that is a matter of a late evolution. Let us not stop there.

423 At present, three *ikhs*-s, a. H'ammo, a. Lh'sen, a. Ǎli,
613 are distributed in these quarters according to a sampling all the
592 more complicated because they include nearly 40 foyers having
rights, that is:

a. H'ammo. . . .	22 having rights	357 parcels
a. Lh'sen	10 --	105 --
a. Ǎli	7 --	65 --

Inequality among the *ikhs*-s: the a. Lh'sen and the a. Ǎli each have no more than a few foyers: curse of the saint. Besides, the a. Ǎli have alienated many of their portions: economic expression of their spiritual discredit. The inequality between owners can go from the simple to twentyfold. Seven owners by themselves alone own nearly half of the total number of parcels. But the distribution of the *ikhs*-s, and even of many families of each *ikhs*, over the ensemble of the quarters is nonetheless the rule. Thus, on the 29 parcels that make up the quarter of Imi n-Zennu, one finds:

a. Ǎli	2 having rights	2 parcels
a. Lh'sen	8 --	12 --
a. H'ammo. . . .	10 --	15 --
	20 having rights	29 parcels

312 In what concerns the irrigation, one witnesses here the phe-
423 nomenon of rupture of the gentilitial order that has already been
178 observed at Ad'erd'ur. For /199/ several years, the irrigation has
613 been done *s-icd'ar* or *s-tghuma*, "by sluices." That is to say, by
ensembles of continuous parcels. By pieces of land, and not by

/199 cont./

312 423 178 613 origins. The phenomenon is related to a recent evolution. Reason invoked: the exorbitant disproportion between the patrimonies of the three ikhs-s made excessively disadvantageous for the a. H'ammo, possessors by themselves alone of more than half, a distribution where they would have only one share of water out of three. These readjustments seem bound to intervene as soon as, for some reason, the old balance weakens. Opposed to the gentilitial order, they perpetuate in short an archaic operation of accumulation of capital. The inequality in the possession of land is reinforced by a new inequality in the use of water. This sort of management, responding to specious symmetries at the same time as to a better agronomy, always rallies the concert of the notables. Mutatis mutandis, it corresponds to the progress of the enlightenment and liberalism that broke up the old communitarian traditions in our own rural history at a certain epoch. The abandonment of the former system for the new expresses here a sort of liberal revolution.

423 178 [613] At any rate the analysis of the ground of Z'init' can leave no doubt as to the order that survives through all landed-property mutations. It perpetuates an exact representation of each of the participants of the group, ikhs-s and most often even families, in each, without exception, of the quarters that make up the ground. That is the general rule. In the individual case, it has [794] been disturbed by evolutions -- expansions or declines -- which one can likewise connect with the myth of the saint, but which doubtlessly also reflect more prosaically the constant nourishment of the minor group of the lfoqra by the tithes and offerings. Thus are brought about by way of archaic, but curiously concordant routes, phenomena of concentration, whose working, however, in the middle of the twentieth century, has not yet prevailed over the old landowner law.

[613] Finally, in the economic and even demographic inequality among ikhs-s, inequality more pronounced than round about, it is not exaggerated to recognize the effect of a more advanced monetarism. A greater mass of available lands has produced phenomena of consumption, circulation, and reinvestment, the

/199 cont./
423 consequence of which has been to accentuate the differences in
178 level among those having rights. This differentiation, working in a milieu with a precarious economy, has reacted on the vitality of the subject and on the rural countryside.

D) The basin of Tabratjut

634 This is the domain of the a. Musa of upper Ufella, just
133 downstream from the parvis of Lalla Aziza. This location; too accessible from the plain, too vulnerable to the mountain, which besieges rather than defends it, has re-echoed on the history of land.

175 Here there was a Babylonian captivity. The captives were
634 the "caid" Lh'sen Chtittihi and his followers. Babylon was the
648 place of asylum of Z'init'. The exile lasted about twenty years. It was only at the time of the pacification /200/ of 1927 that, at the demand of the French authorities, the a. Lh'sen withdrew from the conquered country, which was returned to the legitimacy. But it was to fall into a landed-property litigation concerning registering, fortunately settled in favor of the indigene by our Cour d'Appel /Court of Appeals/. In sum, for a generation, the a. Musa from above saw their Tabratjut ground delivered up without cessation to the usurpations of ancient type and of modern type; eviction by stamped paper threatened to succeed conquest by the sword. And they continued only by the understanding of the judge to escape ruin definitively.

312 The basin forms a series of tiered esplanades, according to an arrangement of the river bed which is always found, although in a fashion unequally clear and continuous, from the bottom to the top of the Seksawa. On the Tabratjut side, the two lower levels are marked by a vegetation with two contrasting shades, expressing two planes of irrigation. Downwards, it is the "great channel," targa imqqurn, coming from the river, and constant,
but insufficient. Higher, at the base of the towering reliefs, it
[628] is the séguia from Aduz (Haut Dwiran), but the use of which depends on the good will of these neighbors. Thus a whole part of

[Ait Musa Ufella]

312 628 782 312 423 613 /200 cont./ Thus a whole part of the agriculture of the a. Musa depends on relations of neighborliness and propitiatory sacrifices which are made each time, in case of need, to the marabouts of Aduz. This irregularity, with phases of unconditional abundance when the ditch runs high, and of restriction or even scarcity, results in the fact that the administration of the water does not correspond to a division among ikhs-s. The water is distributed either at the discretion of each one or, in case of need, by small groups of contiguous parcels, s-irubba. No "turn" properly speaking.

Distribution of the quarters among ikhs-s in the terrain of the ait Musa Ufella (Fig. 9)

1) List of the names of ikhs:

a) Ait Chtittihi.
b) Ait Bu-setta.
c) Ait J'j'amid.
d) Ait Watchaw.
e) Ait H'mad.
f) Ait Jjaw.
g) Imzilen.
h) Ait Si Addi.
i) Ait Wabgur.
j) Ait Umazwur.
k) Ait Wakrim.
l) Ait Mzird'ad'.
m) Ait Lkessas.
n) Ait Imij.
o) Ait Lmekhtar.
p) Ait H'sayn.
q) Ait H'med u Jibbu.
r) Ait u Châlb.

2) List of the names of quarters:

1. Tameselnt.
2. Aminayn.
3. Ddu-Wanghemmi.
4. Tkunt.
5. Targa meqqurn.
6. Agergiwn.
7. Igidar.
8. Imi n-talat.
9. Imlaln-an.
10. Tariat't' n-Ddaali.
11. Imiri y-igʷrramen.
12. Ddu-wjjin.
13. Imi n-urtan-an.
14. Tikid'a n-ait Brahim.
15. Talat n-Teddart.
16. Lmegzart.
17. Imejjad'-an.
18. Aryad'n-an.
19. Ult-teskri.
20. Azarn-an.
21. Timejderra.
22. Igherman-an.
23. Dar u- Weswik.
24. Lemkhazin.
25. Imi n-tebratjut.
26. Iussran.
27. Ddu-ʷgʷadir.
28. Ibh'ir.
29. Inebdar.
30. Ameslen.
31. Timzughin.
32. Tukhribin.

[Ait Musa Ufella]

634
613
[173]
[423]

/201/ The thing is remarkable, for, in addition, the a. Musa have preserved a gentilitial organization all the more authentic and using archaisms since they include, as will be seen, descendants of H'addo, legendary king of the Seksawa: the a. H'qqi, to whom the chiefs' family belongs. The

102
133
361
423
613
634

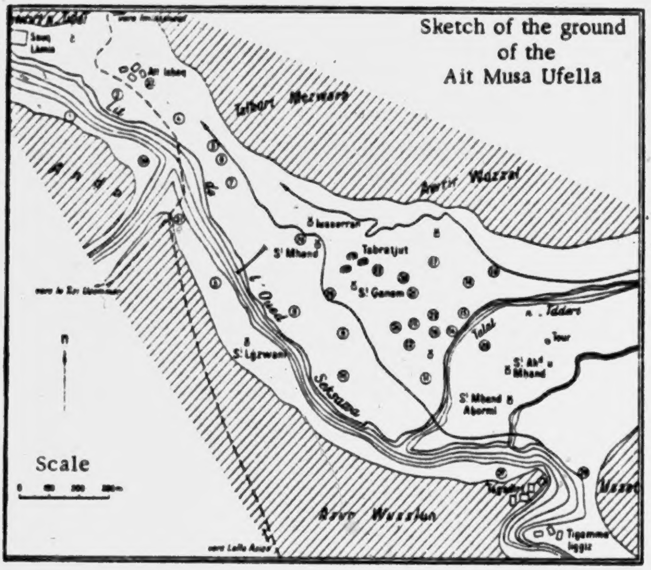
Sketch of the ground
of the
Ait Musa Ufella
Iasserran
S^t Mhand
Tabratjut
S^t Ganem
Taddart
Talat
Tour
S^t Abd Mhand
S^t Mhand Aborni
S^t Lgzwani
L^t Oued
Seksawa
n
Scale
Azru Wussiun
Tigemma Iggiz

Fig. 9. -- The basin of Tabratjut (ait Musa Ufella).

The numbers refer to the names of quarters shown in the tables in the text. /vers, "toward"; Lit de l'Oued Seksawa, "Bed of the Seksawa Wadi."/

/201 cont./

634 property is not always distributed solely among these great *ikhs*-s, 613 4 in number, a. H'qqi, a. H'amed, a. Jjaw, a. Mzird'ad', but 423 among several *minor* *ikhs*-s, 14 in number. An order of distribution is evident here, and all the more since it asserts itself, being a matter of lineages not as large as the great *ikhs*-s, with a minutia pushed further than at Agersili, for example. The table below has grouped the number of parcels possessed by each family in each of the 33 quarters. /202/ /Table appears here./

423 613 [128] /203/ 1) Cross-checking the parcellary rule gives only 51% confirmation, if we consider the ensemble of the 14 families and 33 quarters. But a simple look at the table shows that the anomaly is concentrated on the last three quarters and the last four families. If one leaves them aside, the rule is confirmed for more than 70%. That despite the local presence of a family of chiefs whose personal expansion goes back for three generations. And despite the vulnerability of the a. Musa to the causes of disaggregation of the montagnard system, and the principal ones of which originate from the plain and from the power of the plain. To what is this anomaly due? To the fact that the four participants given at the end of the list are, for two of them, a. Sh'aq, residual population, and, for the others, allogeneous. As for the three aberrant quarters, they are the ones served by a third séguia coming from the torrent of the a. Mh'nd: adjunction outside the system. Thus the structure is logical. And one will be apprised of its perfection even better if one accedes to the present explanation according to which it was the caid Chtittihi, father of the present *amghar*, who would have (thus about 1900) broken up the larger indivision, dispersing over the whole a. Musa section of valley the vocation of the different *ikhs*-s "from below and above," and set apart as their own for "those from above" only *ait Ufella*, the present sector. A vivification of the communitarian rule, an application pushed to an echelon more precise than that of the great *ikhs*-s have perhaps resulted from it. The re-establishment of the a. Musa on their ground brought about a rejuvenation of their structural law.

/Table from p. 202 of the original source/

Indication of the ikhs-s	Indication of the number of parcels that each ikhs possesses in each quarter (the letters and the numbering refer to the lists above)																															
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	
a	16	15	13	47	64	4	53	45	40	17	25	38	15	7	5	31	4	8	11	15	9	4	39	85	19	47	14	49	37		2	5	783
b				1	3		1	7		1	3	1			1		1	1	1							1	1	8	1				32
c	1	2	3	8	8		12	10	4		4	4	2		4	6	4	2			4		2		1	10	4	16	8	2			121
d	1	2	3	7	8		2	9				4	1		4	6	4	2			4		2		1	8	1	20	6				95
e	7	16	8	9	10		3	17	1	17	3	6	10	5	2	4	7	15	3	1	2	3	3		3	16	9	13	15				208
f	2			3		3	4	5		3	2	4	2	1	2		2	2	2					7	1	5	3	1	7				61
g					1		2	1	1			1											2	3	1				2				14
h	2	1	2	1		1	2	2			1	1		2	3	2			1	3	1	3	2		1	4	1						36
i		4	2	6	4	3	3	6	2				4	1	1	1	1	3		2		6		4	2	18						5	78
j	4	11	5	23	25	1	10	11	11			9	17		1	12	3	5	2	9		16	13	7	11	50	1		1				258
k	1	3	9	7	6	4	8	10				3		2	2	3		3	4	9	3	4	5	6	4	22							118
l	1	2	2	1	4		1	3	2	3	1	3			3	3	2	1		2		1		3	2	4							44
m		1	2		2											3	1				3			2		12						1	27
n	3	1		1	7	1	1	2	2	2					1	3	3	3	1	3		2	1		1	9							47
o																														10			10
p	18	30																															48
q	6	5																															11
r	8	16																															24
Totals by quarters.	70	109	49	114	142	17	92	128	63	43	39	74	51	18	29	74	32	45	25	44	26	39	69	117	47	206	34	107	77	12	2	11	
General total																																	2,015

[Ait Musa Ufella]

/203 cont./

423 2) The whole of the ground making up about 40 hectares,
311 each quarter, on the average, is a little more than one hectare.
But there are great inequalities. The largest ones are split up
[103] into several toponyms. One, Ibh'ir, includes up to 6 of them.
Four of them include five each. The subjoined table gives the
details.

3) The area of the average irrigated parcel is some two
[243] a., as at Z'init'. Maize constantly follows barley in the lower
band, and only depending upon the available lands on the upper
[592] level stretch. Let us note that each foyer possesses about 10
parcels on the average. But there are great inequalities: lords'
country, worn-out country, changing country.

103 4) Of 110 toponyms, there are not 20 that remain unintelligible: the majority still refer evidently to proper names. All the others are understood and immediately translated into Arabic by the local informant, if he is bilingual. This clearness is a constant of the genre. Still it is necessary to note that it is quite particularly keen here. If some names of things have assumed an antiquated or exotic color, it is scarcely. In the sense of "tamarisk," for example, one finds side by side tammachin, which is the local word, and ammayn, which is the word used in the Sous, unused here in this sense. Certain proper names recall historic or legendary memories: Ujjiin would have been a settler of the Demsira; Tawillult, a Portuguese woman. To these legendary settlers is also attributed the name of Bukris in the same quarter. Most of the other names naturally refer to /204/ /left side of table appears here/ /205/ /right side of table appears here/ /206/ /continuation of table appears here/ /207/ topographical details and agriculture. The table opposite /pp. 286-288/ indicates under each the explanation that is spontaneously given for it by the local peasant.

178 Thus, then, despite the weakness of this sector, exposed to the attacks of mountain and plain, accessible to the influences of the latter, and in some ways already denatured in its customs, the agrarian order that one ascertains here is that of the higher cantons. Now, not only has this territory not offered for at least

[Ibuban]

/207 cont./
133 dangerously close. To the N. and N.-E. it is still covered by a
[137] forest of holm oaks, junipers, and lentisks, where the villages
have had to clear a place for themselves parsimoniously. To the
S. the lands of Iwulla almost reach as far as the village of Tugg
Lkheyr, hanging over it by the Awrir i-ysemgan, "the hill of the
Negroes," with colossal populations of opuntia. To the E. the
country is cut not only by the valley of the asif n.-a. Lh'sen, but
by the high brows of the Amuddur (2,075 meters), through the
Wanz'id' possessions which advance to the north like a duck's
bill to rejoin the /208/ domain of the a. Lh'sen "of below"
233 (Awines and Buteghradin). The pasturage is so restricted, especially
423 on the side of the Ameznir, that these schistose slopes
613 are delimited among ikhs-s users. This notably at Tugg Lkheyr
and Timskert, where this division of the sterile wasteland appears
to have been pushed to its last degree and to have developed a
whole red tape of documents of ownership.

166 Yet this mutilated sector represents a reordering, due to the
intervention of the "caid" Lmokhtar, for whom one will note
the topographical strategy, adroit at reserving for his what we
call the lines of communication. Formerly, the a. Lh'sen of
166 Awines had occupied the Ibuban. The present inhabitants, of
432 heteroclite and successive origins, settled by way of purchase.
But the avarice of these driven-back populations enabled them to
overflow it anew on the, not political, but juridical plane. They
bought lands from their neighbors from Ammern and a. Musa, in
the Ilikri.

312 Nothing more precarious seemingly than this country without
[242] water. Barely two or three miserable sources, all just suitable to
give drink to the villages and to support, at the price of a long-term
rotation (12 days for three ikhs-s at Timskert, for example),
a few poor patches of gourds and onions. The only resource is
that of the streaming water. It nevertheless appears considerable
in case of heavy rain. The reserves of the soil, long stored, then
241 liquefy. One has barley for four or five years. Or one waits for
the storm, rrâda, which in general at the end of August marks
the time of the musêm of Tamarut, in Demsira, to "carry off" a

/208 cont./
241 turnip crop. But, in general, nothing to anticipate other than
the chances and risks of dry agriculture. Paradoxically, this
peasant is put in the situation of his colleague of the plains or
piedmont plateaus. But he does not have at his disposal, as he
does, the compensatory resource of space. Consequently he has
245 applied himself to remedy these misfortunes, with a care deserv-
[241] ing a better fate: vast staircase of tiers as at Amassin, painstak-
ing clearing as at Iggayzen, meticulous treatment of the soil on
declivities, planes, furrows and beds, in order to collect the least
bit of moisture, large plantings of opuntia, the fruit of which is
dried and stored, planting of almond trees above all, more than
35,000 for some 300 inhabitants.

And this puts one on the track of an explanation. Not being
able to be rendered by a display of lands for sowing, this recourse
to the extensive, if one may say it, is expressed by the multipli-
cation of the tree on open soil. Yet, in fact, not the least trace
of an orchard technique is to be sought there: neither grooves
draining the impluvium, nor "basin," tanut, nor, naturally,
pruning, grafting, or selection. The planting visibly surpasses
the maintenance faculties. The almond tree has been conceived
in association with the forest, like the carob tree, and is inserted
among oaks or lentisks. Another characteristic: these immense
plaques of opuntia, which arise for certain -- the alignment by
tiers below Amassin is one proof of it -- from a general taste
rather than from the spontaneous dispersion of which local folk-
lore makes the crow the agent. In the middle of August, and
[262] when the leaves of the aknari /209/ itself shrivel and curl up be-
cause of a lack of water, there will be a joyful debauch -- and
the main nourishment of the day -- in going to gulp down these
sweet fruits, difficult to approach, but occupying the stomach
[443] nicely. At this time of the year, the hawkers sell an incredible
[412] number of knives designed to peel the prickly skin. The gaiety
is expressed by a recrudescence of marriages. Divorces, it is
[586] true, will follow as soon as the year gives signs of inclemency.

243 The almond remains the principal wealth. But barley some-
times gives surprising results. According to a proverb of the

[Ibuban]

/209 cont./
243 a. Lh'sen, 20 measures of seed from Ibuban give as much as its
double from any other origin. And a quarter âbra of this cereal
grown here suffices, it seems, to satisfy, and beyond, the most
voracious of mules. The explanation, which we would willingly
[823] see in the quality of the soil, which a maladroit irrigation tech-
[778] nique does not wash away, as it does everywhere else, the people
see in a special baraka /magico-religious force; see glossary,
p. 638/, with which the Ibuban would be favored. First, as
compensation, for their country is unfruitful. Then because they
[794] are the most religious of men: thus, at Iggayzen, each foyer
pays to the saints merely as chcherd', and not including the
feasts and voluntary gifts, 4 1/4 measures of barley, that is 2/3
[173] qal. Finally, the Ibuban contain very old populations, and
antiquity on the soil is linked, according to these montagnards,
to a fine agricultural hand. These are "old people."

423 The bounds are divided into grounds where each of the prin-
613 cipal ikhs is represented. Thus, the Amassin people, of Dukkâla
origin, have their lands in each of the four villages. But, through
a privilege connected with their quality as conquerors, none of
the other ikhs has any among them. The a. Mulid, originally
from the a. Irz'z'i, are, like them, with this exception, repre-
sented everywhere. The aberrant populations, like the Inagheyn
of Talburt, or the [illegible] Melluk, descendants of blacks annihi-
lated by the Dukkâla, have fields only around their habitat.
Fugitive a. Irz'z'i and immigrant Dukkâla, masters of the coun-
try, have thus divided it among themselves. These conquered
ones are here combined with other elements as beneficiaries of
a new hierarchy. But this order is incomplete. The documenta-
ry interest of the sector is that local tradition makes one under-
stand why. Among the ikhs-s descended from the oldest popula-
tions and the conquering branches, Dukkâla or a. Irz'z'i, there
has not been equitable distribution. Between these two branches
themselves, all the quarters have not been covered by the
division. The disorder of history, reflected by still-living in-
equalities, has thus had direct effects on the landowner equilib-
rium.

[Ibuban]
[Imt'ddan]

/209 cont./

182 On the other hand, this driven-back economy has sought in a very instructive fashion to survive: it is an albur /see p. 38/ island in the mountains, an island in dry mountains, a corner, one might say, of the Anti-Atlas. An equilibrium has been sought, not in the obstinate hydraulic work, because there is no water, but in the nonchalant exploitation of the almond tree and the opuntia. In sum, recourse to the harvest. Correlatively, the rhythm of life here is much less active than in the neighboring
181 valleys. Long chats in the /210/ sun, on the plaza of the timezgida, inertia and routine have deeply tarnished the local character. To that are added other characteristics, resulting from history, and the ensemble of which makes up a physiognomy of decadence. The communal order does not completely govern the division of the ground. The pasturage is appropriated. The absence of irrigation resources has driven this mountain population to a steppe culture. It is doubtlessly not by chance that, contrary to the atmosphere of the other cantons, inequality should have arisen from the inclemency of the conditions of life. This poor canton contains several "rich ones" and is still today, by an apparent paradox, the one that provides some of the biggest shares of the tax. Poverty and defeat here have broken up the communal order based on equality and obstinacy, and these miseries are only incompletely compensated for by the mysterious agricultural power of the "old people."

...F. Imt'ddan

613 [634] [166] The 4 Imt'ddan ikhs-s have swarmed from a metropolis, the present Tamt'ddit, to spread over a vast canton. Territorial expansion and social segmentation go hand in hand. Still today the tie between people and groups is by no means that of habitat by villages, but that of classification in one or another of the ikhs-s of origin. Nevertheless, the proliferation of the latter is starting to obscure the consciousness of the ensemble, and at the outset unanimity on the balance of the present subdivisions is no longer to be had.

[Imt'ddan]

/210 cont./

613
621

Original ikhs-s	Present "minor ikhs-s"	Habitat
a. Naçer.	a. Uferyad'.	Tamt'ddit.
	a. Uchikar.	Tagunit.
	a. Warrh'u.	Tamt'ddit.
	a. Batirat.	Tagunit.
	a. Mulid.	Tamt'ddit.
	a. Bihi.	Tamt'ddit.
a. Lâgid.	a. Chchku.	Tagunit.
	a. H'imi.	Tagunit.
	a. H'mad u-Mh'mmed.	Tamt'ddit.
a. Lyazid.	a. Ukraray.	Tinwalin, Tamzgurt.
	a. Uâzzi.	Tamt'ddit.
	a. Jamid.	Tinwalin.
	a. Uturit.	Tinwalin.
a. Uqejjaj.	a. Âli u Âli.	Tamzgurt.
	a. Sâid.	Tamzgurt.
	a. Ufarnu.	Tagunit.
	a. Uqurru.	Tagunit.
a. Lehger.	a. Ubaqqa.	Tagunit.
	a. Ubumarth.	Tagunit.

[Imt'ddan]
[Bulᶜwân]

613 /211/ Undoubtedly one observes a certain differentiation be-
621 tween Tinwalin and Tamezgurt, on one hand, the two other villages of the tetrapolis, Tagunit and Tamt'ddit, on the other. But, with this exception, each subgroup is well represented in the different grounds of the canton.

423 This characteristic appeared clearly on the occasion of pro-
691 ceedings which in 1951 set the Imt'ddan against one another concerning a vast albur utilized half-pasturage, half-tillage, on the E. counterfort of the Tamjlucht. A judiciary transfer was made at the summit of the Azuran. The titles were contradictory; leases, sales had come into play. And, even more, irregularities of an ownership which always accrued to the strongest, but without annulling the right of the weakest. In fact, within this ground, three families, profiting from their preponderance, disputed a quarter favorable for rye called Uz'z'igat (1,900 meters). The summit is not far from it. From there, the view plunges, to ~~the~~ E., over the Kattos, the Wafagga; to the W. and to the S., over a landscape with magnificent folds, closed by the barrier of the Afuzar and, in the background, by the Atlasic crest. This high plateau, all around the crop terrain, is studded with idughas,
[692] "summer shelters." The jemâa deliberates. An agreement is
[634] finally concluded. / The Uz'z'igat is to be allotted among the 19
[613] ikhs-s resulting from the fractioning of the first Imt'ddan families.
A brief dispute had tended to exclude the branches with the most
[634] eccentric habitat, such as those of Tinwalin. But, instructively,
the taqbilt solidarity and the landed-property vocation that it implies will outweigh the dispersion of habitat and the decay of the bond. It could not be otherwise. Analogous solidarity prevails elsewhere, as has been seen, in a matter as favorable to privative appropriation as the harvest of almonds.

G) Bulᶜwân, estuary of the montagnard system

133 The Tagoyyamt ford (740 meters), where the traditional
361 route from the Dir crosses the Oued Seksawa, here called Lwâd n-Qihra, or Asifl-lqîhra, leaves a village on the right, Bulᶜwân, the colony of which, Taqennurt, situated not far away, on the

/211 cont./

133 left and downstream, disappears under the olive trees. It is the
361 estuary of the mountain life into the plains life. Whence a
mixed spirit, the analysis of which can reveal intermediate or
133 decadent forms with a certain value as indicators. The bounds
311 include 4 grounds. That is, from upstream to downstream, sur-
423 rounding the village of Bul^{c}wân, a small alluvial plateau, dominated by the Talh'archt channel, "of the aspre" /Translator: a rocky hill in the Roussillon, where vineyards and fruit trees prosper/ (to return to the Pyrenean word). Then, surrounding Taqennurt, another irrigated ground, which extends toward the Ud. Bessebâ^{c}, a h'emri. Dominating it on the W. a mamilliform landed-estate is connected to the mass of lands which separates, from the foot of the Urkus, the courses of the Seksawa and Imintanout wadis before their confluence: it is the Inzzūyma.

Let us pass by some bands of crops, in the very bed of the river, upstream from the village, or on its right, facing Taqennurt, Dwiran side. They are secondary sectors: the essential of this agricultural life clings to the 4 grounds enumerated above.

/212/ Archeology and Rural Landscape

133 To one who looks toward the high valley from the Seksawa
172 ford, the landscape appears grandiose. It is limited to the S., and indeed high above the head of the observer, by the triangular mass of the Tabgurt, dominating at more than 3,000 meters the calcareous peaks which frame the vestibule of the valley. It is at the foot of one of them, the Argyun, that the village of Ilutjan encamps its ruined terraces. Not far behind would soon appear, if one climbs the slope that leads to Bul^{c}wân, some remains of ramparts on a spur bolting the valley at the place called Lkhneg, "the gorge." Today their emplacement is called Agadir n-Lmkhzen. It is perhaps the former Mérinide fortress of al-Qâhira. The whole section of the river downstream from this citadel to the end of the course in Seksawa bears the name, as has been seen, of asif n-Qihra. To tell the truth, it would be necessary to dig the whole site of Bul^{c}wân. A superficial examination reveals,

/212 cont./

133 172 beyond this agadir l-Lmkhzen, an agadir n-Lkhizzo, "of the carrot," on the left cliff of the river. At the same height, the so-called cemetery of sidi ^{c}Oqba: rrawd'a n-^{c}Oqbt, where the tradition of the great Arab conqueror survives in memory; it conceals several tombs attributed to Regraga. Nearly opposite, overhanging the right bank, an Agadir i-yghd, "of the ashes." It was formerly occupied by the a. Mughrum, that is, the ancestors of the 4 present ikhs-s: Ichkajen, a. Bujmâ, a. Bihi u Saîd, a. Belh'ajj. It is sidi Ghânem, founding and pacifying saint, who supposedly transferred them to the left bank. The very emplacement of the village conceals two former agadir-s: a. Aqdim and a. Lejdid, on the remains of which is built the house of the present amghar. Finally, beneath the fields and the orchards of Bul^{c}wân are discerned, at the place significantly called Ikorkar, "the piles of flints," long trails of stone still indicating a vast quadrangular enceinte. These stones were obviously brought in: pebbles from the river, or paving stones of hard rock without any doubt conveyed from afar.

A little farther upstream, Ilutjan is dominated by one Tigemmi n-Twurirt, "a house of the hill," for which local tradition still knows the former role of shelter. This abundance of refuges of classical type, similar to those of the Mez'ud'a cliff, but much older, invites the hypothesis of a stage where an important agricultural ground, and not by any means merely of the a. Âbdella, but of the ensemble of the Seksawa, was spread in the plain. This archeological layer has been covered by another, its rival and destroyer, the Mérinide layer. But, in most cases, it is no longer impossible to distinguish between the one and the other. The improbability of discovering without excavations which of the two enceintes corresponds to the Mérinide fortress does not entail any hesitation as to the character that they imprint on the landscape and which we observe down to the incidences of detail in the rural
181 economy. Whatever the identification hypotheses may be, the valley has been bolted since an ancient epoch, and consequently the complex differentiation that contrasts in type the downstream from the upstream, and makes the whole country of Bul^{c}wân

/212 cont./

181 a transition /213/ between the mountain culture and the plains culture, is duplicated there by a political threshold. Politics has almost immediate effects on the Maghrebi structures. Power is, in different respects, an economic phenomenon. It entails rapid and visible consequences on the landscape: either by the elimination of the little ones, or -- and the case is frequent in the South of Morocco -- by aspects of systematic valorization: plantings, for example.

245 In fact, the grounds of Bul^{c}wân and of Taqennurt present in their lower part beautiful and old checkerworks of olive trees, under which are cultivated intercalary crops. It is the formula of the "park" or of the "closed garden," agellay. Above the denivellation that the Talh'archt channel follows, almond trees are similarly massed. This division by "wooded masses," which one also characteristically finds again upstream, at Tuz'z'umt, a. Wagenna, etc., undoubtedly does not correspond solely to agronomic opportunities. It is true that the olive tree requires more water and an alluvial ground, while the almond tree, on the contrary, puts up with dryness and stones if necessary. But even more this divison of species obeys a rural order, more and more perfect types of which are found in Seksawa as one approaches the high mountains. What makes one think of a regalian influence in the formation of the olive plantation is its homogeneity, which undoubtedly shows an initially controlled effort, and its regular growth. One might make the same verifications in Nfifa at Imintanout, in Mtugga at Kuzemt. For this last planting, we perhaps shall get to localize it in history. But what is to be said about the olive plantations of Taroudant or of El Kelâa?

a) Fuq Bul^{c}wân

241 A few figures: about 2,000 olive trees and 5,000 almond
311 trees. Irrigated autumn crops: barley 20 ha., hard wheat 6 ha.,
soft wheat 2 ha. Spring crops (but without rotation order):
[103] maize 12 ha. This plaque of about 30 ha. is divided into quar-
ters, that is, from upstream to downstream: Talilit, Ikorkar, Dar

/213 cont./
241 tgommi ufella, Talat l-lâin, Lh'arch n-a. Belh'ajj, Agellay
311 n-Ali u Mançur, n-a. Benjâa, Talburt, Lh'arch n-Bihi u Sâîd.
103 These quarters follow one another on the plane of earth that goes
from the ighzer, "ravine," l-H'ed to the Ighzer n-Berka u ^{c}Ali.
Downstream the following quarters follow one another: Agellay
n-ait Sâid, Lh'ufert n-a. Bella, n-a. Chuh'u, n-a. Bihi Sâid,
Ichkajen, a. L^{c}anayt. And one arrives at the route from the Dir.

311 Thus, then, we have, for about 30 hectares, 16 quarters of
312 about 2 ha. each; thus, they are spacious. On the other hand, a
very important matter -- they do not always correspond to "principal intakes," içdar, from the channel. The number of the latter is very high: 28 for only the section of the Talh'archt going
from one ravine to another. From these intakes depart ditches,
called lmçâref here. They serve, according to irregular lines,
parcels that are irregular and situated at different levels of the
[103] declivity. No correspondence between the irrigation technique
and the toponymy.

312 The distribution system for the water is new; it succeeds an
178 older one, the origin of which cannot be stated precisely. Formerly, the Talh'archt was /214/ managed on the general plane of
[624] all the ait Âbdella that it serves (that is, in particular Tuz'z'umt
and Ilutjan included) by an amazzel who would deliver the water
according to the needs of such-and-such land. A choice necessarily arbitrary, and thus being possibly amenable to only two
hypotheses: either a rigorous agrarian order, wiping out, in a
functional unanimity, competition between individuals, or, on
the contrary, authority of a chief replacing the village institution.
We lean toward the first hypothesis. At a later time (control over
the powers of the amghar by the Protectorate), this system was
broken up, and the water distributed by "units," ferdiyat, according to a practice apparently widespread. The beneficiaries of
these units were henceforth no more than territorial entities, such
as Bul^{c}wân or Taqennurt, considered as villages. However that
may be, the ground of Bul^{c}wân henceforth had at its disposal 2.5
ferdiyat: that is, 30 hours. But it is necessary to note that under
[624] these reduced proportions and within these 30 hours, the

[Bul^c^wân]

/214 cont./

312 178 [624] distribution was done neither according to ikhs nor according to groupings of parcels, but remained subject to the estimation of the amazzel. Neither gentilitial order nor topographic order, but, if one may say it, purely agricultural order, and subject to a troubling, or affecting, power of estimation. We again find there the incidence of political variations on the agrarian regime. Every time, the rising power judges irrational and reforms the previous practice. The amghar reacts against the community institution, and the modern administration against the amghar. But at each of these stages, a portion of the authentic organization survives. Although broken, and each time on a more modest plane.

103 The analysis of the names of the quarters provides still other indications.

First, one finds there the elements of a classification of the ground: the h'arch, "the aspre" /see p. 296/, on one hand, the h'ofra, "basin," on the other, with assignment of a part of the one and of the other to different subjects, which indeed appear as collective subjects: Ichkajjen, ait Bihi u Sâid. But the symmetry is limited to these two cases. What is more striking is that, out of 16 names, 11 express these vocations of appurtenance. The so-striking descriptive aspect of the names of quarters in the mountains is not found here, except for a fourth of the designations, which is not much.

It is difficult to conclude anything from such indications, except mixture and erosion. Nevertheless a look at the parceling of Bul^c^wân, South part, appraisable at about 20 hectares, permits 794 184 supposing certain regularities. The fact that the great institution protective of the patrimonial immutability in the mountains, the habous /wakf/, is not found here is all the more suggestive. It is so rare in all the a. Âbdella that its rare appearances in the upstream villages, such as Iminteghli or Ilutjan, do not truly enter into the mores. The mobilization of the lands thus does not clash with any juridical restraint.

[Bul^{c}wân]
[Taqennurt]

/214 cont./

b) Taqennurt

613 Fuq Bul^{c}wân is a ground that includes 141 very unequal par-
423 cels, 100 of them exiguous and 4 spacious. If one adds this num-
241 ber to that of Taqennurt, one obtains a figure of some /215/ 220
parcels for a total area of approximately 55 ha. That is, an av-
erage area of about 20 ares per parcel. A considerable figure in
[492] relation to the horticulture upstream: almost tenfold. It implies
a cereal economy, with animal tillage with two beasts. In fact,
[233] Bul^{c}wân and Taqqenurt together count nearly 200 bovines. Here
[412] the hoe is used only to finish the work around the foot of the trees.

Other verifications result from the parceling.

Names of ikhs-s	Number having rights	Number of parcels at Bul^{c}wân	at Taqennurt	Total of the parcels
a. Lkhil	2	21	13	34
a. Lmchari	6	13	5	18
a. Sidi Ghânem	10	32	2	34
a. Belh'ajj	1	3		3
a. H'mmo u Jâa	2	2	4	6
a. H'mmo u Qeddur	2	3	1	4
a. Si Mh'nd	7	17	7	24
Ichkajen	4	12	1	13
a. Wah'man	1	2	1	3
a. Benjâa	5	8	1	9
a. Naçr	1	1		1
a. Ussttif	1	1		1
a. Bihi u Sâid	2	5		5
a. Wammern	2	10	5	15
a. Sâid	3	7	1	8
a. Bello u H'fid'	1	1		1
a. Wanz'id'	1	1		1
a. Bihi u H'fid'	3	1	7	8
a. Waferyad'	2		8	8
a. Alla u Bujmâ	1		2	2
a. Jâa Ukʷays	2		2	2
a. Lqorchi	1		1	1
a. Lᶜanayt	6	3	4	7
a. Wârab	3		6	6
Ih'ançalen	2		3	3
a. Bihi u Ali	2		6	6
Total: 26 ikhs-s	70	143	80	223

[Taqennurt]

/215 cont./

613 This table calls for various comments.

423 1) Inequality of the landed situations. The a. Lkhil, family
241 of the present chiefs, possess, by themselves alone, 1/7 of the parcels. Other ikhs-s also attain a respectable total. Thus, the a. Lmchari (18), the a. sidi Ghânem, descendants of the local saint (34), the a. sidi Mh'nd (24). But other patrimonies are reduced to one parcel. One sees appearing here the "great family" ousting the weak ones.

2) This aspect is accentuated if one considers only Taqennurt, where 7 ikhs-s are not even represented; the expansion in the "colony" is the business of the powerful ones.

3) A certain symmetry is nonetheless observable, since /216/ 3/4 of the ikhs-s are represented, even though unequally, in the two grounds.

Here we are on the way to other observations. Within Fuq Bul^{c}wân the rule is the plurality of the parcels: veritable representation. Although no longer corresponding to the toponymic division of the ground, it expresses a characteristic entanglement: a sort of secondhand or decadent form of landed-property sampling observed in the mountain sectors. In this respect one has only to cast one's eyes over the parcellary schema of the ground. The same names reappear at the four cardinal points. The parcels are arranged nearly on two longitudinal strips in the S.-N. direction. At Taqennurt, it is on three strips: one immediately against the Talh'archt, the other bordering the river, the third in between. These parcels, called by the name of the ikhs, are generally divided between two or three individual owners. Their number is rather moderate (70) for the ensemble.

That such symmetries have survived so many causes of disaggregation; even more, that the spontaneous action of the great ones, being accomplished by purchases and sales, without meeting the restraint of institutions of patrimonial immutability, has respected these symmetries, indeed has even tended to reconstitute them, that reveals either a singularly obstinate survival of an old order, or -- which would be even more revealing -- an inveterate tendency of the milieu to recompose itself through all

[Taqennurt]

613 /216 cont./
vicissitudes and against all outside interventions: in the case in
423 point, six centuries of powers of the plain, in open struggle
241 against the montagnard system.

c) The confines: Lh'emri, Inzzūyma

619
131 Downstream from Taqennurt, the Seksawa bounds are promptly limited by those of the Dwiran. A terrain quite poorly irrigated today, Lh'emri, having become more or less the appanage of the local chiefs, terminates them. Higher, it is the hillocks of Inzzūyma, common to the W. with the Nfifa. Here therefore we are in a zone of confines.

175 The middle Seksawa valley was formerly occupied by the
Demsira. This was not the case for Bul^{c}wân, the landed traditions
619 of which go back to some Ida u Blal. It is the former who were replaced farther downstream by the Ud Bessebâ^{c}, whose first hamlet bears a significant name, Ad'uwar. The Arabic "douar," in contrast to the "village" of the Chleuh /Shluh/. All of this sector was devastated by struggles between tribes. Also, it was intercessors from the Seksawa valley, Ammern "marabouts" in particular, whom it behooved initially to swarm in from this side in order to bar the route to strangers. At Ad'uwar the Talh'archt and Tasbâit channels meet: this is a knot of waterways toward the plain.

Here one is in the domain of decadent, "shattered" history. A large portion of the Lh'emri today is domainal, and rented, at a rate of principle, to the amghar-s of the a. Âbdella. Let us understand that this was a no man's land /the italics are in English in the original source/, theater of competitions of tribes, and of the expansion of the appanages. It is not there that one should look for a rural order.

133 To the E., toward Imintanout, a bulge of terrain sinks in
/217/ a triangle between the valleys of the asif-s Seksawa and
Imintanout. That would appear quite clearly to one who climbs
423 the slope of the Urkus. It is a matter of the ground of the Inz-
619 zūyma equally claimed by the a. Âbdella and the neighboring
[657] Nfifa. The administration has consolidated and almost balanced

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[423]
[657] /217 cont./
these rival claims by conferring on this vast landed-estate a collective status which divides it between the two tribes.

According to certain traditions recorded in a. Lh'sen, this collective should return entirely to the Seksawa, and its assignment at all to the a. Abdella would arise from one of these errors based on the perspective of contiguity, and such as we have often committed in North Africa, in Algeria for example, in the application procedures of the Sénatus Consulte of 1863.

The question was important, because if we had again found in the Inzzūyma traces of a property-owner's vocation for the ensemble of the Seksawa "fractions," our hypothesis on the former landed projection of the tribe toward the plain would have been singularly reinforced by it. It was a matter, in sum, of a study of archeological indications launched a little blindly. Here
243 are the results of this study. The following table groups the areas,
619 in measures of seeds, ^{c}abra-s, of the different population groups
433 cultivating the Inzzūyma. There will result from it conclusions
184 for the moment negative. No regularity of distribution: a coun-
648 try worn, devastated by history. But a plurality of usufructuary groups: perhaps a remote reminder...

a) Part for the a. Imintanut (Nfifa)

	Nfifa of Imintanout	Other Nfifa	Demsira	Seksawa	People of the Sous	Ud Besseba^{c}	Chichaoua	Mtugga	Mez'ud'a	Dwiran	People of Argana	People of Amizmiz	
Barley.....	4,047	6	112	153	236	235	3	25	12	0	26	17	4,872
Hard wheat.	592	1	33	17	27	6	0	4	0	0	5	4	689
Soft wheat .	163	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	4	1	171
Totals . .	4,802	7	145	170	266	241	3	29	12	0	35	22	5,732

/217 cont./

b) Part for the a. Abdella (Seksawa)

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	a. Abdella	a. Lah' sen	a. H'adduyws.	Idma	Sous	Nfifa	
Barley....	3,064	19	6	83	29	15	3,216
Hard wheat	276	0	1	13	0	0	290
Soft wheat.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Totals...	3,340	19	7	96	29	15	3,506

N.B. The evaluations are made in ^{c}abra-s of seed, that is, for barley, approximately a quarter of a hectare each.

/218/

V. Consistency, Limits, and Import of an Agrarian Order

A Research Hypothesis

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R. Montagne relates (1)

1. R. Montagne, "Les leff-s berbères au début du XVIII^{e} siècle chez les Masmouda /The Berber leffs at the beginning of the eighteenth century among the Masmouda/," Hesp., 1941, p. 93.

how, after many gropings, one day he conceived, in the Aghbar or the Ogdemt, the explanatory hypothesis for the leff-s. With A. Basset, he traversed these cantons for long days in search of clues on their political history. Facts accumulated, which no link seemed to connect together in the native consciousness: too inveterate, too "normal" for it to perceive laws or linkings there. And here is what flashes out among all these facts, an order that arranges them, justifies them. The past of the Haut Atlas /High Atlas/: propagation of chefferies /military districts/, tension between and within groups, conservative discord, anarchies balancing

[illegible]

[illegible]ière des Seksawa /Old documents on the landed-property customs of the Seksawa/," 1948, R. afr., 1948; review in the Bulletin de l'Association des Géographes français, 1950, of a communication of June 3, 1950, "Structure agraire des groupes chleuhs du Haut-Atlas occidental /Agrarian structure of the Shluh groups of the western High Atlas/"; "Un glossaire notarial /A notarial glossary/," R. afr., 1950;

[illegible]

[illegible] Berber/ toponymy and anthropo[illegible] E. Laoust, Contribution à une étude de la toponymie du Haut-Atlas /Contribution to a study of the toponymy of the High Atlas/, which aims at our very milieu, 1942; A. Basset, "Note sur la graphie des toponymes /Note on the writing of the toponyms/," Travaux de l'Institut des Recherches sahariennes, 1942, pp. 177 sq., where a simple phonetic alphabet is proposed, fairly similar to the one that has been adopted here; on the Berbère toponymy, and especially on the Chaouia toponymy of the Ait Frah, Onomastica, 1948, p. 123; and especially, "Pour une collecte [illegible] more than the Seksawa from the action of the powers of the plain. Those of its cantons which, like the a. Chaîb and a. Bkhayr, have been able to escape through isolation have lived more shabbily than the Seksawa. The latter were protected, starting from their middle valley, by a relief in /220/ depth, a resistant hagiology, and probably a historical tradition: all things which are lacking in Demsira.

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[184]
This said concerning the resemblances and differences, the cross-checkings that have been brought to bear on this tribe have proved positive on a great number of points. Here are the principal ones:

[illegible], going from the simple to the quadruple, are observed within each quarter, between the shares of the ones having rights. They are still greater in the quarter located immediately below the village. Just as in another one, one of the 7 ikhs-s is not represented. The irrigation is done by turns of one day, falling to each of the ikhs-s. On the dry land, similar representation, although with more ample proportions and in less entanglement. Above the ditches for streaming water, that is again accentuated, and each ikhs has a sector of its own at its disposal.

The example of Tinnmrutin is all the more interesting because it touches our Seksawa, from whom the Iguntar, today attached to the a. Lh'sen, descended and still possess rights there.

613 3) In the most tortured region of the Demsira, the most
423 weakened by all the conquerors, official passers-by, claimants

[illegible] and a "mountain" which is the North reverse of the Lemgo, as well as a plain on the confines of the Mtugga.

619 423 [634] 1) In this latter domain was observed the working of the distribution of land. It is the taqbilt called Wad l-lbûr. Seven a^{c}z'âm form it, all allogeneous. Not one autochthon. One of them, the a. Âli Umbarek, has its crops grouped upstream, mixed with those of the a. Abdnnur, "people of the mountain." But the 6 others are impeccably represented in each quarter. Besides, they are the ones that are designated, excluding the former, by a collective name: a. i-ymiz'z'er. [578] The conflict between the rule of topographical distribution and possession, invoked by the a. Âli, who have all the crops massed around the source, gives rise to numerous clashes. In 1950 a transaction made allowances for things and combined the two systems to the

[Nfifa]
[Mtugga]

619 /221 cont./
423 general satisfaction. Another corollary verification. That in the irrigated ground.

2) Outside of this irrigated ground, curiously named Wad l-lbûr, that is, "the river of the dry crops," the taqbilt possesses a mamilliform country, making up part of the yellowish confines between Mtugga and Nfifa: grounds called Lmdayn, Berdami, Id'ergan, Amskennid', etc. The collective vocation is made known, as proof that appropriation has been made there, for each campaign, s-lh'waz, that is to say, by a race to be the first occupant, "by seizure." Marking with the plowshare is equal to appropriation for the year. In 1950 the depositing of a privative demand for registering led to formalizing this character. [634] It was the integrality of the taqbilt of Wad l-lbûr, including the "people of the mountain," that claimed its rights. The rival claim of the villages located in the very estate to monopolize it was finally rejected. It is an allotment by "foyers," s-takatin, that was decided upon, one zone being assigned on this basis to each village of the mountain or of the plain: an intermediate system, making allowance for all the ikhs-s and for their general vocation, and for their differences of size or of habitat.

Roughly, the country of Wad l-lbûr appears as though it had been initially cut up into three grounds, where each of the ikhs-s had its share. But their evolution has been divergent: privative appropriation for the mountain sector, persistent collective tenure for the plains ground, and classical distribution by quarters in the lower valley of the Amejnes.

/222/ . . . Mtugga . . .

133 Complex structure. Two E.-W. synclinals frame what has been inexactly called the Mtugga plateau. In reality it is a calcareous bulge linked to the Atlasic surrection. But its surface, subjected to intense erosion, has become in many places a stony causse. It is cut by ravines, the junction of which, under the name of Igrunzar, forms the Wâd Lqçob. The latter flows into

[Mtugga]

/222 cont./

133 the sea near Mogador. It is its water that formerly irrigated the Săadian sugar-cane plantations.

619 1) The importance of the "plateau" is essential. With the exception of the Reh'h'ăla, aberrant, all the Mtugga *khoms*-s surround it and participate in its exploitation for pasturage, [634] gathering, or tillage. That is, in the direction of the hands of a watch, the following *taqbilt*-s: Idaw Merzug, Idaw Nifi, Kuzemt, Alassen, Idaw Talilt, Intamlin.

This schematic distributon, on the scale of the vast spaces of Mtugga life, nonetheless appears as a not negligible factor of economic and political equilibrium.

613 423 2) Kuzemt. The lands of dry tillage are owned by each of the *ikhs*-s, by means of agglomerated parcels approximately coinciding with the habitat. It is to be observed, moreover, that, following the H'ăh'a mode, each *ikhs* lives apart. But the olive plantation contains, from the point of view of land, a representation of *all the ikhs*-s, and even those whose habitat is eccentric, like Iggi w-ugnan.

It is to be noted that most of the plantations are of the same age. The presence of all the *ikhs*-s in the olive plantation, does it correspond to a division subsequent to a collective task organized by an official occupant? [172] That is what the imposing ruins, called Dar l-Ibacha, and which seem to go back to the makhzanian enterprises mentioned in the *Rih'la* of the marabout of Tasaft (Justinard tr., p. 18), would make one suppose.

Besides the olive plantation, the quarter of Iggi n-d'her, where a great number of irrigated parcels exist, includes a veritable sampling of all the *ikhs*-s of Kuzemt.

133 3) To the N.-E. of the Jebel Kharruba, symmetrically with the village of Tadnest in relation to these heights, the ground of the Zahr ou T'amer resembles a series of basins, separated by 173 rocky spurs. According to a tradition recorded by J. Fuchs, this was initially pasturage ground. Then different elements from Intamlin came to colonize it, without, for all that, abandoning their principal habitat.

[Mtugga]

/222 cont./

423 Although all sorts of mutations have affected the parts thus
revived, the collective qualification muchū^c is still applied to
the whole. On the other hand, and very significantly, although
[613] the first appropriation passes for having been done "by seizure,"
most of the ikhs-s of the Intamlin are still represented at Zahr
ou T'amer.

Same symmetry in the vast "collectives" constituting confines between Mtugga and Nfifa.

4) At the place called Adder, present site of the Wednesday
[443] market, and which seems to have formerly been more amply irrigated by the source /223/ of Sidi bu Brahim, is observed a
veritable potpourri of owners belonging to diverse Mtugga subdivisions, some of them very far away. Thus, analysis of the
[619] lands reveals there Idaw Merzug, Reh'h'âla, Idaw Talilt, and
[634] even some allogeneous Idaw Ziki and Mentaga.

[539] Tradition applies the following saying to Adder: Adder:
taryalt umzil: amesmar enna trit, gis t-tufit, "it is the blacksmith's basket, no matter what nail you want, you find it there."
Only a more profound analysis could say if that is pure coincidence or an accidental aggregate, resulting from external causes
like the existence of a thermal saint, or traces of systematic
distribution.

619 The genre of the Mtugga tribe is quite peculiar, as much
from the fact of its size as from the simultaneous play whose
spectacle it offers between a very resistant customary archaism
[121] and the latifundian expansion of the "great families." It would
be perilous to pursue these analogies in depth in a purely comparative account, the goal of which is not to study their tribal
[671] contexture. May it suffice for us to have noted that, despite such
peculiarity, many emergences of the montagnard law can be revealed. Those that have been noted here are far from being the
only ones.

/223 cont./

... Mez'ud'a...

619 184 Same reservations, but also same conclusions. Among them, the plain-mountain balance has been preserved up to our day. The tribe presents a homogeneity, perhaps acquired dearly, but which, its more modest proportions helping, rather makes of it the form of unfolding of types that we find, on a more exiguous model, in Haut /Upper/ Seksawa, for example. The factor [312] of originality here is the use of five large séguias from the asif el-Mâl, and which condition the economic and political life of at least the whole East part of the tribe.

631 1) A general study shows that, roughly, the Mez'ud'a plain is like the exposition and amplification of the political divisions of the mountains. Each of the latter projects its zone of ownership over a special sector. Whence constant coming and going, and today, and more and more, double habitat. This same fact is observable in the Dwiran. It has already struck our researchers.

613 423 178 2) What has remained unperceived is what degree of detail this agrarian order has reached. Despite the intense appropriation of the plain since the pacification, there remain cultivation communities where the vocation of each ikhs resists all evolutions. Again in 1950 a gentilitial distribution, in terms of the astonishingly ramified and hierarchized system that caps the ikhs-s here, was victoriously imposed, in spite of the privative vivifications, on the largest part of the Ighargharen ground coming back to the a. Gd'id'.

312 613 3) The functioning of the irrigation, a perfect clockwork mechanism, is governed, not by topographical proximity, but by group appurtenance. Whence what would appear to us as difficulties and paradoxes. Thus, it is necessary that, down to the individual echelon, for each /224/ rightful claimant whose turn arrives, there are lands available in the sector watered just at this moment by one or the other of the 5 great séguias diagonally crossing the plain, and which leave between them distances of several kilometers on occasion. There again, as in what concerns the Mtugga, it would be a mistake to pursue in detail

[Mez'ud'a]

/224 cont./

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analogies which would come out false, in view of the stage of unfolding and the personal genre of the Mez'ud'a.

184 Let us moreover hail in passing these original developments which not only illustrate the vitality of each group, when it is not struck by decadence, or external troubles, but the liaison of this vitality with particular techniques. The latter are all centered, as Taine would have said, on a "master idea" of the group. Thus, they occasionally reach the consciousness not only of the experts, but of the common citizens.

128 Perhaps one now has the right to systematize some notes, only the most striking of which have been recorded above, but which one could multiply indefinitely, if one did not fear making the enumeration excessively fastidious. But would this indeed be rash? Would it not be necessary first to continue the probings over the whole extent of the Chleuh /Shluh/ world, indeed, more broadly, the Berbère /Berber/ world? We were not able to do it directly, but oral information confirms that the phenomena observed here are found at the very least on the periphery of the tribes of Imintanout, from the Gedmiwa to the Aghbar and to the Idaw Mh'mud. 171 On the other hand, it is superfluous to say that the minutiae of such analyses, involving the twin call on the toponymy, the parcellary topography, and the morphology of the groups, have hardly tempted researchers in the rest of the Maghreb (1).

1. In any case, it would not appear without interest that at the other end of North Africa, in the Aurès, the opportunities for direct investigation have permitted us to find it indeed lively.

A striking trait of the western Aurès is the parallelism of the two great valleys of the Wâd ᶜAbdi and the Wâd Labyod', which constitute two streets of peopling. Life stretches out along these natural paths, in a roughly N.E.-S.W. orientation. Thus it is with the two great rival

/224 cont./

171 /footnote 1 continued/ tribes, the Ud ^{c}Abdi and the Ud Daud, now called Tuaba. Each of their villages is surrounded by a perimeter of careful horticulture. One might thus believe that the distribution of land corresponds to this compartmentalization. Not at all.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the operations of the Sénatus Consulte, seeing to breaking up the old tribal entities into "commune-douars," which offered sufficient guarantees of human and economic homogeneity, established vast confusions of habitat and of property in the Aurès. The description that the commissioners setting the boundaries give of it leaves no doubt in this respect. In the Wâd Labyod', the 5 traditional subdivisions of the Ud Daud interlace their dependencies all along 74 kilometers of valley. Certain villages belong at the same time to two, three, indeed even simultaneously to the totality of these "sheikates." With the exception of Menâa, the 14 subgroups of the Ud ^{c}Abdi are similarly interlaced. The plain of Nerdi has dispersed on it a veritable sampling of ownership. More to the S., behind the great barrier /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ of the Zalato, the Beni bu Slimân present "entangled fractions," the officer tells us, "like crops, courses, and even villages." That over 12,000 hectares. This confusion is all the more remarkable because the use of "granary-fortresses," aqli^{c}t, plur. iqli^{c}in, corresponds here to the personality of each agnatic group rather than to that of the village or of the tribe.

Thus it seems that this discontinuity of ground, this group interlacing are the rule in the Aurès and

/224 cont./

171 /footnote 1 continued/ express an exigency of internal equilibrium. But let us take this isolated rapprochement only for what it would be: merely the bait for more extended controls. (Cf. Archives of the Sénatus Consulte at Aris.)

128 These cross-checkings /225/ thus remain to be done. Only they will be able to infirm or confirm, and consequently to endow with generality or not, the structural law that it is believed has been uncovered here.

121

The "Parcellary Orchestration" (1)

[114] 1. This expression is taken up again, while apologizing for its paradoxical aspect, from the article of 1948, where we set forth our first verifications.

181 Let us return to the Seksawa of the high valleys.
423 Their whole life is marked by a very precise division bearing
613 on three orders of facts. The ground is divided into individual-
ized quarters. Time is scanned by the succession of "turns" or-
[805] ganized for irrigation, and the latter is not only an essential
[312] economic base, but a collective symbol, fixing the most vehement aspirations of these rural people. The group is divided into
[592] ikhs-s, themselves distributed in conjugal families, but preserving a role, or rather assuming attributions. There prevails among these three orders of things an exact correspondence.
182 Easily decipherable in the present state, and despite degradations
423 and mutations, it inspires and maintains the deportment of the
613 montagnard, for whom it is at the same time an inveterate or-
ganization, guarantee of persistence, and ideal of legitimacy.
[671] The local land law in this part of the Atlas has no aim other than
[421]

182 /225 cont./
423 to safeguard, against all causes of disturbance, and against indi-
613 vidual life in general, these correlations.

621 It is thus explained that, to the astonishment of the agrono-
421 mist, the order of irrigation is gentilitial. Contrary to what
423 economy of effort and the elementary concern to reduce losses
312 due to infiltration and evaporation would impose, it is not the
piece of terrain made up of an ensemble of contiguous parcels
613 that will profit from the turn for water, but the discontinuous
domain of an ikhs: as dispersed, as distant on occasion as its fields may be, on that day the irrigation must skip over important intervals in order to go from one to the other. This discontinuity itself is the rule, because, in each of the quarters, each ikhs must have its share. All sorts of conservative mechanisms thereupon come to limit the possibilities of landed-property mutations: sales or successions, /226/ violent dispossessions. In the present state still, wherever the ground is flourishing, the techniques well preserved, the commune lively, this rotation of the water and this distribution of the parcels tend toward perfection. Whence it comes that the classic form of the property is neither the ample piece lying together nor even the cluster of neighboring fields, but a patrimonial sampling. The average cultivator has a hundred parcels at his disposal, each of which is sometimes reduced to a few square meters. The formula is not viable from an economic point of view. But what does it matter to the montagnard? He has, according to the expression of the native documents, "his name in every quarter." A distributive ideal is thus attained. It is also an ideal of variety. The parcels are defined by their fitting in among those of others having rights. The smallness of the areas helping, their limitation is not material, but personal, not topographical, but anthroponymic. That emerges clearly from local writings, where they are defined by the name of the quarter and of the four borderers, without any other precision of boundaries. The appurtenance to the ikhs and the insertion in such and such a quarter provide sufficient identification. A paradoxical trait in a peasant society where boundary conflicts are traditionally frequent.

/226 cont./

423 A whole "parcellary orchestration" is thus glimpsed here,
312 each *ikhs* putting at the same time in all the quarters of the
613 ground its fields, which, the day having come, the exact time-switch of the turns for water animates. Scansion of agricultural time in turns for water, internal equilibrium of the group in agnatic subgroups, classification imposed by the understanding for the ground: these three elements are combined in a coherent system.

[829] What origin to ascribe to such a perfect arrangement? The user himself does not imagine the cause of it. His spontaneous gesture, when one interrogates him on this law, is to point with his finger at the interlacing of the cane in the mat where he is seated: each sprig corresponds to a parcel. What he has an intuition of, in fact, is an ensemble linked by inextricable solidarities. But that is a feeling. Research must be more demanding.

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(171) The first explanation that would come to mind is that of these divisions of inheritance which, in two milieus paradoxically far apart, end in the *open field* /the words in italics are in English in the original source/ and the strip fields of the European
619 North, the *muchā^{c}* of Syria, samplings of the same type. But
634 what creates the difficulty, and at the same time the interest of the Haut-Atlasic example, is that the *taqbilt* is not in any way an enlarged, even fictive, family. The social link, indeed avowed and conscious, does not at all consist here in the ramification of
[613]
[592] a /227/ family stock. If, within the *ikhs*, the attachment of the different "foyers," *takatin*, to one another is genealogical and amenable to the successoral law, it is completely different for the attachment of the *ikhs*-s between themselves within the group: their connection, which it will be necessary to define more closely, is entirely different. It is necessary to look elsewhere than in divisions of inheritance for the source of an agrarian order.

121 An original collectivism, which might more or less maintain itself in the Atlas? The hypothesis is tempting. To tell the truth,
[423] it calls for a judgment on the age and the character of these societies. On the other hand, it runs counter to what we know

/227 cont./

121 [423] about the type of appropriation of land that, in the majority of the examples known, corresponds to the tree and water techniques: that is, the privative form. Such a singularity should not be set aside *a priori*, any more than a likewise persistent reminder of primitive communitarian modalities. Nevertheless, bearing in mind the willing climate of this life, the effort, systematic and localizable at a certain moment in the past, which the construction of the grounds often expresses, one also evokes [613] conscious divisions among subjects of law. The occupation and improvement of the soil conquered or created at all points over the wasteland, the forest, the slope have been able to bring as a corollary their balanced distribution among participants: these subgroups, called *ikhs*-s, and which would be united among themselves by connections of a type complicated in a manner other than consanguinity. It is also possible that this plural equilibrium expresses a readjustment of the group, its reaction against an external threat or internal decadence.

Order of work or social reform, this type of division is presented to us at a recent epoch. It reflects a spirit at the same time ratiocinating and communitarian, altruistic and responsible, of which this inquiry will observe the constant manifestation. Thus it is that the Idma, having recovered their Tasselli territory from the a. H'adduyws, redistributed it. At Tabratjut, the old [691] order was re-established, but not without alterations, at the close of a litigation with wild perturbations. Other examples might be cited. They abound in the daily jurisprudence of the *jemâa*-s.

What we have called "the parcellary orchestration" could thus arise from a stage of origin or more modern arrangements. Ethnological hypothesis or historical hypothesis: let us not choose between the two for the moment.

The Coefficient of Breadth

103 The humanity of the high valleys invests in its tiny domain enormous expenditures of energy: work, organization, and also denominations. Because the concentration of the toponymy there

103 /228/ expresses exactly that of the other works. It is even the easiest indication to grasp. The density of the names designates that of the communal life. In such villages we follow it indeed beyond the cadre, still restricted, of the quarter. There is nothing that says that elsewhere or in other times it could not be followed even further: down to the smallest parcel. This ground is thus like a body where each atom would assume, besides its function, a name. What levity of matter in all that!

423 The essential notion of quarter escapes almost any topographical definition. In the irrigated at least, where the quarter is not a piece of landscape identifiable by natural accidents. In order to answer to this definition it needs large epaulement terraces where dry crops and pastures spread out. Certainly, even in the irrigated, it has an area approximately measurable, varying with the grounds. Whoever says area should say limits, readable for the naked eye. Often, in fact, the quarter corresponds to a physiognomy. Now its minuscule individuality results from traits such as the strength of the crops, the hue of the vegetation, the assemblage of the parcels, which one feels instinctively, but which, let us be careful, proceed from this individuality rather than determine it.

423
312 It is possible that the progress of the analysis will succeed in giving an account of the more or less large number of quarters, that is, in the case in point, of sluices echeloned along the ditch, by the echeloned working of the irrigations. Or that roughly the division of the ground yields, as in the case of the parcel-strips of the open field, to a concern to equalize the parts qualitatively. The embanked relief would have made an irregular checkerboard preferable to a geometry of long rectangles. But none of these explanations by topography, technique, or distributive equity succeeds in completely accounting for the notion. What is incontestable is the disproportion that thus asserts itself within the ground between such a profusion of appellations and such a poverty of mass.

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423
[103] This contrast is certainly general, and characteristic of the milieu. But the density of the names, itself announcer of the social density, is it the same everywhere? Even though this might touch upon a matter that has hardly been explored in North Africa,

/228 cont./
121 and which would call for irrelevant quantitative comparisons,
423 one nevertheless suspects, in the limited cadre of the western
Haut-Atlas, great inequalities between grounds. Consequently, have we not risked basing our description excessively on the limited case of the irrigated ravine, while other aspects, visually broader, also decisive economically, likewise call for analysis? /229/ And, on the other hand, what inexactitude would there not have been in imagining that the montagnard reality presents itself everywhere with equal rigor!

Phenomena of erosion or of disuse can, even in the irrigated, bring on the collapse of the system. Above all, it is the juridical inextricability, itself resulting from a weakening of the communitarian life: in the complexity of the old gentilitial formula the
[178] young generations were no longer met with again. Weary of war,
a jemâa agreement substitutes, for the former devolution of water by ikhs, a watering by contiguous pieces.

But beside this factor of more or less great integrity of the montagnard type, another, doubtlessly of major importance, intervenes: its degree of spread in space.

423 If one turns one's attention from the valley land in order to
184 put it on the high surfaces for rye, for example, one finds that
243 two essential elements are missing for verifying the structural rule
[312] that we have defined: no division of time into turns for water,
and for reason; and fewer minutiae in the toponyms. The life of
[181] the heights is less willing, less refined, looser. The simultaneous
[613] implantation of all the ikhs-s is more theoretical than real. For
[492] this agriculture, distant from the village, requires means of transport, the harness or at the very least the beast of burden. It is not within the reach of all. Not all risk it. It is an agriculture of representative ambitious ones, not of egalitarian citizens. Operating in a social milieu less finely innervated, if I may venture to say it, deprived of this permanent exercise of will and equilibrium, and also of this measure of time that irrigation constitutes, it correlatively puts up with a haziness of the law and a haziness of the techniques: irregular fallowings, returns to wasteland, abandonment of an overly poor harvest, submission to the hazards of the snowfall and of the pluviometry.

/229 cont./

423 To what extent is a gentilitial distribution, in itself called
613 upon to subdivide itself among foyers by a drawing of lots, prac-
619 ticable in the case where superficies, human forces, and water
184 module assume a breadth more important than in the narrow
canton? It then seems that a sort of dilation is imparted to the
elements in the case. New subdivisions are intercalated between
the basic subgroups and the individual: thus the three "thirds" of
the a. H'adduyws, the binary rhythm of the a. Lh'sen, the
localization by villages of the Idma "minor ikhs-s." All the
more reason that it would appear among the Mez'ud'a, where a
generous plains affluence presents something like a magnifying
projection of the tribal structure. Apart from a certain order of
grandeur, the notion of ikhs is lost /230/ as a basis of distribu-
tion. Then conventional divisions intervene, such as in
Mez'ud'a the "centuries," myawat, which become the subjects
[671] of law. And the law is ramified by degrees down to the "foyer,"
takat, but not without putting into play other measures of debit
and of agricultural surface. That is all the more marked in
Mez'ud'a, because beside such distributions for the water from
the channels of the asif el-Mâl, the distribution of source water
remains gentilitial. On the one hand, the solution of breadth,
on the other, solution of narrowness. This coefficient of contrac-
tion or of dilation, of grain more or less loose or held together is
essential for the interpretation of the facts. One realizes that by
619 the example of the Mez'ud'a. Again in this tribe it is a matter
634 of the harmonious enlargement of a taqbilt of traditional type, an
184 enlargement whose steps are to be read clearly in the present
structures. More vast, more complex, and above all more in-
structive would be the Mtugga example, which covers an im-
mense country and some thirty thousand souls. The ensemble is
composed of several taqbilt-s substantial enough themselves to
interpose one or two other levels of classification between them
and the ikhs-s that compose them.

423 Thus the elements of the montagnard order: gentilitial
613 division of the soil, vitality of the equilibrium among ikhs-s,
184 parcellary orchestration, are subject to different fates as one

/230 cont./

423 613 184 approaches the plain or as the system is worn away. But perhaps even more in terms of the geographical breadth of the phenomena studied. Thus analysis leads here to the idea of variations in the space, to which we shall have to return.

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The Coefficient of Value (1)

1. H. Lhote, Comment campent les Touareg /How the Tuareg camp/, 1947, p. 21, notes the clear division of the course among the Saharan Touareg, contrasting with its promiscuous character among the Sudanese Touareg.

312 423 In many cases, the division of the water by turns intervenes only in a period of low water. Another method is established when the waters are high. The distinction of these two rhythms of abundance or of low water is, moreover, a constant motif. [177] It governs the relations between Seksawa and downstream beneficiaries, Dwiran and Ud Bessebâ^{c}. Correlatively, scarcity brings into play, this would be in the matter of pasturage, narrow divisions. Thus, in Ibuban, at Tugg Lkheyr and at Timskert, the compression of the villages by the arête of the Ameznir, where the territory of the a. Mh'and begins, entails this extraordinary thing: the division of the pasturage by "cairns," lkraker.

829 Certainly, other causes can intervene. Thus this condensation /231/ of toponymy and also of human interests and work, even of affectivity, which characterize, in relation to the vast extent of mountain spaces, the tillage ground and its heart: the irrigated ground. In all the cases, a common element prevails: that of the value /Fr. prix/ attached by these men to such and such of their goods: land for cultivation, water, or pasture, in terms of its narrowness, its rarity, or other elements more obscure for us. This perspective of rarity is, in relation to the great arable stretches of plain, such as in Chaouia or in Tadla, very characteristic of the Atlas. Another consequence of the evolution

/231 cont./

829 which has gathered on an exiguous land a humanity with solid virtues, with no less solid appetites. But other considerations can come into play. For example, the sentimental hierarchy which puts in the first rank the ensemble constituted by the village and its irrigations. This ensemble is instinctively considered as the replica of the group itself, linked to it by strict correspondences, verifiable on the echelon of the individual, and inspired by a distributive ethic.

423 From this angle, the parcellary orchestration would appear as a law of equalization of chances, with a view to the use of the water or of the soil. It would be the rectification imposed by man on the precariousness of the milieu. The infinite parceling-out of the lands and their distribution by grounds reflect in certain respects a tendency to put each member of the collectivity in possession of similar means. Also this division of the risks increases as the value attributed to the soil is diversified, individualized, fractioned into units almost personal -- or possessing at the very least a personality, that of the name.

171 As linked as it may be to montagnard impoverishment, such comportment is not without analogy in the rest of the Maghreb. The intense vitality of the agricultural association has been justly defined as a means of struggling against the hazards of the milieu (1).

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1. That is a central motif of the thesis of L. Milliot, L'association agricole chez les Musulmans du Maghreb /Agricultural association among the Mussulmans of the Maghreb/, 1911.

613 Thus the equalization of the chances is sought, not as here, in
571 an internal equilibrium among ikhs-s, but in economic solidarity
among individuals. Not in the statutory relations among sub-
219 groups in the taqbilt, but in the multiplication of contractual
121 bonds. Beneath these differences of form disguising a similitude
171 of objective, doubtlessly opens a fruitful path of comparison
between North African societies.

/231 cont./
121 between North African societies. This explanation of collective psychology is worth what it is worth: precisely quite little undoubtedly, as explanation. But it is not negligible for the interpretation of the /232/ facts by their sentimental context. It is certainly indispensable today as commentary of traits from observation, such as the acuity of the landed-property litigation and the depth of the working of the mechanisms of patrimonial equilibrium. Finally, it might react on a theory of value, peculiar to the milieu, if ever our knowledge of North Africa included such research on it . . .

"The Earth and Human Evolution"

Here let us stop the analysis of these economic structures. *Besides one could not further* develop the significance or draw conclusions from it without presuming too much from the rest of the inquiry. Whatever rules, whatever comportments correspond to this rural order, this is what the study of the religious and juridical institutions that it supports will extricate.

182 But here and now one thing is to be emphasized, because it relates to the peculiarity of the milieu or at least is expressed there with a force still intact: this is the precision of the relations between the group and the landscape. A historic constancy unequaled in the rest of the rural Maghreb, the richness of the toponymy and its agrarian correspondences augment the methodological import of such evidence. It is in fact not only the exchanges between this man and his ground that these relations govern, but a good part of the very ethics of this society. Their force of instigation, of inspiration, and, at the same time, of restraint is such that they not only tolerate individual or collective initiative, but demand it. In fact this is what maintains, over a space thus organized, the circulation of beings, rights, and things. Gradually, the economic life, because it obeys these correlations, appears as a factor of topographical animation. The more so because it was under this aspect -- displacement of the herds, lines of irrigation, rhythms of concentration and expansion, divisibility of the country -- that it first struck us.

/232 cont./

121 A taqbilt is dislodged by war. Its legitimacy remains attached to the soil, and the conquerors must buy it from it dearly, if they can. The poor cousin flees. Eliminated not so much by the vice as by the indefensible perfection of the milieu, he leaves the shell that he was filling. It will not remain empty to wait until he returns: another soon slips into it, expansive kinsman, buyer, usurper -- three ideas which often interfere. A temporary right that the emigrant will try to abolish upon his return, but not without difficulty and combat, will prevail during the time of his absence.

/233/ Certainly human activity is not completely reduced to the exercise of these laws. If the immense part of itself that it devotes to the treatment of the milieu reveals, in this region of the Atlas, the rural order, the observation of which the Seksawa have allowed us, this part is not the only one. Spiritual progress, military adventure, individual avarice assume a function of compensation, liberation, or of game. But, even in that, life cannot lose touch with its cadre. It creates plenums and voids, thus differences of tension which will end up by being expressed in relations, in movements, and by inscribing itself anew in the space.

Here such a character is constant. It proves to be linked to the structure and to the history of these groups by correspondences more precise than have been presented to be observed up until now in North Africa. Of course, that does not authorize any simplistic determinism. But it confers upon these societies a value of authenticity, and at the same time a significance of type amply exceeding their narrowness. Perhaps the preceding analyses will have established at what point the tribes of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, and especially the Seksawa, offer an exemplary basis for the study of the bonds between "la terre et l'évolution humaine" /the earth and human evolution/ (1)

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1. This is the title of the book by L. Febvre, 1922.

for the whole of the Maghreb. /Page 234 is blank./

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Third Part
Institutions and Values

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Common Aspects and Problems of the Religious Life and of the Juridical Life

I. Local Foundation and Oriental Contribution

A Religious and Juridical Personality

778 114 When Doutté, about fifty years ago, coming from Marrakech by the route of the Dir, crossed the ford of the Seksawa, he noted on the left, becoming visible to him in the high cliffs, the tomb of Lalla Aziza (1).

For one who knows the country, that is an impossibility. The tomb, overhung on all sides by vertiginous rocks, is visible only from the edges of its cirque, some three hours march to the S. of the ford crossed by the man of Magie et Religion /Magic and Religion/. But let us not hasten either to exult ever the Algerian scholar or to cry out fantasy. His words are truer than the topography, and I am not sure but that, while crossing the Seksawa, the Moroccan guide, looking upstream and kissing his fingers, or raising his hand to his forehead, believed that he had discovered the place of marvels. Not as much is needed for a sociologist in quest of the sacred to note a sanctuary. Our serious cartography perpetuates even more amusing confusions in the Atlas.

778 [133] A secret vehemence vibrates in this landscape quite charged with interdicts. A triangle of high mountains, pointing toward the snows of the Tabgurt, seems to wall in an impasse on the left. No power of the plain, from the Mérinides to the Protectorate, was able to defeat a liberty harshly illustrated by the citadels in
[776] ruins that surround it. It is that saints protected it, these saints

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1. E. Doutté, En tribu /In the tribe/, 1914, p. 248.

/237 cont./

778 about whom a marabout from the S. said to the Sultan in 1882:
776 "They do not want their people to be oppressed" (2).

> 2. Lieut.-colonel Justinard, Les Ait Ba ^{c}Amran /The Ait Ba ^{c}Amran/, 1930, p. 106.

181 A closely guarded isolation, vaguely supernatural, has not /238/ failed to react on the physiognomy traditionally attributed to the people and to the site of the valley. This was done in a double sense, according to the very ambiguity of this sort of idea. Cheats, pagans, frauds, and magicians -- the Seksawa are seen as such by their montagnard neighbors, who differ from them profoundly. [184] How their personality contrasts with that, less rich and less intense, also less redoubtable, of the Dwiran, the Demsira, or the Nfifa! The analysis perhaps fails to account for such-and-such a peculiarity, but the fact is there. [167] Waves of emigrants from the Anti-Atlas and the Sous were able to penetrate the Seksawa, to remake them from within, without succeeding in modifying a character that one is therefore led to link, not to such-and-such an ethnic composition, but to a people's personality and to a country's vocation. Only what is to be understood by these words?

Ritual Coloration of the Valley

175 In the fourteenth century, Ibn Khaldûn echoed the disquieting, but suggestive rumors concerning the Seksawa chefferie /military district/ of his time (1).

> 1. We have translated this passage integrally in our "Antiquités Seksawa," Hesp., 1953, pp. 387 sq.

In the eighteenth, under the pen of a scholar curiously archeologist, the chronicle of the marabout of Tasaft evokes traits of the

/238 cont./

175 same genre. In the middle of the twentieth, the rebellion of the last independent amghar is based on thaumaturgy: he expected his salvation from squadrons of genii which were heard rustling on the Tichka (2).

> 2. J. Berque, "Vérité et poésie sur les Seksawa /Truth and poetry from the Seksawa/," R. afr., 1953, pp. 131 sq.

That, it is the chronicle. Underneath is discerned another layer of facts.

539 776 The good saints had to exorcise the valley of its demons. An amusing legend, in which E. Dermenghem undoubtedly greeted one of the forms of the Psyche myth, is told at Ikis. Sidi Yusef u Buzid taught by day the children of men and by night those of the demons. This upset his household. His wife, curious, followed him one evening and raised herself up to the window of the mosque, the interior of which was lighted by a large fire. Scarcely had she caught a glimpse of the audience, which had a singular appearance, being made up of genii, than the latter vanished. The woman suddenly became blind and died the following day. The saint pursued his edifying life. Today his descendants, even far away in the plain, where they go each summer to hire themselves out for the harvest, are protected by him: woe unto anyone who harms them; woe unto them if they harm others. Similar legends of expulsion or edification at Tabratjut, Ad'erd'ur.

121 /239/ Would it be yielding to the temptation that induces every observer to show the originality of his subject were one to hold up such a body of evidence? There comes out from it, for the Seksawa, a very special coloration, and, moreover, there would be the danger, in the present state of our knowledge, of trying to define beyond measure. And as for explaining, we are still far from that. Nevertheless, a certain number of traits will restrain the analysis.

776 823 First of all, the country is a country of "old people," or "of other people," that is, of spirits, more or less personal, attached

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823 to its sites, to its history, and, even more concretely, to its soil (1).

[172] 1. Often linked to the existence of grottoes, ruins, etc. H. Basset, Le Culte des grottes au Maroc /The Cult of the Grottoes in Morocco/, 1920, pp. 96 sq., on "the psychology" of the genii, "these neighbors of a very special genre."

[751] When, at the end of the last century, a man from the Seksawa left his country, he carried with him a powder composed of a handful of native soil and some of its herbs. He would have taken neither food nor drink abroad without throwing in it a pinch of the mixture.

181 A very "ancient" country, in fact, and with an individuality attested to for some eight centuries by the written sources themselves, which restore, from the Almohades to the twentieth century, the permanence of a name and of an autonomy. And undoubtedly also of a tradition and of a legitimacy, even though obliterated by decadence, and having become little by little indecipherable, at least to the foreigner. They are inferred, however, from facts of observation. In those societies with a tumultuous past, a theme of territorial authenticity persists. How is this joined with another theme, much more current, that of the genealogical fictions of groups? No attempt will be made to elucidate this for the moment. Our study of the one or of the several social psychologies in the Maghreb is still too little advanced for one to be able to do anything here other than to suggest.

"Evil country," "venerable country": the doublet reveals a strong magico-religious tenor. But we have been lead to circumscribe the part of magic in its agricultural life. And, on the other hand, the personifications of the sacred prove to be most restricted there. The system shows great morphological vigor and at the same time a certain poverty of myths. Two correlative traits, without doubt.

/239 cont./

000 correlative traits without doubt. The religious life of the Sek- 771 sawa has undoubtedly been hierarchized for a long time. At the 776 top, a national saint. Far below, a saint of more ordinary type, Sidi Mh'and of Ammern; accessit: Sidi Lah'sen of Assttif, recent historical personage; still lower the classic plebe of "good little saints." In rite, as in belief, vigorous centralization, but, by /240/ that itself, elimination, purification. The great majority of these plebeians of prayer remain without visage, without cult, indeed without name. Over the great ones is exercised a criticism which springs not only from the malice of the milieu or from problematical orthodox influences, but undoubtedly also from the imperious polarization of the system.

778 On the other hand, the nonfigurative sacred abounds. It has 782 as support, very often, these little village mosques from where, it is said, the prayer ascends directly to God, whereas in passing by way of its saints it risks hitting only the archangel Gabriel, Sidna Jebrir. The pious explanation leaves out the communal character of the sanctuary. But this character is very important, and very 779 likely the most ancient. On this level of local life traits of indivision are always observed among religious and juridical rites. In spite of so many external influences, and internal transformations, this is still in many respects one of the foundations of the life of the groups. Only, in religious matters, as in juridical matters, this narrowly local life is integrated into an ensemble which acts upon it at least as much as it acts upon it.

Situation of Seksawa Law in Relation to Its Neighbors

671 The Seksawa feel a fundamental difference between their law [829] and that of their neighbors, like them old sedentary peoples of [784] the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, such as especially Idaw Mh'mud, Demsira, Dwiran, people of the Haut Asif el-Mâl and of the Aghbar. They fail to analyze it. In fact, their law fits into the Chleuh /Shluh/ ensemble. It stands out only by differences in detail. But they are vigorous and, so to speak, systematic.

/240 cont./

184 This immediate datum is thrust upon the observer as on the users. In addition, for the analysis, it will be the best of the bases of departure.

Admittedly, difficulty begins almost at once. For if one indeed sees the basic unity, contrasting with the vehemence of the personalities that stand out from it, the investigation fails to press the contrast harder. For example, we do not know the Gedmiwa, a group of antiquity as venerable as the Seksawa, well enough for the comparison between the two to go beyond the plane of simple description. It is not yet possible to define seriously the culture of this Moroccan South-West, which asserts itself by characters as tangible as the speech or the very figure of the inhabitant. It is not yet possible to state precisely or to explain how, out of this homogeneity, particularisms /241/ sufficiently lively for their exchanges to be ordered in relations of external law are articulated.

131 Here between the Lemgo, the Kattos, and the Atlasic arête
[133] is a mountainous quadrilateral some thirty kilometers on a side as
the crow flies. At least four juridical identities are crowded
there: Nfifa, Demsira, Dwiran, and Seksawa. And each one in
turn is subdivided.

619 The consistency of the amerwas, "matrimonial gift," the
[585] effective force of coswearers imposed according to the gravity of
[691] a litigation go from simple to double if the litigants do not be-
[695] long to the same unit. Today the unit is the "tribe": Seksawa,
Dwiran, etc. But this can also be, more authentically, what we
619 call the "fraction," that is, the taqbilt. And there are seven or
634 eight of them merely in Seksawa. Thus, in Demsira, the rate of
585 the amerwas varies according to four zones which apply the
regime of exteriority to one another. In the case of a girl given
[184] to a Mtuggi, the chchard', stipulated marriage-settlement for
the benefit of the bride, includes in certain taqbilt-s, and not in
619 others, the obligation for landed property. In land matters,
634 extracantonal testimony is not secured. Avowed reason: because
671 the foreigner could not be well informed. But, obviously, it is
[186] because the group prizes its juridical integrity. Between different
[184]

619 /241 cont./
634 cantons complex rules govern the validity of the notarial writing
671 itself. Thus, in Nfifa, only the act drawn up by native t't'olba
184 or North Demsira or Mtugga is good. Otherwise it is no longer acceptable.

619 Mechanism of cellular defense, one might say. And also
182 diversified code of exchanges between cells. Legislating for it-
184 self, protected from its neighbors by invalidations, restrictions, or stipulations, surrounded by this type of armor that the doubling of the procedural rate constitutes, the group certainly, and although its law differs but little, poses as an individual.

184 It will thus be legitimate to speak of the Seksawa system, original part of the Chleuh /Shluh/ ensemble. And if it is still impossible, or merely premature, to define clearly the relations of this originality to the surrounding originalities or to the matter of the ensemble, one will not, for all that, let oneself be caught by this methodological grief that every investigator of the North African institution feels at first before the immensity of the tasks and the insufficiency of the materials.

/242/ Presence of Islam in the Law

779 There is, moreover, a certain angle from which -- paradoxi-
671 cally enough, since indeed more ample -- the problem has been not only scrutinized by Islamic and European science (1), but experimentally felt, lived by the foreigner. It is that of the relations between such-and-such "customary law" and the Mussulman law. In fact, we believe, the political or cultural discordancy of the upper valleys is far from revealing any rupture in the moral or geographic continuity of the Maghrebi societies. The Mussulman law, acting everywhere, albeit unequally, on native factors, combines with them in a diversity that nevertheless is

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1. One thinks especially of the studies of M. Morand, L. Milliot, R. Maunier, G.-H. Bousquet.

779 671 /242 cont./
ordered by great masses: the Chleuh /Shluh/ bloc is one of these masses.

779 175 On the first problem, that of the acceptance of eastern norms, we lack sufficiently precise historical data. It is in fact a matter of an old evolution of at least a millennium, whose point of departure and principal stages escape us. At the most we are thereupon reduced to hypotheses on which one could not legitimately base the account. Therefore, it will be best to have recourse to observations from the present and from the immediate past.

779 Our juridical expansion in North Africa collided with that of another system, already anciently established -- and also which recovers with time an aggressive vigor -- the Mussulman law, or fiqh. The stake of the competition was and still is to provide the decisive part in the organization of the social relations and in the ethics of the Maghrebi man. But the rivals are not grappling only
779 671 with each other. They have found before them, beneath them, more or less intact or degraded, more or less compact or scattered, the vestiges of indigenous laws, which it is conventional to put together under the generic appellation of "Berbère /Berber/ custom."

671 This is to say that this term of custom is not taken here in the strict sense that the jurists sometimes give it (2). In many cases, in fact, this "custom" presents characteristics of rational cohesion, legislated expression, indeed even written codification, which are the very ones of the law. In fact, "custom," for the Maghreb, is the law of the predecessor and
[171] competitor. If the Mussulman cadi suppresses, /243/ in the domain of a custom that he will never recognize as normative,

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[114] 2. Cf. the Romano-canonical theory of custom and the masterly discussion of it done by Ed. Lambert, La fonction du droit civil comparé /The function of comparative civil law/, 1920, pp. 113 sq.

/243 cont./

671 171 the whole ensemble of local law of an inspiration outside of or prior to Islam, the French magistrates of Algeria consider as a body of customs the ensemble of local laws, of Islamic origin or not, in contrast to the Civil Code. Did not one of our sociologists some twenty years ago entitle a work, and not one of the least ones: Loi française et coutume indigène en Algérie /French law and native custom in Algeria/ (1).

1. R. Maunier, 1932, a book moreover picturesque and intuitive.

A second qualification is to be made concerning the term of "Berbère" /Berber/. The ubiquity of this local law, more or less even, makes very difficult its qualification as Arab or Berbère. The fact is that its most coherent expression appears especially in Berbérophone sectors, forming by that also a figure of reserves or of archeological evidence. Sectors which have constituted, for the Arabs as well as for us, both the most expressive sign and the extreme case of an autochthonous genius. A quite superficial view.

779 171 For Mussulman orthodoxy, the existence of the Berbères /Berbers/, and, with all the more reason, of a Berbère law, is an intolerable scandal. W. Marçais has acted justly to observe the very particular malevolence with which the geographer al-Yâqût stigmatizes, in the note that his dictionary devotes to them, "the singularity and the excess" of this race, h'ida wa t'aych (2).

2. Yâqût, Mu^{c}jam (1224), Wustenfeld ed., 1870, in the art. barbar., t. I, pp. 540 sq. He is struck by some aberrant aspects: ah'wâl ^{c}ajîba wa içt'ilâh'ât gharîba. W. Marçais observed that the entire note is of an unusual violence.

The last word, still living in dialectal Arabic, recovers the ancient notion hybris, "immoderation." Now many Eastern Bedouins 171

/243 cont./

171 are governed by a customary law, which, among the sedentary Yemenites, for example, is stated even in codifications bearing the singular name of t'aghût (3).

> 3. Ettore Rossi, "Il diritto consuetudinario delle tribù arabe del Yemen /The consuetudinary law of the Arab tribe of the Yemen/," Rivista degli Studi orientali, fasc. I-IV, 1938, describes a whole patriarchal and chivalrous society where interdictions protect the guest, the suppliant, the client, the refugee, the traveling companion, and up to the namesake. There are even some dissertations on the man^c, an idea related to the taboo. Some problems, such as that of the disinheriting of the woman, are posed simultaneously for this society and for those of North Africa, in relation to which it offers, moreover, a more archaic shading. The homogeneity of the problems and of the solution that is applied to them is nonetheless suggestive. After the description, already old, of P. Jaussen, E. Rossi's article constitutes a new and considerable contribution to the knowledge of an Arab customary law.

671 That way, even the juridical originality of the Moroccan moun-
779 tains, to take an extreme case, could only, in the eyes of the
171 orthodoxy, be absorbed in this theme of survivals or rural deviations, of this "eternal Bedouin," both nightmare and reason for being of the proselytism of the towns.

/244/ Certain traits of the Mussulman juridical technique must have contributed enormously to this unitary confusion (1).

> 1. On all this, see J. Berque, tr. of al-Wazzânî, Les Nawâzil al-Muzâra-^{c}a

/244 cont./

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171 /footnote 1 continued/ du Mi^{c}yâr /The Nawâzil al-Muzâra-^{c}a of the Mi^{c}yâr/. 1940, pp 27 sq., and Essai sur la méthode juridique maghrébine /Essay on the Maghrebi juridical method/. 1944, pp. 33 sq.

First the concept of d'arûra, "necessity," and "law-making necessity," which allows absorbing, without derogation of principle, all resistant and aberrant facts, because one cannot master them, and without there being any question of penetrating their shell. Then, in the same sense, this Malekite opportunism imposing in the name of the "social good," maçlah'a, the acceptance of the illicit: but momentary, precarious and almost haughty. Finally the immoderate role of the presumptions in the penal and civil law has introduced, under the appellations of ^{c}orf and of ^{c}âda, "usage," a mass of local institutions, but, it goes without saying, without recognition of their character of internal obligation.

Consequently, the negation both instinctive and rational of the Berbère /Berber/ law by Islam is accompanied, in the juridical technique, by multiple means of absorbing it without admitting it. And not only without concession of legitimacy, but without an attempt at analysis. Consequently the Maghrebi reality has maintained the fiqh as an immense stock of facts without justification or depth.

For the strict orthodoxy, there is no problem of customary law.

000 Quite the contrary, the European exegesis, after long gropings in Algeria, and especially under the influence of institutional spontaneity, which it discovered in Kabylie /Kabylia/, then in Morocco, has let itself be dominated by a realism as unattackable, as long as it rests content with observation of the facts, as it is hazardous when it finds other inspirations. The joy of discovery has perhaps sometimes brought about a belief in a primitivism all the more malleable and assimilable as certain Mediterranean affinities "defended" it against the Orient: from there to the simplistic idea of division, there is only one step, which the system's detractors have not failed to make it cross.

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671 779 Let us proceed to the attitude of the user. Last, for this user is shy. He perseveres, certainly, but apologizes for it, or he does not even know himself. The two poles of this attitude are that he makes use of a superior system, which is Islam, fiqh included, and that concurrently he clings to a cantonal particularism, a sort of Proudhonian liberty which implies the preservation of his law.

It is only exceptionally that he rises to the discussion of /245/ principle. An account by the sheik an-Nâçirî (1) shows us a tribe of the Sous, the ait Asawn, symbolic in the name perhaps ("those of the escarpment"), who "bury" the Mussulman Law according to the classical mode of spell, and proclaiming the henceforth obligatory recourse to the "tables" of the ikchchud'en custom, that is, to local codifications. But that is only an extreme case.

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1. An-Nâçirî, Ajwiba, ms of the zaouia of the Mez'ud'a, p. 42, l. 19 sq. The jurist is led to subtle distinctions on a community's degree of resistance to the law. "Question: a rural tribe resists legal norms, and replaces them with customary norms and penal tariffications enacted through deliberation. It bases its justice on that. Does it incur the qualification of infidel? Answer: No, but simply of rebel. Objection: but then what is meant by the word of God: 'He who does not act according to the Revelation is an infidel'? Answer: 'That applies only to a tribe considered in its individuals.'" (He means doubtlessly a tribe that has manifested a deliberate initiative in this direction. The anecdote of the ait Asawn in fact follows: those may be qualified as infidels.) One sees that the Chleuh /Shluh/ jurists have sometimes been forced to approach the problem.

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000 671 779 171 extreme case. The fatwa /futwa/ of the Idaw Zeddut (2)

> 2. J. Lafond, Les sources du droit coutumier dans le Sous /The sources of customary law in the Sous/, 1948, p. 18.

in the same region, on the other hand, justifies the application of custom as auxiliary source of the law by reference to the same orthodox norms as a jurisconsult of Fès /Fez/, al-Qādirī, justifying the ^{c}Amal, this pragmatic law that developed in the urban law courts. But neither al-Qādirī nor the Chleuh /Shluh/ jurists fear the innovation, or at least confess it. Moreover, how would they draw the line between deviation and adaptation? In the Orient, as in Morocco, the classical procedure of judicial subterfuges, al-h'iyal, has developed an immense thicket of subtleties where the part of the one and of the other is sometimes indiscernible.

One may observe here and there, I believe, that the dosage, moreover diversified, but present everywhere, between religious law and customary norms has sometimes taken relatively conscious and deliberate forms. And, in the same proportion, that takes away this Berbère /Berber/ primitivism, sometimes the object of overly naïve European enthusiasms (3).

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> 3. Recourse to a criterion of primitivism for classifying the different "Berbère" juridical systems of North Africa seems to us to have excessively marked the rich works of G. Marcy, "Les caractères généraux du droit coutumier berbère /General characteristics of the Berber customary law/," CHEAM, pp. 4 sq., and especially Le droit coutumier Zemmour /Zemmour customary law/, 1949, pp. 360 sq.

/245 cont./

671 779 171 In any case, this is what forms the originality of the Sous and the Mzab (4).

> 4. On this aspect of Mzabite law, L. Milliot, "Recueil de délibérations des djemâas du Mzab /Collection of deliberations of the djemâas of the Mzab/," *R. E. I.*, 1930, p. 223.

But everywhere one finds this double character of Islamic option and cantonal conservatism. Whether it is transactional or, more rarely, insurrectional, the local law has always and everywhere reckoned with the *fiqh*, has set itself in comparison with the *fiqh*, indeed sometimes has pretended to be absorbed in it, or believed it.

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Islam and Individual Belief

779 From the innermost subjectivity of the Chleuh /Shluh/, whose Islamic option is profound and ever bursting forth, to the most well-considered social affirmation -- this society *wills itself* Mussulman. In its great epochs it sought to be *the* Mussulman society. We find the Prophet everywhere. It is for this reason that it is so difficult to determine his part: it would not be if it were not total, or, more exactly, if it did not will itself, if it did not feel total. Such in fact must be the lot of a universalist faith. As a permanent appeal to the profession of the Unique, to the imitation of His noble witness, the Messenger of God, as a cultural and ethical system, it inspires and governs the soul of the person and that of the people: it has become an essential trait of the country. It would be a fine subtlety to distinguish in as specific a synthesis the part that, of an order properly institutional and of oriental color, has been, not rejected, but eluded by the societies of the Atlas, or adapted and assimilated by them. Nevertheless, in the realm of the law, one can circumscribe the indigenous legacy and the oriental contribution. Concerning the belief, the

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779 discrimination will be much more delicate and in many respects impossible.

It seems, however, that the progress of Islam is the very one of individual behavior. It asserts itself fully in this extreme case that is sanctity. The communitarian and naturistic character of the basic rites is naturally further removed from it. Hence the criticism of it that the scholars make. They were not mistaken in denouncing what they called paganism or idolatry: awkward expression of a certain specificity which we would prefer to attribute simply to the vitality of a rural system. Hence, on the other hand, the tendency of the ethnologists to overaccentuate what they believe to be agrarian "magic and religion," whose articulation to a hierarchized ensemble, which is indeed that of a Mussulman society, they do not recognize. Does this mean that, on even the echelon of the jemâa, the Islamic qualification loses in importance what the communitarian play gains? Such an assertion could be upheld only suitably nuanced. First of all, Islam is there in local law, whether it be the inspirer of it or, on the contrary, if I may venture to say it, the driving bolt /Fr. repoussoir/. This will be studied in detail farther on. But Islam reigns equally in the communal house, in this timezgida where the recitation of the Koran punctuates the time of the village and contributes, by periodic feasts, to the most intimate of the collective rites. Finally, it opens up possibilities of escape, felt by each one, and where each vaguely perceives a recourse against the terrible order of /247/ the city: it is true that here one falls back on individual cases.

779 171 However that may be, in fact it is certain that in the societies of the Atlas the stage of Islam is that of the person rather than of the group. A fundamental difference from what it was traditionally in the Arab Maghreb, where, conforming to its origins, it corresponds above all to the madîna life, to the professional and scholarly municipal life, of which Fès /Fez/ constitutes in Morocco the privileged example. Here the city is peasant, and proceeds from structures perhaps autochthonous, in any case far removed from the mercantile urbanism which the oriental

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779 171 prototype created. And so it will be against them that both the individual and the believer will assert themselves. Hence their course, hence this desire for independence and adventure, and in any case a freshness and a liberty which will confer on their faith a very special nuance. It is this that gives the Berbère /Berber/, as magician, as saint, or confrere of minor order, surprising dispositions, well known, for good or evil, from the Orient itself. The man of the Atlas, and by extension the Maghrebi, becomes the individual par excellence, from the time that he seeks to break away from his cadre.

779 To the people of the Atlas, Islam appears, in certain respects, as an urbanism of cadis, bazaars, hebdomadal sermon, elegance, commercial liberalism, good eating and good talk, but also of pashas and makhzanian jails. And all that is found in Marrakech /Marrekesh/ and Taroudant, non licet omnibus... That is what will confer, by contrast, well-defined traits to the faith of the montagnard shepherd and woodcutter. Their reaction, once escaped from the "rural system," will, of course, be purism. And there will enter a part of what we would call, quite horribly, a class complex. From the confreric adherence to so mixed a content will then escape from time to time the unitary intellectual, breaking off from both the city of the mountains and the city of the plains. In sum, and on the plane of faith, will be discerned, from the base to the summit, the ardent, uncultivated, and savage crowd of villagers, the fanatic adept of the sheik, the purified devotee, and, at the very top in the peaks, these provisional revolutionaries who are the saint and the reformer. For the moment, the variety of the scale stops there.

General Order of This Research

771 Thus, at the level (1)

[121] [114] 1. For this idea of successive "niveaux" /levels/ of social reality to which we shall

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/footnote 1 continued/ constantly appeal in this investigation, we owe a great deal /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ to the ideas of G. Gurvitch, Eléments de sociologie juridique /Elements of juridical sociology/, 1940, pp. 167 sq., on the "étagements du droit" /stages of the law/. On the "sociologie en profondeur" /sociology in depth/, id., La vocation actuelle de la sociologie /The present vocation of sociology/, 1950, pp. 49 sq., and the distinctions of pp. 55 sq. Taken into consideration is the psychological theory of H. Wallon, where, indeed, Maghrebi sociology can find useful inspirations. Cf. especially De l'acte à la pensée /From the act to the thought/, apropos the "signe" /sign/ and the "symbole" /symbol/, pp. 190 sq. As one will see, our own conception of the niveaux /levels/ in Maghrebi sociology does not exactly cover that of G. Gurvitch, itself appearing in evolution in his later works.

771 of the soil, and of the rustic collective life, the sacred clings so much to the rhythms of the group that it is, /248/ on certain points, indistinguishable from them. It is only through successive disconnectings that it rises toward the individualistic law, sanctity, and personal feeling, while correlatively moving away from the communitarian synthesis. The analysis will begin, therefore, with these joint forms which undoubtedly represent the most ancient foundation.

121 It would have been logical to follow it then with the study of the more and more complex levels of the religious and juridical life, while showing how the influence of a universalist system acts symmetrically upon both domains, in the sense of the individualization of belief and of the mobility of the laws. But the reality is

121 /248 cont./
not so simple. It will be necessary to split up the two studies, because religion and law present, in their present state, the trace of different evolutions and even of different systematizations.

/249/ II. Nonfigurative Sacred "and Prelaw" (1)

1. I have borrowed the expression of prelaw from L. Gernet, "Droit et prédroit en Grèce ancienne /Law and prelaw in ancient Greece/," Ann. Soc., 1948-49, pp. 21 sq.

The Sacred and the Rural Order

539 776 823 /The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ "One day -- this was in the time of the siba -- an old black man came to us seeking refuge. We offered him shelter without otherwise asking about his origin. He was treated rather meanly. How shocked we were the next day to learn from one of our servants that he had spent the entire night in a trance! My father went to him to apologize for the poor fare. We began to fear vengeance from this unrecognized personage. But all our offers could not overcome his humility. He revealed to us that he knew all the places of the earth and proposed describing them [778] to us. From that time his saintly quality began to impress us. My father, eager to profit from his baraka, led him into our orchard, which lacked water. The old man assured us that a hitherto hidden spring would gush forth there if one dug at the place that he [675] would indicate. Still better, he offered to make a contract with us. If water were found, it would be necessary to furnish him an annual payment. In the opposite case, he put himself under the obligation to us to demand, in writing, that he be buried alive in this hole that we would have dug in vain. The contract was drawn up in good and due form, and my father set off for Marrakech to recruit workers and to buy tools. Upon his return, the

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539 saint had died. We have never known the exact site of the spring,
776 and, since that time, we have vainly searched in every corner of
823 the orchard, but undoubtedly the water is no longer there, now
that the saint has gone."

This account was given by a mature and sober personage, our contemporary to boot (2).

## [634] 2. The amghar /chief/ of the a. Abdella.

538 Its value is only more striking because of that. Not only a psy-
776 chological document concerning the narrator, who is not at all a
823 good woman amused by stories. But, more objectively, an anec-
789 dote illustrating the functioning of the sacred on the agricultural
plane. That is a plane essential to this society. It constantly explains hydraulic phenomena by the intervention of a saint. It is thus that a rock, obstructing the ditch of Meghdir, will one fine day be bored as a tunnel by a miraculous fox, whom Sidi Mh'nd animates. The latter is the great discoverer of springs of the whole country, which contributes to the classicism of his kind. His "crook," takurayt, planted in earth, caused to shoot forth the fine resurgence which, /250/ between T'abaya and Igernssuq, reanimated the bed of the river, absolutely dry immediately upstream.

Such practices as these burst forth with a color that vividly reminds one of the Mediterranean Antiquity. Some of them have
823 been reported above. The most striking is this libation of flour
782 and milk that certain high-mountain families pour into the com-
munal "basin" at the opening of the irrigations. At Tasa, for example, a member of the old lineage of the ait Ggahi carries the vessel to the chcharij and pours it there, while saying only one word, the bismillah. The operation is designated by a stereotyped term, ifyed', which may be translated as "expulsion," by comparing it with its factitive açifed. If the bearer, on the way,
[784] has pronounced a single word, the operation is no longer valid:
fine case of ritual mutism, euphèmei as the Greeks said.

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823 There one touches on a plane more archaic and more pro-
771 found than that of personifications. Behind the silhouettes of
saints and under them one perceives a whole web of relations be-
tween the man or, rather, between the group and a sacred of ag-
ricultural efficiency entirely destitute of figure. And it is this
layer which is the most important in mass as it probably is in
authenticity.

82 Not only the water of irrigation, but the benevolent rain and,
782 inversely, the devastating hurricane and the flood, the health
and the sickness of plants, of beasts, and of men are subject to
powers, most often without a name. The force released by the
oath, if in the least it be taken in certain redoubtable places, or
at the critical epoch which precedes ddabaran, "Aldebaran,"
turns against the crops of the canton, without there being any
question of retribution or of moral judgment. But there are ac-
commodations, and not only by an offering to the patron saints
823 or propitiatory and piacular rites, but by guile. It is thus that
782 the favor of the water chooses the valley of Wanz'id' or that of
Iguntar, depending on the alacrity with which one or the other of
these two villages honors the unnamed saint of Tamd'a Ugenni.
But it suffices, let us say, "to fix a date" with him by depositing
a hoe upon his sanctuary, and the trick will be played: one will
have reconciled pious eagerness and wise economy. Elsewhere
778 the guile will be close to swindling. Thus with this miraculous
823 stone from which a spring is said to have gushed forth and which
a passing holy man is said to have left to the village of Agawz.
A citizen of Tuz'z'umt patriotically stole it, and that is why
there is now a spring for each of the two villages (1).

(1). The "theft" of the stone doubtlessly constitutes a reinterpretation. The rite of Wanz'id' is probably more intact. Agrarian magic, juridical separation, and group rivalry are revealed here in an instructive fashion.

771 /251/ Let us not insist, however. This atmosphere has nothing particularly original. A neighboring tribe, the Mez'ud'a, presents on this social-naturist plane, if I may venture to say it, richer and in any case better organized traits. How can one not see the rudiments of tribal cult in these simulated combats between antithetical groups (1): the spring lustration of the plain by "old men," ifqiren, the rite of April against the devastation of the crop by sparrows? The relative poverty of the Seksawa has in the end, we believe, historical reasons. Be that as it may, analysis finds among them sufficient indications to permit distinguishing the relation of mass between two categories of sacred: that which is specified in names, legends, persons, and that which remains without contours or appellation. The second one, one already has a presentiment of it, is supplied much the best. To tell the truth, it touches one whole part of the life of these rural people, the most profound part. [616] [783] [789]

241 796 A concrete liaison with the ground is duplicated by a liaison with the agricultural phases according to the universal rules of the naturist rites. The opening of the campaign of irrigation, the setting of the almond trees, their fructification, that of the walnuts, the sowing, the harvest, the threshing on the threshing floors, so many moments whose social and sentimental intensity is expressed by practices of purification or of good augury.

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[173] 1. The a. Gd'id' and the a. Tddit, still today of opposed leff. According to their tradition, only a generation ago, it happened that pitched battles, with blows by pebbles, set in opposition two "fronts" continuous over the entire width of the plain downward from the Dir. These battles also took place between riverain Mez'ud'a and Dwiran. I shall return to the ritual life of the Mez'ud'a, which is very worthy of interest and differs profoundly from that of the Seksawa.

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241 One of the most curious ones, and which, something to remember,
796 is celebrated without even the pretext of a name, takes
[778] place on the peak that dominates the holy place of Z'init', the
Tamjlocht. Each year, in March, a certain number of Imt'ddan
families (2) delegate in turn a personage who, solemnly led to the summit, is
fettered there, then left alone. The procession has not returned
to the village before the actor, freed by supernatural intervention,
also rejoins his parvis. This rite of the fettered, whose character
[182] of collective magic is not doubtful, visibly has a naturist function.
[783] The notions of scapegoat (perhaps a memory of former /252/ human
sacrifice) and of spring augury are combined here in a
synthesis of vivid coloring. What the fettered one thinks and feels,
if one could obtain a sufficiently sincere account from the hero of
this annual miracle, would be of great interest.

000 Alas, Maghrebi ethnology does not take part in the collection of documents so profound. In addition to an almost clinical complexity of experimentation, a refined possession of the language, sustained attention in order to grasp the psychological demarcation between individual emotion and group conventions, an almost

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[184] 2. The rite of the Tamejlocht is incumbent only on the people of Tinwalin and on the ikh-s who have emigrated from there: a Waferyad', a Uchikar, a Wakraray. The people of the "metropole" Tamt'ddit do not participate in it. It is to be noted that it is the people of yet another village, Tagunit, who are ministers of the rite of Lalla Aziza. The Imt'ddan being visibly associated with the cult of the latter, and very probably in place of more ancient elements, perhaps the a. Gasa, this sharing of competency causes difficult problems, touching on a differentiated structure of the group.

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000 infinite art of gaining trust would be necessary in order to collect such testimony suitably. But what fruit the "confession" of the fettered one of the Tamejlocht or of the hoe depositer of Tamd'a Ugenni would be!

114 What to say about customs like the one of the seasonal carnival such as I was able to observe October 7, 1949, at Ikis, an archaic village rising in tiers on the flank of the Tanddri, and which its agadir dominated? Here are some notes taken on the spot.

541 [292] /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ "In all the Seksawa villages, the first two days of the Aid are taken up with Saturnalia. The skins of sacrificed animals are donned. They are sewed as clown costumes with pantaloons (1),

1. And not as robes, as in the masquerade of the tanners of Fès /Fez/.

[534] [535] and put on by a few agile and resolute chaps. Throughout the day, there are parades, exhibitions, playlets, capers, the whole put to rhythm by the tambourin and coming back constantly to the dance, a dance of stamping with scansion on the palms of the hands (2).

(171) 2. The Andalusian zapateado is evoked. Nothing is more curious than to compare, without any preconceived ideas, certain disguises of the Gund'afa, for example, from the fine photographs by Besancenot, and the drawings of masks that Caro Baroja gives in his book Pueblos de España, 1946.

"On this day at Ikis, I am on a terrace overlooking from a height of six floors the bottom of the valley and its small parcels. To the left, the agadir, overwhelmed by the enormous crest of

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541 the Tanddri; to the right and opposite, the brows that separate us from Igersafen. On a terrace, the multicolored swarm of women. [536] About ten jolly fellows did not spare themselves in gags lasting two hours: scene of the selling of almonds to a Jew; of the cow that could not be milked; of the sacrifice to the santon, with a burlesque procession; of a conjugal dispute, with the simulated death of the wife, resurrection, reconciliation; scene of jealousy; the rages of the little old man. And here is hyperbolic prayers; in Arab sonorities more or less caricatured, the Allah Akbar, in all the tones of mystic élan, of tartufery, etc. It is a veritable commedia dell'arte where one improvises. With success, if one judges by the laughter of the audience. The scene is expected to be prolonged by obscenities and unbridled fantasy. Veritable theatrical sense and extraordinary freedom of spirit. Already personalities having their characters: the birth of tragedy in the most etymological sense of the term."

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541 /253/ And undoubtedly we shall not solve the matter of knowing if there truly is seasonal magic here, or whether evolution has not for a long time degraded the meaning of the rite up to its being no more than an advance toward our own carnival (1).

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541 1. The literature, quite abundant, on the "Berbère /Berber/ carnival" has not solved the problem. Note the quasi identity of the scenes of burlesque comedy described by S. Biarnay, Notes d'ethnographie et de linguistique nord-africaines /Notes on North African ethnography and linguistics/, 1924, pp. 79 sq., for an entirely different milieu. All that one can say is that the custom is not, even in the details, peculiar to the Atlas, any more than it is to the Berbères. As much could be said for almost all that comes out at a certain ethnographical level, more or less preserved according to the regions, but which seems to be common to all of North Africa.

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128 But this collection of facts and images cannot take the analysis very far. What does stand out is the variety, and also the incoherence among traits of different order and character. Let us now look at the synthesis that takes place at the cantonal echelon.

A Ritual Personality: the A. Lh'sen

221 796 The religious life of the a. Lh'sen experiences a paroxysm at the time of the feasts of summer. Huge slaughterings of goats are practiced, followed by auctions of portions of fresh meat for the benefit of the saints (2).

2. Cf. J. Berque, "Viande fraîche et droit communal /Fresh meat and communal law/," in Un glossaire notarial arabo-chleuh du Deren (XVIII^{e}) /A notarial Arabo-Shluh glossary of the Deren (eighteenth century)/, R. afr., 1950, pp. 383 sq.

It also experiences a secondary peak: the agapae of yenneyr, "January," also called lmârûf n-tgellatin, "feasts with the turnips," because this root in particular, which reaches maturity then, is consumed there. The agape is celebrated in the "mosque," ljâmâ, timezgida. Although the first of these two forms of feast is not necessarily connected to the cult of a saint, nor the second to an oratorical villager, they are made pendant, so to speak, at times, in places, and according to styles that contrast.

241 796 794 It is still in the duration of the agricultural life that the "stipulated service" is registered, the chchard' of the marabouts, to whom the canton pays an annual cens in exchange for protection, either general, as is the case for Sidi Ah'med u Ali, or specialized in certan tasks, as is the case for others. This is a mechanism of assurances, in the full sense of the term, and which is exercised in time with a thoroughly fiscal minutia. A first sending of the first fruits is done on the occasion of the musem, "patronal fair" of the saint in Mez'ud'a. Nothing is lacking of the

241 796 /253 cont./ Nothing is lacking of the sampling of the products of the soil, not even the henna intended for the women of the zaouia, or the "marjoram," lh'baq (3), utilized in certain drinks and which is /254/ cultivated in flowerpots. The cens properly speaking consists of a portion of the harvest, or rather of its monetary equivalent. It is paid at the [221] lkhrif, a pause from the agricultural tasks and from economic activities in general, which separates the harvest from the next tillage. It is the period when the peasant community recovers its breath.

794 796 533 Besides these annual rhythms, of interest to the whole of the population, and which both imply and promote unanimity, there are others more limited and concerning a professional group, the t't'olba. The latter carry out each week, in certain mosques, a psalmody of the entire Koran. This makes 12 series of 5 h'izb-s or "sections" each, and which are recited either in chorus and successively or simultaneously by teams. The operation bears the name of ttefrik. The conclusion gives rise to an agape, sslukt, [574] where the alimentary feasting is joined with orthodox religious exaltation in an atmosphere both ecstatic and municipal. Under the circumstances, the complex personage of the t't'aleb gives himself up to all the effervescence of a soul whose energy is then freed from the sanctimonious reserve to which it is confined the rest of the time. A hitherto sly force bursts forth. The psalmody is finished in phrases of a strange falsetto, very impressive to hear. These vocalizations are translated locally by the Arabic verb

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3. It is not without interest that toward the middle of the nineteenth century the archives of our consulate of Mogador mention important quantities of marjoram in the movement of exportation. By whom was it ordered, and was it indeed a matter of h'baq?

[Ait Lh'sen]

/254 cont./

794 ^{c}azzeb, for which correspondences are abundant in Maghrebi
796 ethnology (1).
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1. Mzabite clerks are I^{c}azzâben. The verb indicates segregation, whether it be basically moral, as in the above case, or results from economic features, as in the case of the latifundium with an absentee master and forming, in relation to the village, an "écart" /place apart/ (Maghreb: ^{c}azib; Egypt: ^{c}ezbe).

128 But one cannot enlarge here on an order of practices in which are distinguished the exercise of a universalist religion and that of a speciality of initiatory aspect. Even if it is significant to find at the outset this genre of facts at the threshold of a study of the ritual life in a montagnard group, other traits touching more directly on the life of the group as such must hold one's attention for the moment.

776 The space of the canton is dominated, either in its subdivi-
[634] sions or in its ensemble, by such-and-such a saint. Patron inherited from ancient traditions, like Lalla Aziza, protectress of all the Seksawa, or contractual patron, like sidi Ah'med u Ali for the a. Lh'sen. These patron saints often have exclusive tastes and try to eliminate one another. The man struggles in this rivalry. So much the better for him if he succeeds in the right choice. For there, too, there is a portion of outbidding, guile, and gambling.

778 Moreover, each group founds the bulk of its religious existence upon the qualification of certain places. First of all, those where one takes an oath, and which common opinion hierarchizes according to the /255/ greater or lesser gravity of the ordeals that are celebrated there. These are mosques or anonymous mausoleums designated only by their function. Other sites are reputed benefic or malefic, protectors or avengers, according to the ambivalence of this genre of ideas, and completed quite often by a figure or by a saint's name.

[Ait Lh'sen]

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000 778 794 212 by a figure or by a saint's name. But there are also locations whose ritual importance results from the fact that they are the seat of the activity of the t't'olba. They share in the prestige of this ministry at the same time as those that are linked to a certain intensity of the communal life: "permanence" constituted for the Koranic psalmody, seasonal agapae, etc. Most of the time they are mosques. Hence the complexity of meaning of such a cadre.

The distinction of these diverse categories can in fact only be schematic. In many cases, naturally, they coincide. The agrarian function, which is the most prevalent among the saints, often interferes with the juridical and municipal function, characteristic of the montagnard mosques. The t't'aleb frequently effects the liaison between these diverse places and these diverse ideas (1).

1. We shall repeatedly come back to the Chleuh /Shluh/ t't'aleb apropos law, religion, individual depassments, commune. Cf. on his subject the excellent in. /unpublished/ monograph by Charles Dominique, "Les Tolba du Sous," CHEAM, 1938.

778 [776] In a. Lh'sen, out of 34 of these rite "supports," a number undoubtedly inferior to the reality and which indicates only the most important, but a number already considerable for a collectivity of some 400 foyers, one counts only two saints with a determinate personality, 5 indeterminate but bearing a name, and 7 whose name expresses only the function: "of the river, of the col, of the law oath," etc. Some twenty others are only "mosques." Expressive ratio: it would be even more so if one added to these ritual places the still more ample mass of those which some designation, personal or not, brings into relation with the sacred by one title or another, and which survive at the very least in the toponymy.

In Iguntar, the material sign manifesting the existence of "marabouts" at Tamd'a Ugenni (which means something like a

/255 cont./

778 "mare au diable" /"pond for the devil," pond miles away/) is nothing other than a pile of branches and pebbles opposite the village of Tagenza. In this case, as in that of the rival sanctuary of "Monsieur le Saint," Sidi Lwali, at Wanz'id', no personification, and not even by name. The efficiency is by no means linked to the very fiction of a saint, were it as indefinite. This is proved by the example of the mosque of Ifesfas, whose powers and even the legendary physiognomy /256/ offer an instructive contrast with the habitual imprecision of all this hagiology. It is so redoubtable for false oaths that the prudence of the canton forbids there the practice of religious ordeals. In fact, it is told that one time, for a matter of 12 dinars, it caused to perish not only the 12 coswearers, but also their 12 partners, for the outburst of its power "so harsh," icheqqâ, does not stop of course at subjective responsibility. Similar traits, although of less anecdotal glow, apropos the mosque of Awines and that of Tagenza.

Figurative Sacred and Nonfigurative Sacred

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776 One is thus led to distinguish a figurative sacred from a nonfigurative or anonymous sacred. The latter is largely predominant. At the two extremes, the individualized saint and the anonymous ritual place. But the name does not constitute a true criterion. In fact, its presence no more suffices to promote the rite than its absence eliminates all legendary personalities. As one has seen, this is the case for the terrible mosque of Ifesfas.

776 Another distinction is to be made between saints with descent, such as this sidi Musa of Wanz'id', master of hurricanes, and whose distant sons always retain a certain qualification, and those to whom no lineage refers. On the one hand, personages with genealogical identity; on the other, anonymous agents of the sacred. And it is not without interest that the first type, which is the very one of the hero, would, in this agnatic society, be both so rare and, where it is found, so delineated.

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778 Finally, third remark, and most important for the rest of this work, there is, not truly speaking in all the agglomerations, but in all the villages, a municipal sanctuary, the place par excellence of the functioning of the group. And in many the ritual life amounts to -- at least for all that touches upon the plane of village life -- periodical manifestations confirming, according to a rhythm which is that of the seasons, the juridical safeguard, the agrarian order, and the collective ardor.

771 The distinction of the old Varron into di certi /the certain/ and di incerti /the uncertain/ comes to mind at this time. It conveniently labels the two aspects of the contrast that comes out between a personal and impersonal sacred, the latter greatly [128] predominating, it seems, in the mass. In spite of its coarseness, the method of inventories is capable of contributing some cross-checks here.

Let us judge this by this table of the ritual life in some other taqbilt-s.

For example, the a. Abdella:

/See the following pages, pp. 358-359, for the table from p. 257 in the original source./

[Ait Abdella]

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Name of the groups officiating	Name of the sanctuary	Characteristics of the saint, if there is occasion	Nature of the dues or feast	Time of celebration
Bul^{c}wân, Taqennurt.	Sidi Ghânem.	This is a *bu qobrayn*, that is, he has two tombs, one here, the other in H'âh'a (Zaouia Isuqin). For officiants, he has people of Idaw Zemzem and those of Wanz'ig and Ad'erras (Mtugga) who bring him an annual victim. He would have *manâqib*.	*Chchard'*: per threshing floor, the first basketful of barley.	March. At the threshings.
Taqennurt.	Sidi Mh'and Aregrag.	Indeterminate.	*Mârûf*: a goat.	September.
Tuz'z'umt and Zaouia In'ançalen.	Sidi Sâid Ah'ançal.		*Mârûf*: two goats, one of which is slaughtered at the zaouia and the other at the place named Qerqur n-a ben Nâçer.	February.

[Ait Abdella]

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Bul^{c}wân (ikhs of the a. si Mh'and u Bella) and Agawz (ikhs of the a. bu Hammis).	Sidi Âbderrah'man u Sâid.	Ancient, indeterminate.	Mârûf: 5 to 10 goats. Chchard': a takharrubt of barley per foyer, some walnuts, some almonds.	September. At the harvest.
Bul^{c}wan. a. Wagenna. Taz'z'umt. Agawz.	Mosques timezgadiwin.		Mârûf, biannual.	At the time of the fruits and at that of the harvest.
Agawz.	Sidi bu Çwalh'i.	Ancient, indeterminate.	Mârûf: a goat.	September.
The ensemble of the a. Âbdella.	Sidi Âli Aregrag; sidi Âbderrah'man. (Zaouias of Tiburiin and Talâint.)	Linked to the legend and genealogy of the Regraga.	Mârûf: a bovine.	First Sunday in February, eight days before the mârûf of sidi Sâid, at the confines of the Azaghar of the Mtugga.

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778 /258/ Thus, out of a dozen ritual places, including mosques, one single personalized saint, Sidi Ghânem, and still blurred in some indefinite haze.

The animal sacrificed to Sidi Ghânem gives rise to a precise division. The descendants of the saint have the skin and a piece of the thigh. The agape consumes half the entrails, to which is joined the collected bread. The rest, divided among all those sacrificing, is taken home and eaten.

In Imt'ddan:

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Name of the groups serving	Name of the sanctuary	Characteristics of the saint, if there is occasion	Nature of the dues or feast	Period of celebration
Tamt'ddit.	Ah'med u Amer.	Indeterminate. The a. Izzid (Imt'ddan) are linked to him.	Mârûf.	Summer.
			Mârûf.	With the rains.
	Mosque.		Agape.	Irrigation of the barley.
Tagunit and Tamezgurt.	Sidi Messâud u Âbdallah.	Indeterminate, but going back to the a. Gasa.	Mârûf.	Summer.
	Sidi Âzza.	Indeterminate.	Mârûf.	Departure to mountain pastures.
	Mosque.		Agape.	Irrigation of the barley.
Tamezgurt.	Sidi bu Lqnadil.	Indeterminate, but going back to the a. Gasa.	Mârûf.	Summer.
	Mosque.		Agape.	Irrigation of the barley.

[Imt'ddan]
[Ait Musa]

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Tinwalin.	Sidi Borrja. Mosque.	Indeterminate.	Agape.	Yenneyr, irrigation of the barley.
All the Imt'ddan.	Tamejlocht.	Mansion of Lalla Aziza.	Rite of absolution.	Irrigation of the barley.

The indetermination is general here, even though most of the saints are linked to former occupants of the country, habitual homage to the antiquity of habitat. This indetermination is at its peak in the Frazerian rite of the Tamjlocht.

/259/ In a. Musa:

Name of the groups serving	Name of the sanctuary	Characteristics of the saint, if there is occasion	Period of celebration
Igernssuq.	Regraga.	Indeterminate.	
	Sidi Brahim u Sliman.	--	
	Lalla Mbarka u H'med.	--	
	Timezgida Iregragen.	--	
Tannammert and lower a. Musa.	Sidi bu Merwan.	Indeterminate, place of taking oaths.	The saints have a summer mâruf, and the mosques, two agapae: "at the time of the turnips" and "at the time of the gourds." /Continued on next page./

[Ait Musa]
[Ait H'adduyws]

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T'abya.	Mosque Sidi Borrja or Cheikh n-Tgemmi.	Ind. This is "the lord of the house" or "of the tower" or "of hope."	Certain saints, like Sidi bu Merwan and Sidi Yah'ya, had two mârûf-s. The first has fallen into desuetude. The other saints each have one mârûf.
	Timeżgida Ugni.	Ind. "Monsieur light."	
	Sidi Tifawt.		
Tabratjut.	Sidi Yah'ya. Sidi Ghanen. Sidi Mh'and.	Indeterminate.	
	Uh'ormi.	Ind. The saint "of the asylum."	

In a. H'adduyws:

776 778 /The following paragraphs, through d, are in small type in the original source./ The ritual places are split up there, almost exhaustively, as follows:

a) Saints with personal figure and with descent: 4. They are Sidi Âmer u H'addô and Sidi Lh'sen u Tiqqi, the greatest; an obscure "Regragi," but claimed as ancestor by the ikhs of the a. Umzil at Fensu, Sidi Bensu; the ancestor, full of imagry, of a part of Ikis: Sidi Yusef u Buzid;

b) Unnamed and for the most part called Regraga. Among them, 5 "Sidi Borrja." This is perhaps merely a saint of the old tower, of the old little fort (ar /Arabic/: burj). But from this saint of ruins a pun makes a saint "of good hope" (ar: rajâ). Let us mention finally the Regraga of Wawnsawt;

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776 778 c) Three mosques particularly armed with powers, and presenting along with that of Ifesfas, which has been mentioned above, the common character /260/ of being built outside a village: perhaps a trace of rites putting the taqbilt more directly into play. Thus, the timezgida Wissil of Uzaga, the t. Wuzir of Tinerghat, the Sidi Ljâmâ of Alus. One is to note this last name marking a sort of intermediary stage between two orders of ideas: it is a "Saint-the-Mosque";

d) Twenty-one "village mosques."

This would be a total of 34 ritual places, among which only 4 are amenable to a personal hagiology. Not even one in eight!
[162] [613] The a. H'adduyws number some 2,700 inhabitants, divided into some thirty ikhs-s. It should be noted that the a. Khaled and the a. Ggahi of Tasa have for ancestors the two Yah'ya, whose tombs are shown and on the subject of whom the rudiments of a legend are told. They are not saints, however. And, moreover, these stories of ancestors are quite exceptional.

121 128 778 It would be a wager to pursue this quantitative approach to the sacred in Seksawa. It necessarily omits nuances and suffers from multiple sources of imprecision or error. It was attempted, after all, only from a reaction against the descriptive excesses, the generalizing samplings of a certain sociology.

Nevertheless let us confront the results obtained: The sample
776 778 [162] dealt with 8 or 9 cantons, a. H'adduyws, I. Geryun, Imt'ddan, a. Lh'sen, Ibuban, Sekrat, Iguntar, a. Musa, that is, a total population of about 8,000 souls. For about a hundred ritual places, one counts less than ten saints with personal figure, a great majority of anonymous, indeterminate ones. And one verifies the predominant part of the "sacred of timezgida," where it is undoubtedly legitimate to see a communal sacred.

779 346 671 Now if one bears in mind that, even at present, this timezgida remains par excellence the place of the life of the group, one finds that an important part of the law of these societies can

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779 346 671 be understood on a level of indistinction or of solidarity between religious and juridical practices. Under that is glimpsed another level, still more profound, and which certain attitudes, certain proceedings reveal.

The Immediate law

773 627 /The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ The oath is the golden settlement, *lfçal uwergh*, say the a. Lh'sen. It is the sin of men, their obstinacy in lying that have limited its role. In former times a chain hung from the sky to the earth. It sufficed to touch it in taking an oath in order for all to be settled. But one day a debtor of bad faith hid the disputed sum inside a /261/ reed which he had his creditor hold, while he himself, touching the chain, swore that he had paid his debt. The chain immediately ascended to the sky, as punishment for the deception.

627 That is very precisely a myth. It is not because of its coincidence with a scene from *Don Quichotte* /Don Quixote/ that we cite it, but because of the remarkable distinction that it suggests between a stage of sworn law, with religious character and immediate sanction, and the present stage, which is that of the proceedings. It is also necessary to rectify on two points its interpretation of the first stage, which is perhaps not the most archaic. Gestures, objects with still more immediate juridical value, are disclosed, vestiges undoubtedly, but still quite alive, in the bosom of the present system (1).

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627 171 1. Nothing abnormal in that on the plane of comparativism. This stage is found in very ancient Roman law, the beginnings of Greek law, the old Israelite law (story of Moses and Jethro). The affair is settled immediately by recourse to the oath, extispicy, auguries, etc. Elements of this state of things

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627 171 /footnote 1 continued/ can exist for a very long time, or even rise again under the influence of archaizing conditions (cf. the role of the oath in the constitution and defense of the medieval manse). In the Roman procedure, the sacramentum in rem would also be, according to the original interpretation by H. Lévy-Bruhl, "Sur la laïcisation du droit à Rome /On the laicization of the law in Rome/," Revue Internationale des Droits de l'Antiquité, 1951, pp. 83 sq., "a test to which one can presume that by reason of the redoubtable forces that it unleashes a party would lend himself only if he considers himself quite sure of his right..." But is this not again a rationalist interpretation?

627 773 And, on the other hand, the religious accent that the myth confers upon the oath indeed risks being only an explanatory addition, quite like the formality of the oath itself. What could count in the archaic stage that appears under there is undoubtedly the gesture of touching the chain which "hangs from the sky": it properly establishes communication with the sacred.

627 Another remarkable thing, it is not to a matter in litigation that the myth's preferences go. It is to a sort of settlement brought about by the parties themselves, and the essential of which resides in the efficacy of an attitude. Technique of sudden releasing, "golden" technique, technique of "the golden age": that is what the instinctive option, the nostalgia, still discernible under the Seksawa's procedural extremism and the passion for the judiciary joust, come to. Nevertheless this archaizing is also accompanied by a critical reflection. Such ambiguity is not surprising.

Be that as it may, to the course familiar to this study, and which consists in approaching the institution only by its most concrete holds, corresponds something in the very opinion of the subject: this primacy given to the techniques of direct settlement and a fortiori to the purest among them, that of settlement without debate.

/262/ The Rite of the Stone On the Boundary

423 578 Boundary disputes between riverains are all the more frequent here because the modicity of the parcels makes one utilize as separation of the lands only the "lane" of grass saved sparingly between two tillages, or even stones put likewise on the fallow land and whose dotted line symbolically marks the passage from one right to another. The agricultural ground of the villages is thus constituted by tiny patches, sometimes reduced to one or two squares of irrigation: by them, as has been seen, each family is represented in each of the toponymic quarters whose ensemble forms the ground. Any one of these parcels is therefore defined less by the topography than by its fitting in between four others. From one to another, no interruption. Only just a difference of vegetation due to inequality of manure. It is necessary to hold the stalks apart in order to see a small, raised stone, awuttu, base of an ideal line sectioning the quarter perpendicularly to its axis. Here then is a peasant society without actual limitation of the 423 627 578 lands. One conjectures that such a stage defies judiciary law. The problems that it poses in fact are those of a criticism of legitimacy, based on the contestation of civil status rather than concrete problems of emplacement. The former are never even with the plane of litigation. This is because they are amenable, not to a procedural course, but, if I may venture to say it, to an immediate law.

A sacramental operation resolves them. An "oath," as one says, or rather a gesture explained by a formula. To whom is it administered? Here, naturally, there is no qualification as plaintiff or defendant (1), in spite of the influences released by the judiciary mores, and indirectly by a procedural automatism inspired by the cadis. Someone is summoned to justify the limit reached by his plowshare or his hoe. Unless it should be the claimant himself who offers to

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1. Cf. H. Lévy-Bruhl, op. laud., p. 95: "There is neither plaintiff, nor defendant."

423 /262 cont./
627 support his allegations by a solemn procedure. "Accept mine or I will accept yours," rd'iyi nghd rd'igh-ak, he says to his partner.
578 Notice the atmosphere in which this verb rd'â plunges, the root of which, Arabic, but adopted by all the Moroccan dialects, evokes in fact relations anterior to or superior to the strict law. It is in this way that in the sherifian chancellery a superlative of this root, ard'â, qualifies the "faithful and beloved" vassal. A litigant adopts heartily, rd'â, the sentence, or else accepts a [152] /263/ witness, unless this should be the opposite. The ar. /Arabic/ Mâ rd'â-ch expresses the menacing despair into which iniquity plunges a person, driving him to a serious act: vengeance, malediction, suicide. [754] [762] As always in such cases, with rare outcroppings of a strongly archaic juridical lexicon, it is not so much an act that the word connotes as an attitude, a state. Corroded reminder of a stage when social relations were expressed as relations of "figure," of "personage," or, let us say, of status.

That undoubtedly accounts for the obscurity in which this agrarian ceremony plunges even now. Obscurity not only to our eyes, but also to the very ones of the actors. The devolution of the oath to one of the two adversaries is not regulated by anything expressible, in any case nothing that would be apt to be confessed by the present users. Doubtlessly it operates by virtue of emotions to which the tone of the words exchanged, the vigor of the cry of the one offended, the latent opinion of the riverains who flock together on the field contribute.

One of the two, then, proclaims that he is indeed at such-and-such a place in his rightful patrimony, aida-n-s. Simultaneously, he places on the contested spot a stone or clod dug from the field (1).

[171] 1. We observed this practice nearly everywhere in Morocco. Always this unity of the ethnographic foundation!

A certain ambiguity of the interpretation may appear here according to the material of the instrument. The stone in the case at

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423 627 578 hand is also the landmark. The clod appears as a projection of the field. Both may be considered as conveying the forces that, by his gesture and his formula, the individual has in some way fixed upon himself. This genre of interpretation comes very easily to mind and cannot be seriously contested, whatever reservations the excesses of the method in Maghrebi ethnology may have inspired. Naturally, the local explanation is religious and elaborated. It comes back to the meaning, affirmed or not: "... that this stone should lie heavy upon me the day of the last judgment." Whether or not that is a matter of a reinterpretation, the thing is evident. The liaison of the stone with the idea of boundaries is a general theme (2).

The value of the pebble, as representing the person (3), also appears here readily in the /264/ plural oaths: the first of the coswearers alone pronounces the formula; the others validly limit themselves to depositing small pebbles, tizratin, on the place of the rite after him. And the practices of expulsion of fatigue or of sickness which consist of the deposit of a stone have been

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[114] 2. Cf. A. Magdelain, Essai sur les origines de la sponsio /Essay on the origins of the sponsion/, 1943, p. 164, which indeed makes evident the importance of "sworn law" as an archaic stage, and p. 15 on the liaison of Jupiter Terminus with a stone in the procedure of the foedus /league between states, compact between individuals/.

[114] 3. Hanoteau and Letourneux, La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles /Kabylia and Kabyle customs/, 1873, t. II, p. 8, n. 1, mention, without lingering on it, a remarkable rite of apposition of a stone by each tribe in an important deliberation.

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423 627 578 [171] pointed out in the Maghreb for a long time. In all this there is an ensemble of closely related ideas which surrounds by its total context our oath of boundaries. I might add that this last is of absolutely universal usage in Morocco, "Arab countries" included, and that it seems to have the characteristics of the most ancient institutional base.

423 627 On this level, we are fully in the atmosphere of "sworn law." The "oath" acts naturally here as a very ancient mode of creation of the law. It is it that preserves the veritable ordered dustiness that, in the ancient equilibrium of the grounds, the infinite multiplicity of the patrimonial representation typifies. That is indeed a remarkable thing, and one that can give an idea of the most archaic bases of this agrarian life.

Other Juridical Gestures

000 The Seksawa system further knows a certain number of courses expressing the same genre of attitudes with decisive value.

586 691 A repudiated wife does not accept the marriage settlement and the acquests that the husband has handed over to her. She makes a bundle of them and, in spite of the resistance of the chorus, justly disturbed, she "projects" it "to the heart of the *jemâa*." Consequently she is considered free of the consequences which the apprehension of the objects would have implied for her and which would have meant replevin for her. Quite the contrary, she henceforth poses as claimant, as suppliant. The *jemâa* feels obliged to intervene for her. As most often happens in similar cases, it is in a reconciliation -- that is, in juridical language, in a transaction -- that the scandal will end. The frequency of
691 this genre of denouements in the oldest atmosphere of the Maghrebi law, and this was on the occasion of litigations brought before the cadi, has struck all the observers. Paradox, one might think, in a society so contentious! But it is more instructive to see here the victorious rise of an old juridical base running through the modern proceedings. There would be the key to this procedural anomaly.

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In the very widespread formula of the resolutory sales, improperly called *rraḥn*, or, in the acts, *thunyâ*, and which correspond to a very ancient landed-property mode of this milieu, the debtor, who is also the owner of the land, has available a means of interrupting automatically the right of the lessee. This is /265/ to deposit an "obole" /obolus/, *tauqit*, *tamuzunt* (1), [692] in the hands of some sort of *auctoritas*: today a common magistrate, formerly such-and-such a *fqih*, notable or "marabout." In the Bas /Lower/ Seksawa the process is even more direct. When it is a question of orchards, the obole will be deposited on the pile of olives in the very course of the gathering: this puts an end to the usufruct of the lessee. Rationalist reinterpretations have naturally assimilated this procedure to a settlement by "deposit," *l^{c}arbûn*. But this latter notion is itself complex. What one notices most concretely in the operation described here is that the gesture causes a break in the parties' respective situation concerning the field. As for the partimonial bond, the owner's legitimacy has never ceased. But it cut itself off from "legitimate occupation" (verb *âmmer*). The latter now *reintegrates the initial right*, an expression that we find again word for word in a writing from the eighteenth century. Henceforth, the lessee is usurping. More

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1. And moreover *istiman* and *l^{c}arbûn*. Evidently the idea of deposit itself has a very complex past and meaning. Still without any idea of systematic comparison, and, if one wishes, only for "curiosity," let us say that certain aspects of this *tamuzunt* of the Chleuhs /Shluh/ are not free from suggesting the formality of the *aes* "whose restitution brings about liberation of the land" (H. Lévy-Bruhl, *Quelques problèmes de très ancien droit romain* /Some problems of very ancient Roman law/, p. 144).

/265 cont./

4/2 627 exactly, he henceforth assumes the personage of the usurper: *itrama*, new verb of condition. His interim, one might say, has ended, and the wrong inflicted on the old order by the working of monetary abundance in certain hands. And, by a new significant trait, the point of departure of the restitution depends on the time when the *tamuzunt* can be inserted in the agricultural calendar (2): if it is after *uktuber* (Julian October), a new cereal campaign is permitted for the creditor. Other moments foreseen in what concerns arboriculture. One feels in all that instructive interferences between the life of nature, that of the group, and the overt mechanisms for the initiative of the individuals.

The dispossessions resulting either from a fraudulent prolongation of the *rrahn* or from assault are certainly numerous in the [578] Seksawa past. They have as their source inequities in the distribution of capital and power among the families. However that may be, they give rise to a violent ethical reaction. One will see shortly the consequences on the procedure itself. For the moment here is a curious form of it, improperly rigged out in the Mussulman dress of the *istir^{c}ā'* or "act of reserves" (3).

Let us now listen to this act of the Idaw Geryun, dating from 1102 Heg.: 1691.

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[171] 2. Similarly in old Kabyle law. Cf. L. Milliot, "Le qanoun d'Ighil n-Zekri /The qanoun of Ighil n-Zekri/," *R. al.*, 1930, p. 247.

3. Cf. the act translated and commented upon in J. Berque, "Documents anciens sur la coutume immobilière des Seksawa /Ancient documents on the landed-property customs of the Seksawa/," *R. afr.*, 1948, p. 369.

42 691 578 539 /266/ /The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ "Let it be known to him who, if God wishes, would stop here, O family and doctors of the Mussulmans, the a. Waâziz of Alus make public and decry, raising their plaint up to the throne of Misericord, that the a. H'sayn..., that they make istir^{c}â' against them on the parcels... [The indication of a long conflict follows] ... They have nothing here, and their usufruct is but usurpation. The a. Waâziz complain before the people of the Tamgonsi, large and small, men and women, free and slave..."

42 691 577 What counts here is not the "reserve" that a more evolved right would stipulate, bringing into play some theory of the vice of consent. It is the imprecatory value of the attitude. The solemnity of the expression has been noted. This cry causes "the throne of God" to shake, which recalls the very image of an old Greek formula. Doubtlessly, one addresses oneself to God and blasts an injustice. But the religious and moral coloration certainly does not go back to the most ancient base. One conjectures this base from the various gestures (1) by which the reaction of the victim is expressed still today. 578 691 42

This is first of all an interjection, âwqâwq. It rejects tendentious allegations, draws attention to bad faith, and appeals against the powerful. In graver cases of oppression, characterized by a continuous state, the weak one has at his disposal a crescendo of means: to carry a candle end, lqandil, to the court of the judge, to wander through the villages, the head smeared with the soot coming from the breaking of a pot or covered with a mat; to proclaim, to make public, berrh', in the markets that one is the 000 victim of so and so. Beyond that there is emigration, a frequent

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(1) In a neighboring domain, the Gedmiwa, some of these gestures are described in an in. /unpublished/ study by Lepage, Le droit coutumier des Gedmiwa /The customary law of the Gedmiwa/.

Beyond that
578 /266 cont./ there is emigration, a frequent
42 form of protest against an oppressor judged for the moment to be
166 stronger and against whom one insists on one's rights. It is in
this way that the notarial practice knows "safeguard" acts,
istih'fâz', most often confused with those of istir^{c}â'. Whence,
moreover, the frequent allegation of absence, interruptive of
prescription, in instances of a more complex and more mature
turn to which the revendication of land gives rise. Evidently,
the Mussulman theory of the ghayba, "imprescriptibility based on
absence," has provided there only a convenient cadre for an old,
local notion, both economic and ritual: the absent one is also
the suppliant. His flight obscurely "obligates" the one provoking
it.

578 These manifestations do not go, as in other societies, so far
562 as the man's suicide. But it is striking that the Chleuh /Shluh/
762 woman rather frequently has recourse to this genre of protestation.
She hangs herself or throws herself into a cistern. And, in fact,
in spite /267/ of the juridical capacity which not only the law but
the mores recognize for her, and which her psychological propensity
makes her exercise fully, her life in certain respects is more
amenable to an extrajuridical plane than that of the man. Perhaps
because of lesser communal implication: economy of the
gift during the long betrothal, assiduous practice of magic, relationships
of fides in the marriage state, recognized aptitude for
imprecatory procedures. It is in these perspectives that it is
necessary to study the act, rich in social consequences, that the
suicide of the woman constitutes, an act relatively frequent, and
which manifests the rupture, voluntary or not, of the bond of the
group. Most often it is a solemn protestation against the wrong
762 suffered. But it may also result from a disorder inflicted by
784 mysterious powers. For example, during the winter of 1953, all
787 the women of Usikis incurred the anger of a saint by collecting
herbs in the reserved meadows of the Tasila. They were seized
by "demoniac" manifestations that in one or two cases went

/267 cont./

762 as far as suicide (1).

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1. Further interferences between law, magic, agrarian life, around the agg^{w}mi, whose placing in defense is put "under the guarantee" of a saint.

000 The past, even recent, of the Seksawa yields numerous facts of this order. Their variety and, in certain respects, their incoherence cannot conceal the fact that they originate from a stage of archaic indivision among the most corroded modes of the agrarian, religious, and juridical life.

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III. Patronages of Saints, Natural Periodicity and Juridical Obligation

Another Stage of Rites: The Dues To the Saints

If on the local plane the balance sheet is so unfavorable to personal holiness, it is not the same for another order of facts: the liaisons of patronage that are established between the group and external saints. This externality in fact seems to be an essential condition: whether the chchard' (1)

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1. Ar.: chart', "stipulation." The use of this word in the sense of dues to saints is ancient. Cf. Manâqib al-H'ud'aykî, t. I, p. 151, 1. 4 de fine, concerning a saint of the Haouz in the sixteenth century.

paid to a Seksawa saint, Lalla Aziza or Sidi Mh'and, for example, depends on a sort of federalism between different Seksawa cantons, or -- the most common case -- such-and-such a group, such-and-such a subgroup, even such-and-such a family, separately, freely, and with all the appearances of juridical spontaneity, takes up a

776 /268 cont./
794 subscription for the protection of a foreign personage; and this
[571] personage is not always a compatriot or a neighbor, for no one is
[634] a prophet in his country. But for the moment let us reserve this
aspect, geographical in a way, in order to study in a little detail
the manner in which the institution presents itself within definite
cantons.

792 During the dangerous periods of the siba, a classic function
728 of the holiness, or of his beneficiaries, was to play the role of
175 patron, guarantor, or conciliator in disputes between groups. This
is what an author from the Sous has named "the extinction of the
fires of public disturbances," it'fâ' nîrân ath-thâ'irât bayna'n-nâs
(2).

2. Manâqib al-H'ud'aykî, t. II, p. 52, 1. 11.

Thus an act of 1079 Heg.: 1668 shows the marabouts descending from Sidi ᶜAyâd of T'amast (Ud Berreh'il, in the valley of the Sous) at work. The Idaw Geryun and the Iqorrân, former occupants, were in conflict. The latter had to retreat to Idaw Mçat't'og. One day, it was the octave of the Aid, they had assembled on the az'allo for the collective prayer when the I. Geryun, disguised as women, attacked them. Whence a series of /269/ inexpiable vendettas. Then the marabouts intervened. They fixed a limit by the implantation of the "crook of God," takurayt n-rbbi (cf. ar. /Arabic/ ᶜukkâz in the same sense).
[784] They matched this operation with terrible imprecations against
anyone who violated the truce: God would pursue the guilty one
and his descendants to complete extinction, h'atta yanqarid'û min
[681] ad-dunyâ. On a more temporal plane, the infraction would be
penalized by a fine of 1,000 ounces, to be paid to the descendants
of the saint.

776 A number of other documents retrace less colorfully analogous
792 operations. It is very often Sidi Mh'and who is on the scene, and
728 that is in conformity with his passe-partout personality. His descendants, along with those of the saint of Assttif, regularly stand

/269 cont./

776 security for the civic life of the Idma: elections, warlike or
792 peaceful proceedings, etc. Sometimes, and this is an interesting
728 case, the intervention presents a more precise character, that of
legislation. I find a detailed example of this only in the Haut /Upper/ Dwiran, truthfully speaking contiguous to our domain. According to an act of 1052 Heg.: 1642, Sidi ᶜAbd al-Karîm al-Masnâwî (1) codified the relations between the a. Rrays and the a. Mezgur.
681 This is a penal tariffication of the ordinary type, but offering the
628 originality of resulting from an agreement between villages, under
a saint's ministry.

773 The role of these personages in the assembly of rather vast
776 groups by an operation which is properly a foundation has not,
truthfully speaking, given rise among the Seksawa, whose monarchic unification undoubtedly goes back at least to the thirteenth century, to legends as typical as, for example, that of Sidi Brahim of Tighanimin in the I. T'anan (2).

(1) Is this nasab to be compared to the one that certain members of the Zaouia of Dilâ' bore precisely during this period? The coincidence would be disturbing.

(2) Very rich legend of a founding saint, recorded by De Leyris, "Le mariage en Idaw T'anan /Marriage in Idaw T'anan/," in. /unpublished/ CHEAM, 1950. This theme of the foundation is current in North Africa. The most celebrated case is that of Moulay Idris. But it is not the clearest, owing to a powerful urban etiology. Analysis will be simpler in the case of synoecisms of bourgs or of rural groups. *Cf.*, for example, C. Trumelet, L'Algérie légendaire, 1892, pp. 118, 121, 180, 181, 184, etc., and Les saints

/269 cont./

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/footnote 2 continued/ de l'Islam, 1881, pp. 234, 241, 336. R. Montagne, Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc /The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco/, 1930, p. 169.

[628] But the equilibrium between groups, although of complex base, often lets one perceive its hagiological guarantees. That is conjectured in the story of the elimination of the a. Gasa, brought about, to the profit of the Idma, by a malediction, ddu ^{c}â, of the saint of Z'init'.

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The dues to the saints take on either a commutative or a supererogatory and facultative aspect. The passage from one of these forms to the other is seen particularly in the sense of the weakening of an originally stipulated obligation, which becomes a voluntary gift. /270/ It is in this way that, beneficiaries of an ancient chchard', the a. Sograti of the Haut Dwiran reap no more in a. Musa than facultative presents upon application. In addition, it happens that the same saint collects contractual dues on some products, and only facultative ones on others. Thus for Lalla Aziza who, titulary in Haut a. Musa of a cens on the cereals, collects only at the discretion of the donors a jumu^{c}a of butter, that is, the pat churned during the first Friday of the milking season.

To this complexity of content are added other nuances, those that result from infinite variations between cantonal subdivisions concerning the service of the saints. We shall indicate some of them farther below.

In what concerns the recipients of the chchard', new diversity. It is in this way that the a. Musa honor as Seksawa saints Lalla Aziza and Sidi Mh'and. But they adjoin to them a peripheric saint, Sidi bu Âbdelli, from Messid in Dwiran, who collects a quarter of a measure of barley per ghrâra, "load," a kharruba of maize per foyer, plus a goat. On the first Sunday in April, at the zaouia of Talâint, the Regraga profit by a ddurt, "end-of-cycle feast," said to be from Sidi Bukhâri, begun in Chyâd'ma.

/270 cont./
776 The a. Sograti (Haut Dwiran) receive no more than facultative
794 gifts. It is the same for the Nâçiriyya of Tamgrût, indeed fallen
from their former preponderance.

It would be difficult and, I believe, futile to try to date the origin of these dues which, in the case of the chchard', evoke a consensual dispute between the flock and the saint. The latter is bound to protect the group according to his little speciality in exchange for what we would call in commercial terms a "subscription." It is to the "ancestors," a vague and dilatory expression, that these obligations, it is said, date back. What is striking, in any case, is the total diversity that reigns here as much in what concerns the extension of the group of officiating ministers as in the mode of relation instituted, as in the material of the cens or its proportion in relation to the harvest.

/The next six paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ Thus the Imt'ddan are par excellence the servants of Lalla Aziza. Each foyer owes her the first basketful of agricultural products at the clearing away of the threshing floor (cereals) or of the pile (fruit). These first-fruit offerings are carried ceremoniously to Z'init' on the first Thursday in March: this is called a ççadaqa, but it also gives rise, with the people of Z'init', to a tinubga, that is, a syssitia, as was said in classical Antiquity.
[571] The relations between these two groups are in fact complex: relations of religious co-operation regulated down to the details. If the Imt'ddan provide the meat for the banquet, the people /271/ of Z'init' provide the bread. The event has even given rise to an etiological legend.

773 776 794 782 During the course of an expedition in Haut Gedmiwa, the Seksawa one day found themselves in danger. Encircled by the enemy, they could no longer hope for help. One of them had the idea of consecrating to Lalla Aziza, in the event that he escaped, an income of two loaves of bread on the day of sacrifice. Immediately a dark cloud, accompanied by a downpour and thunder, fell between the combatants, and screened the flight of the Seksawa. It is for this reason that on the day of the sacrifice

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776 the people of Z'init' henceforth give 24 loaves of bread apiece,
794 instead of 22 as before. The anecdote seems like an excerpt
782 from Pausanias.

But the Imt'ddan do not restrict their homage to Lalla Aziza
776 alone. They furnish Sidi Âbdallah u Sâid of the a. Tamment
794 1/30 of their cereals, a similar portion going to their mosques,
[431] and still another to the poor. In addition, each foyer pays a kid
[735] every two years.

They also give the descendants of Sidi ᶜAyad, still in the Sous, offerings of a discretionary amount, but *owe* him a feast every year and a kid every two years. The village of Tagunit, and it alone, pays a cens to the neighboring zaouia of Assttif. Lastly, a sheep is sent to the *fqiḥ* of the Mez'u'd'a for "Easter," that is, for his *tafaska* (oblation of the Aid Ççghîr).

The differentiation of the recipients is therefore extreme, like that of the donors, even within a small canton. The proportionality observed concerning these parts of the harvest itself is to be noted. Here 1/30.

In the a. Lh'sen, it is the rhythm of one measure per 80 *tin s-tmanin* that is applied for the dues in barley and maize; one for 100 counted for the nuts, etc. With regard to the "Friday" of butter, the rite is generally observed.

794 It is in the a. Lh'sen that examples will be taken up again in
order to study another aspect, that of the remittance to the bene-
ficiaries. In general, the latter divide among themselves by
geographic sector the benefices of the *chchard'* called *tisura*,
794 equivalent copied from the ar. /Arabic/ *futûḥ'ât*. They inherit
them, distribute them, mortgage their revenues, sell them, or
437 assign them by drawing lots, as if they were dealing with a
mobilizable right: and, in fact, this is what it is. So true is it that the institution of the Atlas juxtaposes in clever shales, if I may venture to say it, the most diverse orders of ideas. In the case at hand, the "mystical" aspect and profane aspect adhere closely. The alienability of a transferable share is one with the ritual entity. Commercialization and the sacred are juxtaposed

/271 cont./

in series, whose complexity doubtlessly offers an interesting clue, but about which we are still unable to say whether it is authentic or results from a deformation of the system.

/The next two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ During the agricultural periods suitable for collection the jemâa takes in the quota of each one and stores it in a traditional location: the mosque at Awines, an ad hoc chamber at Wanz'id', for example. Upon the arrival /272/ of the titulary (let us take in this case at hand the representative of Sidi Âbdallah u Sâid of the a. Tamment), the products are sold. Most often they are sold at auctions, according to the mode giving rise to free contests and charitable works, which is commonly observed in this kind of thing. But sometimes, too, at Tagenza among others, this grain is bought at the market price by destitute citizens who lack the beasts of burden to provision themselves in the plain.

Lastly, it happens that the gift may be "portable": this is the case for the large collective dues for sidi Ah'med u Âli. Once gathered together in the mosque of Awines, they are sold at auction, and it is the cash that will be paid to the saint by a delegation from the taqbilt. In the course of recent years, this sale has produced a sum of 25 to 30,000 fr. for the cereals alone, which, if one applied the rule of 1/80, would lead to an evaluation of a harvest of some 2,500,000 fr. for the Bas /Lower/ a. Lh'sen: an interesting economic indication, because it is a matter of about a hundred foyers.

Fiscal exactitude, distributive sharpness, rigorous calculation in the assessment of the charge and the collection of the product, but also reveling at the time of payment, joyous release of the auctions, ostentatious generosity in its place: all these aspects join to make of this system of dues, punctuating the agricultural year, a rich source of religious feelings and juridical ideas.

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Directions, Areas, and Cycles

776 It is not that the narrowly particularized life of the canton is
794 not linked with the whole space of the Sous, of the Drâ, of the
619 Anti-Atlas. Mystical sutures link, without one's always being
able to explain how, or why, the domain of the Seksawa with the
(181) vast world of the South. Isolationists through their history, they
have remained, for the hagiology, in contact with the outside.
Let us note, this outside is solely the South. The matter is so
marked that at the heart of a particular cycle, that of Sidi Sâid
u Âbdennâim, their fervor has abandoned the father, man of the
North and of the West, in order to be attached to the son, who
has his sanctuary in the a. Tamment on a tributary of the right
bank of the Sous.

776 These devotions are not unilateral. A saint of the Seksawa,
794 that of Assttif, has his descendants benefit from definite dues, or,
more broadly, from discretionary offerings in the surrounding
tribes. Especially the ones of what one can call the circum-Tichka ensemble.

/The next three paragraphs are in small type in the original
794 source./ This marabout of course does not enjoy a cens in his own
484 taqbilt of the Idma: he is only an importer of currency, we might
say. He collects a cens from the a. Wagunsan, the Idaw Kais, the Idaw Mçat't'og, /273/ part of the Imdlawen, of the Tigguga, of the a. H'adduyws, of the a. Gasa, of the a. Tkssit, of the Imlwan, of the Iwensekten, of the Amismatert, of the a. Gâyer, of the a. Lh'sen, of the Sekrat and of Iguntar. Let us follow him on one of his annual trips. At the Mîlâd he goes to the zaouia of the Derqâwa of Araz'z'en in Arghen — the fatherland of Ibn Toumert — passing by the sanctuary of sidi Âbdallah u Sâid. In January he travels through the a. Semmeg, makes a pilgrimage to the tomb of Sidi Bubker u Mh'and at Tirk (Amzel). In March he circulates on the S. reverse of the Tichka. Then there he is in Haut /Upper/ Gedmiwa, Aghbar, Ogdemt. The perimeter of
527 attraction is vast: strange thing, there is no mârûf at the zaouia.
The latter has remained outside of the movement which, around

/273 cont./

527 1900, impelled the great amghars to create musems, "periodical patronal fairs."

What relation there was between this ritual organization and the tyrannical phenomenon on the one hand, the spiritual crisis from which resulted the tardy élan of the "Blue Men" that conquered our Mangin on the other hand: for the moment we know nothing about it, but it is to be studied. Still, the fact remains that Lh'âjj Hfīd' created the musem of Ammem, Umulid that of sidi Lh'sen u Tiqqi, the great Mtuggi that of Tawlukult, which he wisely inserted in the seasonal cycle of the western Dir. But 794 the zaouia of Assttif remained outside these innovations. This re-484 serve is part of its originalities, to which we shall return. Let us remember for the moment only this example of fiscal peregrination, of geographical activity of the marabout.

776 The house of Assttif is the only one to enjoy a clientele from 794 beyond the mountains. The hagiological fame of Lalla Aziza extends far beyond the Seksawa, one will see: but the service of the saint has remained at a stage, if I may venture to say it, purely national, which confirms an impression already recorded.

In sum, in all this the Seksawa rather cut a figure of clients, and of clients from the South. The matter is worth noting, for farther down, in the Dir, other axes intervene. It is in this way that the Mez'ud'a serve a company of saints drawn up from Chichaoua to Marrakech /Marrakesh/ by way of Tameçloh't, and that certain Intamlin (Mtugga) honor sidi Sâid u Âbdennâim (1); and it is moreover among them that we have discovered a text which will be utilized below, and relative to the great ancestor whose zaouia is still an important religious center in a. Daud

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1. Dawh'at an-nâchir, tr., p. 176. His son, ^{c}Abd Allah b. Sa^{c}īd, who repelled the advances of the Sâadian, lived in the Deren at the very period of the document, pp. 155, 178.

/273 cont./
776 (H'âh'a). Imintanout, which constitutes, at the outlet of the col,
794 the turntable for all this hagiology, knows two directions: that of the South with the Nâçirî, and that of the East with the saint of Tameçloh't.

Second aspect: that of the more or less great density of the bonds. Of all the Mtugga, only the Intamlin, and nothing but a
[181] part /274/ among them, serve a foreign saint. The haughty independence of the tribe thus manifests itself again in that (1).

[175] 1. Has it been thus at every epoch? The western part of the tribe seems, in the sixteenth century, to have participated actively in the jihâd. Cénival identifies at Tamalukt the Culeihat el-Muridin of Léon, Sour in., Port., t. I, p. 765, n. 1. Besides, one of the near successors of al-Janûlî, ᶜAbd al-Karîm b. ᶜUmar al-Fallâh', is called at-Tiklî at the same time as al-H'âh'î, Mumtiᶜ al-asmâᶜ, 1305, p. 45, l. 2 de fine. The ritual personality of a group therefore varies not only with its morphology, but also with its history. But we are only rarely equipped to follow these relations with sufficient precision.

Inversely, among the Seksawa, the people of Sekrat make use of all the patronages possible, local and outside, and set the price on it. They have vowed no less than "twelve Fridays of butter" to
[634] various saints. In a general fashion the principal concern of the
Seksawa bears on their cantonal saints, and evidently on the na-
[619] tional saint in particular, whose cult reacts on all the rest of their ritual life.

792 But if there is tribal stiffness or particularism, there is also
[794] participation in vast hagiological areas which imperious silhou-
[184] ettes dominate. These are, it seems, two strongly contrasting

/274 cont./

792 184 ritual styles. In the case of the allegiance to the Nâçirî of Tamgrût (2),

2. On the zaouia and the brotherhood, the best study, and the most recent one, is that of G. Drague, Aperçu sur l'histoire religieuse du Maroc /Survey of the religious history of Morocco/, 1950, pp. 185 sq.

their opposition is lighted up, for on the one side the ample radiance of this zaouia is almost entirely identified with confreric affiliation, that is, tends toward individual rather than collective adherence, toward initiatory option rather than the tie of the ground, toward esoterism rather than communal publicity. But these definitions of the Maghrebi confrerism, to the hazardous measure where they go beyond maraboutism, are more ideal than real (3).

[191] 3. Moreover they have been rather the business of the Algerian school: Rinn, Depont and Coppolani, Aug. Berque. The "marabout" is not always opposed to the "brotherhood." The case of the Algerian Rah'mâniyya is the most typical in this regard.

In the case of Sidi Ah'med u Musa (4),

4. Cf. Justinard, "Notes sur l'histoire du Sous au XVI^{e} siècle /Notes on the history of the Sous in the sixteenth century/," Ar. mar., 1933, pp. 5 sq., model of direct, precise, and sensible investigation.

the patron of the Tazerwalt, more of confreric cadre: the allegiance is no less strong, the itineraries vast, the figures vivid.

/274 cont./

794 Third aspect, linked to the preceding: that of the combination of all these affinities on the local echelon. Although in principle it is a matter of negotiations purely contractual, spontaneous, and which respond, in a number of cases, to the chance of the passage of a wandering saint, or of a favor received, the homogeneity of the milieu brings about certain regularities: in all the mountain of Imintanout, it is the house of Tamgrut and that of the a. Tamment (Sidi Âbdallah u Sâid) which drain off the maximum of offerings. But all /275/ this in dispersed order. Sometimes it is the whole canton, sometimes only the village, sometimes only a family of the village that dedicate an offering to such-and-such a saint.

794 184 /The next four paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ It is in this way that in Idma the aristocratic *gens* of the Iseqqalen pay annually to Sidi Âbdallah u Sâid one sheep per flock and one measure out of 40 of the harvest for each of its subdivisions established in a village at Tasselli, Usikis, Tannsmekht, [613] Talmud'ât. In a. Abdella, only two *ikhs*-s, the one of Bûl^{c}wân, the other of Agawz, furnish the *mârûf* of Sidi Âbderrahman u Sâid, which takes place in September.

Other examples. In a. Musa, two groups, those "from above" and those "from below," are in opposition to each other. The former owe Lalla Aziza a measure of barley and half a one of maize per foyer, plus a goat. The latter apply another system: half of the first basketful, *taryalt*, of barley taken from the threshing floor, the other half going to Sidi Mh'and, plus a *kharruba* of maize per foyer. But even within these groups, certain villages have particular devotions. That of Igernsuq, for example, sometimes dissociates itself from the general regime. [613] It has been seen that this dissociation may, in the matter of feasts, go down to the *ikhs*.

In a. Âbdella, Tuz'z'umt annually pays Tamgrût a measure of olives, one of barley, one of almonds, and a sheep per foyer. Ilutjan, immediately downstream, pays to Sidi Âbdallah u Sâid some barley, maize, oil, and the butter of two Fridays. . . Bûl^{c}wân does not pay *chchard'* to the outside.

/275 cont./

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The a. Lh'sen, so coherent for all that touches on the agrarian order or on the cantonal devotions, assert on this subject a characteristic diversity: Wanz'id' pays to the Nâçirî a measure of barley, 100 nuts, a Friday of butter per foyer. But its neighbor, Iwulla, serves Sidi Abdallah u Sâid, in addition to the Nâçirî. One would find the same diversity among the Idma villages, a canton nevertheless very uniform.

A comparison with the neighboring Mez'ud'a would show this diversity, enriched moreover by recourse to a more extensive scale of saints, being ordered in a harmonious system, with great movements of the ensemble. This sort of comparison is not our objective, and we shall not dwell upon it. Nevertheless, on this
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plane as well as on many others, the contrast between the balanced structure of the Mez'ud'a and that, partitioned and divergent, of the Seksawa is striking. Or rather, there ceases to be contrast there if one eliminates this vague word "tribe," which labels for us, in both cases, realities how different! It is necessary in fact to compare the Mez'ud'a, not to the Seksawa in their
[634]
totality, but to the Idma or to the a. Lh'sen: the Mez'ud'a are a taqbilt that has known how or was able to keep its basic structures, all while distending itself to a population of more than 2,000 foyers. While in Seksawa, from the bottom to the top of the valley, vicissitudes have broken up an /276/ equivalent population into eight or nine organisms. It is not without interest that the study of religious forms thereupon meets, in its conclusions, those of history.

The transformations that have modified the structure of the groups, in reducing or amplifying the geographical ensembles, have naturally acted on the local economy of the sacred, of the
794
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mystical patronages of their fiscal counterpart. Correlatively, the variety of the relations between the saint and his partners has become very great. On the one hand, large zones of influence. On the other, personal devotions and initiations. Here affiliations proceeding from a free choice. There collective or hereditary clienteles, the origin of which is no longer perceived by anyone.

/276 cont./

794 184 But these diverse characteristics originate at the stage of rustic exchanges between villagers and saints of grounds: and it is at this stage that they may best be analyzed.

Seasonal Rites, Collective Pacts, Individual Contracts

796 Habitat of the sacred: personal or simply communal sanctuaries. Rhythm or phases of the sacred: these periodic renewals marked by agapae, pomp, and sacrifices. Finally, accountancy of the divine: here is a very important third element, perhaps the most striking, and which impresses on the institution a cachet of specific ratiocination and avarice. And although it plunges into collective apprehension and depends narrowly on the recurrence of natural phenomena, it manifests itself under the aspects of individualism and conscience. [241] [221] There is something very remarkable there: the liturgical periodicity, itself linked to the agricultural periodicity, terminates in a contract.

794 212 875 The old jurists from the Sous, who make themselves the echo of quarrels among hamlets for the recompense of the *fqih* or the repairs on the communal mosque, raised the question of the obligation of the Friday prayer in the case where several hamlets or "bicoques" /shanties/ (in the etymological sense) have together only one mosque, which is not close to any of them. [634] The liaison of this institution with the *taqbilt*, which is distributed in a plurality of habitat, furnishes an interesting historical suggestion. [312] [423] Another characteristic that one might draw from these jurists is the liaison of the recompense of the *fqih* to the turns for water, that is, to sum up, to the agnatic order (1).

[465]

1. *Ajwiba* said to be from "Bennâçer," that is, from the sheik Ibn Nâçir of Tamgrût, ms. Zaouia of the Mez'ud'a, p. 54, 1. 7 sq. The salary of the *fqih* is fixed on *ayyâm dawlat ^{c}uyûni-him*. The ar. /Arabic/ *dawla*, "turn," corresponds to the cḥl. /Shluh/ *tawala*. But is there derivation?

/276 cont./
794 Sometimes, on the contrary, he collects the right to a preference
875 share from the harvest: 1/40 as in a. Lh'sen, 1/30 as in
212 Imt'ddan, etc. /277/ Just as the dues to the saints establish, not
the rudiments, but a meticulous system of fiscality, the recompense
of the t't'olba, like the collection and the management of
the dues, properly establishes in the group an outline of administration.
[231] That fully emerges from regular institutions, such as the
periodic slaughtering of fresh meat, luzi^{c}t, itself in close relations,
though not constant, with the sacrifice to the saints,
[675] tighersi. There, as we have shown elsewhere (1),
the contractual aspect, appearing in notarial technique, predominates
over all the others.

794 It is the same for the "stipulations" to the saints, chchard'.
675 One will note the identity of this term with that designating the
[585] authorized marriage settlement to the bride over and above the
amerwas. Thus there we are in full agreement. An act recorded
175 at the sanctuary of sidi Âbderrah'man b. Messâud, in the Mtugga,
794 illustrates the way in which the great saint of the a. Daud, sidi
776 Sâid u Âbdennâim, founder of a "maraboutic principality" in the
675 Sous, used it to the end of his days. He summoned the H'âh'a
and the Mtugga to his bedside. After a pious homily, he requested
[796] of them the annual celebration of a mârûf at the beginning
of the month of "Berbère /Berber/ March," mars ^{c}ajâmî
(sic). They agreed in a great burst of contrition. And of each
tribe to take it upon itself spontaneously to pay to the descendants
of the saint -- that one barley, that one butter or oil. The whole
was styled khidma, "service," and churût', "stipulations." That
took place during the tenth century of the Hegira, that is, our
sixteenth century. And although precisely this saint has no client
among our Seksawa, the text applies to them equally. It indicates

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1. J. Berque, "Un glossaire arabo-chleuh du Deren (XVIII^{e} siècle)," R. afr., 1950, pp. 383 sq., where these ceremonies are described in full. Bibl. of luzi^{c}t, p. 383, n. 25.

/277 cont./
175 the usual procedure of these obligations of group to patron. Such
794 testimony is rare: the beneficiaries keep them secret (2).

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[776]
[126]

2. We have been able, however, to procure for ourselves at the zaouia of the Mez'ud'a one of these acts, which we reproduce as Figure 10, page 390.

Perhaps even many of these contracts are pure etiology of a custom in being and for which one should have tried to place the origin and to find the explanation.

796 Let us pass now to a second element of institution: these
mâruf-s of which there has already been mention many times.
This word, used here rather than that of musem, has been attested
since an ancient epoch and paradoxically combines the Koranic
notion of "good" and that of "customary usage." Veritable play
on words, which seems intended, since a number of customary
codifications have feigned to be based on it and sometimes even
yet it is invoked by /278/ /Fig. 10 appears here/ /279/ innovating
jurists. The mârûf is the seasonal rite incumbent on a
[782] group with regard to a saint. It usually includes a blood sacrifice,
tighersi, but differs from other gatherings, such as the tinubga or
796 tiwilt, which have no religious import. The chchard' is found in
675 the old acts in the form of testamentary prescriptions, accompanied
by invocations and conditional curses: last words of the
dying saint to his servants. Sometimes accompanied by homilies,
it constitutes, for multisecular lapses, the charter regulating the
relations of a group with the local representative of the sacred.

794 Several saints possess an estate, rras l-mâl, maintained from
[776] year to year by the sale of pieces of meat. This sale is done at
[423] auctions. It releases the emulation, itself ostentation, which this
[432] kind of concourse calls up. But the money owed is almost never
[452] demandable until the following year. An embryo of credit thus
forces its way through. It includes inscription on written rolls
[693] and the montagnard notariate is actively occupied with it. Elsewhere
we have described the demarcations between the profane

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 391]

/From p. 278 of the original source./

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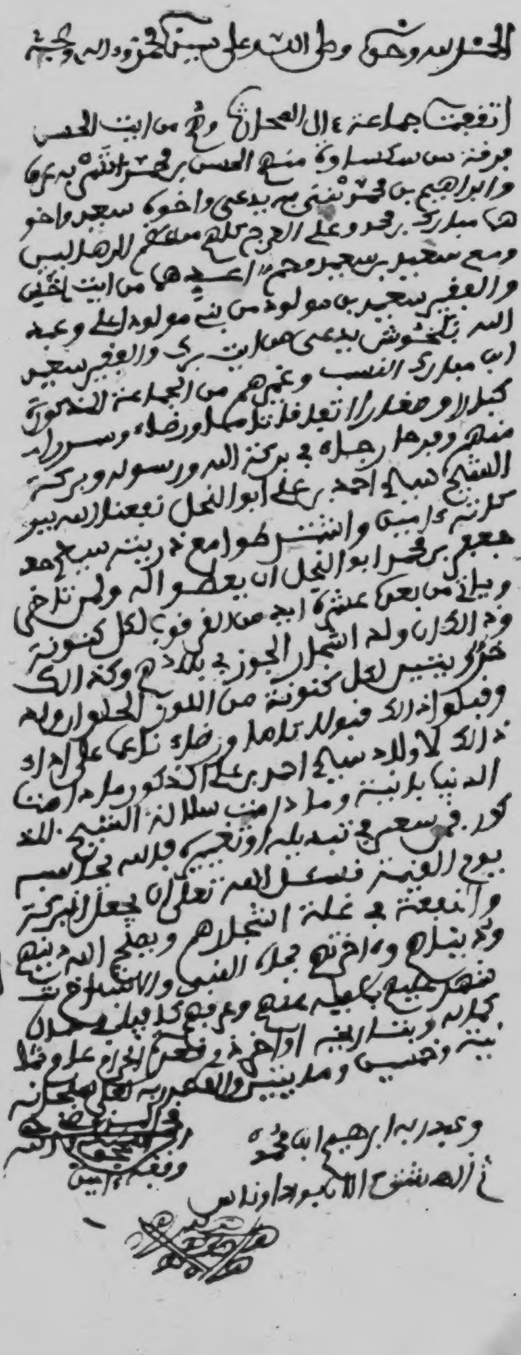

الحمد لله وحده وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وآله وصحبه

Fig. 10

Act by which the jemâa of the Iwulla took it upon themselves to pay a tithe to Sidi Ah'mad u ᶜAli, 1258 Heg. = 1840. In exchange, the saint would assure the material and spiritual prosperity of the group (in fine). Collected at the zâwiya of the Mez'ud'a.

/279 cont./

794 and the sacred that such a system reveals. The conjugation of the old propitiatory or purificatory practices, the archaic climate of squandering and feasting are united here in exact accountable preoccupations. Veritable grocery store of the sacred.

Critique of These First Data

794 Thus one characteristic of this stage of religious and juridical
776 institutions among the Seksawa becomes clear. The patronage of
182 the saints puts into play a solidarity among the group life, the
rhythms of nature, and the ritual calendar. The passage from one
to the other of these three ideas is constant. Even passage from
the statute governing the relations of the group with its protector
to the deliberate initiative of conventions with other saints. The
794 auctions for the sale of sacrificial meat, the emulation which
182 results, the term obligation to which the purchaser agrees partake of
the most communitarian rite and of the most individual contract
all at once. In these forms of synthesis, in these moments of
village exuberance, linked to the life of the seasons and to the
manifestations of the sacred, are freed the forces which go at the
same time to maintain and to validate the juridical obligation.
181 But the latter, at this very stage of religious, agrarian, and
communal correspondences, already presents itself clothed in specific
characteristics which are its own in the culture of the Chleuhs
/Shluh/: acquisitive sharpness, contractual individualism,
communal publicity. And these characteristics have already reacted
on what one can presume to be an /280/ "old" foundation. As we
have noted, this foundation no longer appears except in unequal
and incoherent fashion, by fragments and survivals. Syntheses
exert themselves on the local plane. They are constructive and
distorting. In them resides the originality of the milieu, while
the more archaic facts that one distinguishes on the traverse are
rather amenable to a North African generality.

182 At this stage imperious necessities of equilibrium and of local ordering, a systematization smitten with dosage and

/280 cont./

182 distribution, solidarities extending to the whole Chleuh /Shluh/ ensemble are at work. But also Islamic devotion, which, in certain aspects, is critique and reason. We must therefore make great allowance for evolutions which not only efface or revive such-and-such an event, but modify its relations with the rest. Whence the necessity to bear in mind at every moment the proportion and the level of phenomena. The intimacy of the juridical institution, for example, will be grasped only when the distinction is made between what in it is dependent on "prelaw" in relation to the judiciary system on one hand, on the law in relation to usage and folklore on the other. Same distinctions to be established in the study of the religious life.

The prudence that is imposed on our course by a terrain so
rich in denivellations prohibits for the moment making conclusions
on a fundamental problem: that of the relations of the agnatic
group with the ritual life. As they are presently observed, they
belong to a layer of folklore to which one cannot legitimately at-
tribute structural value. It would be too easy to speak of degrada-
[613] tions or recent evolutions. And the existence of a law of patri-
monial balance among the different ikhs-s could not for the
moment be attributed, without petitio principii, to a claimed
[613] stage of origin. Thus let us leave the question hanging. Let us
[769] note in any case that the persistence of the ikhs should have
favored the birth of a hagiology of ancestors. But there is nothing
of it. Figures of this sort are paradoxically rare in a country with
lineage legitimacy. No heroes, no gilded legend. But the indi-
[776] vidual on one hand, communal synthesis on the other, and, above
all, a personage who has centralized the largest part of the super-
natural of the Seksawa. Let us look at this personage more
closely.

/281/ Developments of the Religious Life

I. Great Ritual Personifications

"A National Saint," Lalla Aziza

776 [533] [333] When masons from the Haouz, from the Drâ, or from the Dadès, perched on the rough framing, beat the pisé of a wall under construction, the chant that punctuates their efforts starts with the invocation of Lalla Aziza Tagurramt. But this extension of the name into the popular litanies of the South cannot efface the profound reasons that make the tomb of the saint, her legend, and her rite the vital center of the Seksawa. [114] And the error of E. Doutté, or more probably of his guide, when they thought they saw the sanctuary as early as the first counterforts of the valley, was instructive. But could they have done otherwise? All this part of the Deren is dominated by the figure of the heroine: why be astonished that the countryside is imbued with it? For the eyes of the heart, Lalla Aziza is certainly visible from afar in the plain.

[121] Let it therefore be on this impression that our analysis opens. Guided by a course that is the very one of the promenade, but also of discovery, we shall try, clue by clue, to descend to the most profound of an ensemble of images, emotions, rites, beliefs, and history.

Archeological Landmarks

133 Intermediate course between the low valley and the great mountain, strewing on its broad esplanade the softened relief of a horticulture that still has space at its disposal, while a little farther upstream life will be reduced to acrobatic clingings to rock, the plain of the a. Musa plays the role of a parvis. That 778 is why it is to be defended by spiritual guardians, and why the defense is to be turned downstream. Upstream, on the contrary, a ground heavily charged with interdictions, lh'rum i-yseksawan,

/281 cont./

778 begins, the center of which /282/ is Z'init' (1).

[104] 1. I spell correctly with two emphatic accents, even if the emphasis of the t is sufficiently softened to justify apropos the name the etymological pun that one will see. As for the sibilant sound, its emphasis is attested to by the Arabic transcription into d'. This name of Z'init' is strange, like many of these Berbère /Berber/ names, anthroponyms of groups above all, whose unintelligibility and irregularity are striking in contrast to the relative clarity of many names of places or quarters. There are two very different "layers" there.

776
778 These watchers for peril from the plain are santons, of rough visage, but whose frequency clearly marks a denivellation of the sacred. Such as sidi Mh'and Ah'ormi, this saint of the "asylum" (2),

[195] 2. The translation as "asylum" is certainly derivative. The basic idea is that of the interdiction, which is expressed here by an Arabic root h' r m, rather anciently in order for it to have been able to be "personalized" in a punned name of a saint: this sidi Mh'and Ah'ormi, this ah'ormi being perceived as a nasab.

sidi Sâid u Moh'ammed, sidi Lghezwani, sidi Ghânem, sidi Ah'med u Mh'and, and a small sanctuary with a strange name, Iz'mawn Iuserran, "the lions of Iuserran," revealer perhaps of some ancient magic defense (3).

[825]
[171] 3. The leonine species is often adopted by the Maghrebi saints; W. Marçais, Textes

/282 cont./

776 /footnote 3 continued/ arabes de
778 Takrouna /Arabic texts of Takrouna/,
[825 1925, p. 209, n. 6, gives a bibliog-
[171] raphy.

Does that mean that more ancient elements, announcers of a
ritual place, were effaced before Lalla Aziza? The fact remains
that a similar defense is lacking toward the upstream part. Evi-
dently, the saint is at home in the back country. There one finds
778 only her maqâm-s or "mansions," which arouse a completely dif-
ferent order of ideas. First, toward the S.-E., in the former
domain of the a. Gasa, an oak at the Tizi Az'allo, between
Tagonit and Assttif̂; then a carob tree, igg, at the place called
Tiktit, "the frontier," in the valley of the asif n-Tghrin; a walnut
tree in the ravine of Tannçmt; and another piece of masonry at
Rekto. All that on this side of the crest of the Afuzar. Beyond, at
Imi y-ighzer n-Âissa, in the present habitat of the a. Gasa, and
at Anzelfi among the a. Gâir, still other mansions. What is
striking is that all these hagiological points, if one posts them on
a map, go beyond the present perimeter of the Seksawa.

In the valley itself, one notes, as is frequent, between the
agglomeration of Z'init' and Tamezgurt, a raised stone, called
"limit of Lalla Aziza." It used to mark the border of the asylum
in the upstream direction, in a period when it was not reduced to
[773] the constructed site. According to current folklore, the people
[823] see in it the petrification of a fiancée and her mount, just as they
see, in another rock, the metamorphosis of a wicked chief,
amghar yubaddaln rbbi.

175 More significant are the archeological elements revealable 175
726 toward the S.-W., that is, in Idma country. One knows that the 726
727 Idma, more recent immigrants, are the conquerors of the a. Gasa, 727
[776] and that it is thanks to the saint that they defeated them one [776
against two. They /283/ took from them, among others, the vil-
[776] lage of Anchkrir. There, an ancient endowment assigns about [776]
[794] forty parcels to Lalla Aziza, the revenue from which she collects [794]
000 every year in March. Anchkrir is dominated by a high table of [651
000

361 /283 cont./Anchkrir is dominated by a high table of
2,000 m., at mid-slope of the Tabgurt, and called "the conjoint
areas," Inraren Z'dinin. It is a place of periodic assemblies for
the election of chiefs, or meetings preliminary to military expe-
776 ditions. Forum and bivouac. One notes there a small hypaethral
778 sanctuary, simple circle of stones, dedicated to a Lalla Âzzo,
given as the daughter of Sidi Âmer u H'addo, of the issue of the
[796] Seksawa kings. At the entrance to the village itself Sidi Sliman
u Âmer is buried, to whom is dedicated in the summer a small
celebration, in decline elsewhere. The latter is also a historic
personage, like H'addo u Âmer, king of the fourteenth century.
One cannot fail to be struck by the homonymy between this Lalla
Âzzo, of the old royal cycle, and Lalla Aziza, with whom she is
[197] identified by some. The name of Aziza, moreover anormal in
Chleuh /Shluh/, is still unusual today. The popular language,
notably in the choruses, changes it to Âzzt. If it should be
identified with the names of Âzzô or Âzzûna, it would perhaps
be a matter of the same personage at Z'init' and at Inraren
Z'dinin. Then, the existence of an appanage of the saint at
Anchkrir, the only village where she has one, would pose the
problem of the bond between her cycle and that of the medieval
kings. Undoubtedly that is the key to the history of the Seksawa.
But how to explain the present site of the sanctuary? Might it re-
sult from a displacement of the more modest sepulcher of the
higher place? Or would there have been two tombs? We shall
probably never know.

776 The name of Z'init' is curious. It is explained locally by an
778 imperative, with an archaic ending in -it, from the verb z'z'in,
195 "to quarrel, to dispute." The rite confers a certain likelihood to
193 this interpretation. Or else z'z'in-i-t would be a third person of
the plural, followed by a preposition and a pronoun. That is, in
sum: "are you quarreling" or "one is quarreling for him." All of
that, naturally, is pun. There are two "quarrels" in the liturgy
[773] of the saint: a legendary pursuit around her body, according to a
current hagiological theme; and the blows lavished at the sacrifice
of the Mîlâd.

/283 cont./

776 Be that as it may about the name, the site is broken up as
778 follows. 1) In the upstream direction, a small edifice dedicated
to a sidi bu Lqnadel (1):

[192] 1. "With the candle ends." Ibn Toumert is also surnamed aςafu, which is the chl. /Shluh/ doublet of the ar. /Arabic/ qandil. Ibn Khaldûn, Histoire des Berbères, tr., t. II, 1927, p. 163.

open chamber, and tomb without a superstructure. It is dominat-
[764] ed by a cemetery, not far from the az'allo, "place of collective
prayer in /284/ open air." 2) A little higher, descending into
the river, a rocky ravine, called Imi n-Zennû (old Berbère /Ber-
ber/ name, to be put in connection with the Jannûn, Azzûn,
etc.). 3) On the arête that rises on the side of the Mzawt, two
[823] raised stones punish the sinner, whom they seize if he dares pass
between them (1).

1. Old folkloric theme of "planctes" /plangent/ stones.

776 This is the ifri n-tsqqi. 4) "The house" of Lalla Aziza. It con-
778 tains, in the vestibule, the sepulcher of a mule, and storerooms
346 where the provisions for feast days are amassed. Four large pots,
764 luted above a summary oven, wait in another room. It is there
that the pieces of the victim will be cooked. A covered passage leads to the "door of the plain" of the zaouia. 5) The zaouia in fact presents a bab lud'a, "door of the plain," and a bab udrar, "door of the mountain." It is certainly the antithesis between upstream and downstream that dominates all of this life. Further, this configuration reflects a ritual classification employed on the day of the Milâd. To the left, a room where a tomb is seen: that of sidi Yah'ya u Lqaid, given as the exterminator of the a. Gasa. In the cupola, the tomb of the saint, with three others, which would be those of her father, her mother, a slave.

/284 cont./

346 I pass the constructions that are inhabited by the present
794 foqra, administrators, rather than holders of the benefic power,
above all devolutionaries of the "benefice" tisura. Made of
stone arranged in a straight line, on two and sometimes three
stories, in joined assemblages, according to the powerful techniques of the mountain, they present nothing remarkable, except
794 for their paradoxically urban aspect. However, as this small
173 group materializes and exploits the tradition of the sanctuary, it
will not be useless to investigate the oral chronicle concerning it.

It is composed of three families: the a. H'ammo, the a.
Ali, and the a. Lh'sen, besides the habitual fringe of allogenes
[784] and refugees. The reduction of the effective force of the latter
two families in relation to the first is attributed to a curse that
the saint cast upon them as penalty for an ambush in which they
traitorously massacred the a. Musa. They had invited them to a
tiwilt, "banquet-palaver." Having led them into a room upstairs, below which they had piled stalks of maize, they smoked
them out. The unfortunate ones who jumped out the window
were slain. Only one escaped. Even he was killed farther away.
[211] Thirty-three slabs, each representing one of these human lives,
have been, it seems, imbedded since then in the ceiling of the
maqçura of a mosque at T'abya. Magic and official cult are
joined here with cantonal patriotism.

[784] /285/ What the saint is punishing in the case at hand is not
only the treachery of the two families, but the crime, whose
victims were pure descendants of the royal line. A coincidence
776 to think about. Quite naturally this leads one to investigate as to
[778] whether there are not other characteristics that can be revealed
by an examination of the places and which would put one on the
same track. First of all, this sidi bu Lqnadel, "the saint with the
[619] candle ends," corresponding in Berbère /Berber/ to a bab n-tfawin,
[634] which would also signify "the man with the proofs," would be
none other than H'addo, the eponym of the a. H'adduyws of the
highest valley, founder of the medieval dynasty. One bestows on
[796] him each year no more than a little merrymaking: barely a few
[443] cooked chickens, which the children eat. But three generations
[692]

/285 cont./
776 ago it was he who presided over the Thursday market, and it was
[443] in his edifice that the moqaddem of Lalla Aziza remained to settle
[692] the litigations. If one compares this H'addo the Yah'ya buried
in the "house of Lalla Aziza" with the Sliman buried at Anchkrir not far from an Âzzô, the identification with at least three of the personages mentioned by Ibn Khaldûn will be confirmed. A certain liaison of the historic cycle and the ritual cycle is thus suggested by the only archeological indications. How this liaison could have been established, and, in that case, what distortions the rite has printed on history, this is what has been examined elsewhere. But let us salute again here the synthesis and its profound relations with the functioning of a group life.

The Fisc of the Holiness

000 The same impression will emerge from an institutional analysis of the system whose topographic situation we have just studied.

What is striking at first is the relative importance of the perimeter of appeal. Here again, let us start with the most concrete elements, that is, the geography.

794 Expressed as obligation for offerings at the time of the two
776 annual feasts, or "stipulated subscription" village by village all
423 during the year, the attraction of Lalla Aziza is also expressed in
[796] agrarian attachments. Let us pass by her appanage of Anchkrir,
identifiable with an old center of Seksawa history. Much farther downstream, in the lower valley, at Ih'ançalen, two "parcels" called, with a play on words, id'aren n-Lalla Aziza, "the feet of L. A.," frame the river on both sides: a sort of portico which the current passes and which perhaps indicates an old rite of passage. We are still, it is true, in Seksawa, among these a. Âbdella whose name refers to the not very orthodox agellid of the fourteenth century. But in the plain itself, at Gemassa of the Fruga, the saint has available two /286/ shares of water on the Lalla
173 Çfiyya wadi. According to the oral traditions, in ancient times
776 the people of Gemassa and the a. Âbdella contended for the water
of the river by force. The conflict ceased only with the

/286 cont./

173 arbitration of the saint. Thus she obtained two shares of irriga-
776 tion, each conceded by one of the parties. Let us note that to-
[794] day the a. Abdella are separated from Gemassa by several foreign
[423] tribes and about twenty kilometers as the crow flies.

Likewise in the plain, in Dwiran, at the place called Jemâa Tagharro, the saint initially enjoyed a field, Zagho, of which, moreover, today there remains to her only a right for water. Here
[648] again, this benefice is related to a political manifestation: the
Sultan was ascending in an expedition in order to lay siege to the Seksawa. Their protectress marched to her encounter as far as the place called Tazugg^{w}art n-Lalla Aziza and succeeded in turning him away from his schemes for the siege. The chronicles bring to mind several attempts of this nature, and we even have contemporary evidence of one of these intercessions. Here one is moving on solid ground, and there again local signs confirm legend and history.

[792] In another direction, toward the E., a chronicle points out to
us, about 1708, the marabout of Tasaft, hero of a montagnard re-
[788] sistance against the makhzan power, coming on a pilgrimage to
Z'init' (1).

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1. Justinard, La Rihla du marabout de Tasaft /The Rihla of the marabout of Tasaft/, 1940, p. 124. On Z'init', pp. 110 sq. The author does not speak of Lalla Aziza, but of the "marabouts of the Seksawa."

He comes from afar and must cross high passes. On the way, he sees on a slab of polished stone imprints of horseshoes: legendary traces of the Almohades. The uneasy nostalgia of the storyteller for this brilliant and wretched period of greatness doubtlessly stirs him deeply when he comes to Z'init'. In this asylum, a banished caid had been able for a long time to flee from the men of the central power, who watched him from ambush in a. Musa. This sort of continuity that one feels established by the narrator in time and space between Ibn Toumert and Lalla Aziza is significant.

/286 cont./

173 776 Nothing more than an association of ideas, but haunting. It sustains this prose of images which break its aridity. Doubtlessly, priding himself on his erudition, the author confuses everything a little. He mixes the legendary or folkloric traits having reference to Ibn Toumert with those that have reference to another "Imâm el-Mehdi," the one from Massa, who is supposed to appear at the end of the times. Imprint left by a great epoch, popular millenarianism of the far Sous, more modest but intense hagiology of the local saint are perhaps confounded in a common horror for the central administration, but this syncretism is not /287/ without interest. Practically, until the Protectorate, the religious force of Z'init' blocked downstream all the offensives of the plain. And still farther toward the N., a whole hagiological moraine denounces a former expansion proceeding from these high places of the Atlas.

In the epochs of order, such efficiency must have compromised with the power. Here are three dahirs (1760, 1812, 1863) which granted (or rather consecrated) privileges to the "descendants of Lalla Aziza," a flattering qualification of those who are only the "poor" or "ministers," or only the "beadles." They ac-
[794] cord them a share of water on the al-Qîhra wadi at Taghzut. "That
[423] no one, Arab, Berbère /Berber/, or other, either approach them or circumscribe their space (1),

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1., Note this term of sâh'a, "clearance, vital space." That is what the chronicle uses to designate the perimeter of plain cut off from the Seksawa by the Mérinides in the fourteenth century.

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yat'ûfa bisâh'ati-him ..., in whatever may come to them." The granting of the right of asylum, and of a plenary fiscal exemption: "whoever may seek there protection or shelter will be inviolable in his person and his goods."

778 776 794 Indeed, the influence of the holy place does not diminish at all. According to a prediction of sidi Moh'ammed b. Âbdallah of Assttif, a marabout himself and a visionary, the powers of Lalla

/287 cont./
778 776 Aziza will still go on increasing. The chief of the zaouia of
bu^{c}anfir in Ud Bessebâ^{c} used to come on a pilgrimage to Z'init'
794 so that the flood waters would reach his lands. Sidi Mh'and, of
the great médersa /Moslem advanced school/ of the Mez'ud'a,
did not disdain to make his devotions there. At the Mîlâd, in
[685] 1949, a mule theft was committed during the ceremony in a sacrilegious plot to get rid of an enemy. Several days later, the crime caused a terrified repentance on the part of the guilty man, who spontaneously had the beast brought back. At the time of the theft, moreover, the people of Z'init' had asserted that Lalla Aziza herself would not fail to use her "lights," tifawin. The
event confirmed their pious trust. That so many powers coincide
[554] with the mediocrity and intrigue of the ministers, among whom
[771] the moqaddem was only a politician at the service of the Mtugga ambitions during the last generation, is a characteristic that merits attention and upon which it is proper to reflect when one tries to evaluate the part of the sacred and of its men in the Chleuh /Shluh/ society. And the problem will stop being knotted when one knows that, rejecting anything exclusive, these native ministers do not rest content with their saint, and make offerings themselves, upon the harvest of the maize, to two maraboutic families, the a. Sograti of the Haut Dwiran and the a. Bennâçer of Tawlukult!

/288/ However that may be, Lalla Aziza exerts over the whole Seksawa system, and accessorily in the Haut Dwiran (a. Wageryan) as well as on the side of the Gedmiwa (through the a. Gasa), a veritable fiscal attraction, expressed by the regular collection of cens: agricultural first fruits and sacrificial meats. As dry as an enumeration of it might be, it will nevertheless contribute to interesting geographical localizations. And, moreover, the very dryness of this roll, for it is one, since it fixes stipulated and almost transactional obligations (chchard'), will give a verity of atmosphere.

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Attempt at evaluation of the regular annual revenues of Lalla Aziza (in Seksawa)

Name of taqbilt	Name of donor group or groups	Barley (in measures)	Maize (in measures)	Butter (in kg.)	Walnuts (in thousands)	Sheep or goats	Bovines
a. Muss.	Igernssuq	29				1	1
	T'abya	62					
	Tabratjut	82					
a. Lh'sen.	Ensemble					1	1
a. Skrat.	Dyur Sekrat ...	44	44	22			
	Tikid'ut	23	23	11,5			
Iguntar.					0,650		
Idma.	Tasselli	7					1
	Talmud'ât	3					
	Tannsmekht ...	—					
	Wanchkrir	80					
Imt'ddan.	Tinwalin	27	27		(6 measures of almonds in case of good harvests)	27	2
	Tamezgurt	16	16			16	
	Tagunit	45	45			45	
	Tamt'ddit	16	16			16	
a. H'adduyws	a. Wasif	20		10			fac.
	Fensu	10					
	Tasa	9					
	a. Bah'ammo ..	3,5		14.5			
	Igersafen	3,5					
I. Geryun.	Tinerghat	4			3,2		fac.
	Imi Wasif	3			2,4		
	Asif Lah'lo	3,5			3		
	Rekt Wasif	2,5			2		
	Ighelmellen ...	4,5			3,7		
	Ikis	8			6,8		
a. Âbdella.							1

N.B. To which are added regular dues from the a. Gasa, the Idaw i-yzimmer (Idaw Mh'mud), the a. Wageryan (Dwiran), and the Haut Gedmiwa.

Totals ...		505.5	71	58	21.75	106	from 6 to 8
	Equivalence ...	67.4 qx	28,5 qx				

/qx = quintals/

794 /289/ Such are the regular revenues, veritable fisc of the holiness, which the foqra collect on a side of the Atlas populated by some 45, 000 souls. But it is necessary to increase these figures tenfold if one adds the fortuitous: offerings brought sometimes from great distances on the occasion of feasts or after vows, and peregrinating quests made individually. These quests make the foqra traverse the two versants of the mountain and lead them into all the groups of the circum-Tichka ensemble.

794 The liaison of these collections to the agricultural calendar
221 clothes them in a very vivid naturist color. In these high valleys
[782] it is sometimes the cessation of the snowfall and of the constant
water in the bed of the torrents that leads to the opening of the
ditches and then gives rise to offerings or propitiatory sacrifices;
sometimes the successive harvests or gatherings (barley, maize,
794 almonds, walnuts) that set into motion the opening rite. In all
[592] cases, a meticulous collective solidarity spreads the obligation and
the benediction that follows over the ensemble of the foyers, I
mean the conjugal foyers in the narrow sense, takatin. And in-
794 deed it is to be observed that the order of distribution is not genti-
613 litial. There are certainly particular devotions by such-and-such
an ikhs to such-and-such a saint. But the grouping of villages
among them, for the service of the offering, occasionally also
[592] breaks away from the solidarity of habitat or of taqbilt. The most
habitual division of the collective financings of profane type is
that which is most generally applied in the matter: it is calculated
on the effective force of the foyers. And this mode has prevailed
over the gentilitial rhythm, so much more suitable for the agrarian order and the structure of the groups. This exclusion of the ikhs as the base of religious fiscality is to be kept in mind.

794 Among the commodities subject to the tithe, let us note that
[137] if the maize, a relatively recent plant (sixteenth century), figures
in it, and has probably supplanted millet there, the mention of the olive, wealth of the lower valley, but which ascends to Z'init', is rare. The reasons for this anomaly are forgotten. Perhaps it expresses only a montagnard style, the bulk of the nationals of Lalla Aziza living above the limit of the olive tree.

/289 cont./

794 The fund coming from all these contributions is subjected
among foqra to egalitarian division. They put it together with
the product of the offerings, oboles, etc., collected all during
the year in the box, rrbi^{c}t, placed in the zaouia, under the name
of tisura, plural of tasarut, literally: "keys," analogous to the
Arabic futûh'ât. This benefice is defined by those interested as
a lh'obûs, "pious foundation." The analogy is only a rough one.
794 Violent competitions between rightful claimants, on one hand,
578 between moqaddem and other beneficiaries, on the other /290/
hand, between men and women also often arise and necessitate
[691] the intervention of justice. One of these conflicts broke out in
1949 and had to be settled by the assembly of all the Seksawa,
[692] constituted as a supreme court, as parties interested in the highest
degree by the questions touching upon their saint. An initial de-
794 duction of one tenth was set apart for widows and daughters in a
state of need, the rest forming the object of an egalitarian divi-
sion among all the foyers, with the reserve of a preference share
for the moqaddem.

The Legend

773 The largest part of the revenues come at the great moments
[794] of collective tension of the two annual feasts. But before even
[796] describing these two feasts, and first from the outside, before any
[128] interpretation, as it is time to become acquainted with the legend,
I shall give below the account of it that was collected about forty
years ago, with an exactitude not suspected of sociological ambition, by the French naturalist Brives, the memory of whom still survives in the valley because he was "the friend" of Lalla Aziza (1).

(1) Brives, Voyages au Maroc /Travels in Morocco/, 1909, pp. 256 sq.

We are on the terrace of a house which faces, from the other side of a ravine, that of the saint. All the terraces blaze out

/290 cont./

773 from a rich display of clamors and colors. The rite is about to be carried out. Here is the account which the foreigner can hear and which Brives puts at the beginning of the century.

773 /The rest of this section, up the last paragraph, is in small type in the original source./ "Lalla Aziza was born right here,
776 and from an early age she went to watch the goats in the mountains. Instead of staying with the other shepherds and having her flock graze along the river, where the grass is rich and plentiful, Lalla Aziza went to the heights of the mountain, where there are only rocks. Her goats were nevertheless as fat as those of the other shepherds. By that, God was already showing that he had noticed this child. Nevertheless, jealousy helping, the father of Lalla Aziza paid no attention to the flourishing state of her flock. He demanded that his child traverse the lower parts of the valley and, as she continued to lead her goats among the dry rocks, he repeatedly beat her unmercifully.

"One day while Lalla Aziza was watching her flock at the very summit of the mountain, where no grass ever grew, the father, accompanied by some people from the village, went to join her and reproached her for not following his instructions. Father, replied the child, see for yourself what your flock is eating. And then the father confirmed that his goats had their mouths full of wheat.

"From this moment, the child was regarded as a messenger /291/ from God and everyone admired her. When she became a young woman, she was noted for her piety. She loved solitude, appeared to be always at prayer, and yet her work was always done.

"Since she was among the most beautiful young women of the village, she was sought out for marriage, but refused all suitors.

"One day when she was alone beside the path overlooking the river, she was pursued by a young man whom she had refused. She could not flee because the path had no outlet, and she was about to be seized, when suddenly she disappeared into the mountain, before the astonished eyes of the young man. The young woman's reputation for holiness increased and spread far.

/291 cont./

773 176 "The Sultan wanted to make the acquaintance of Lalla Aziza and had her summoned to Marrakech. She went there and continued to be noticed in the city for her piety and for the good that she did around her. She was very honored, but her influence became so great that the Sultan took offense, and Lalla Aziza was thrown into prison. Several times an attempt was made to poison her, but each time that the poisoned dish was presented to her, she refused to eat any of it.

"One day, however, it was her most faithful servant who offered her the poison. Then she said: 'For God I shall eat some of it and for God I shall die.'

"But before doing so, she demanded that, once dead, her body would be tied on a mule and that it would be buried where the mule stopped.

"She ate some of the poisoned dish and died. As she had wished, her body was placed on a mule, which left immediately but could not be followed. The same day, it arrived at the Seksawa, where the body was recognized and buried with great ceremony.

"The inhabitants of Marrakech then erected a beautiful cupola in honor of the saint and obtained permission from the Sultan that the body would be placed there. The transfer took place, but it could be confirmed, several days later, that the body reposed simultaneously in the capital and at the Seksawa. It was then that the Sultan decided that a Kouba /kubba/ identical to that of Marrakech would be built in the mountains."

796 114 Brives subsequently devotes only a few lines to the ceremony. Let us thus leave his account in order to gather together a certain number of facts that do not seem to have struck him and whose importance for the meaning of the rite and for its import is considerable.

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The Rite

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782 First, there are, as has been seen, two great sacrifices to Lalla Aziza. The one is inserted in the naturist calendar already opened by all the collections of the first fruits, of which it is in a way the culminating act. It is generally called tighersiwin, "the /292/ immolations," and it takes place on the 15th of yulyuz, the "July" of the Julian calendar. The other coincides with the nativity of the Prophet, this Mîlâd, whose institution in Morocco and systematic generalization by the Mérinides toward the fifteenth century invaded little by little all of North Africa and became the orthodox repository for a multitude of orgiastic rites. At Z'init' the appearance and the meaning of these two manifestations differ notably. Let it be judged.

The feast of yulyuz consists of the sacrifice of bovines processionally offered by Idma, Imt'ddan, a. Musa, a. Mh'and, and sometimes a. Lh'sen and a. H'adduyws.

The beasts are assembled upstream from the tomb, above the
cemetery of sidi bu Lqnadel, who would be, one will remember,
H'addo, the eponym of the Haut Seksawa. Then the procession
[533] begins to sing a Prophetic litany, doubtlessly intended to furnish
the othodox endorsement of the ceremony. "In your honor,
Moh'ammed! It is the Prophet whom we place at our head."
This formula is used elsewhere in similar ceremonies; it is heard
in any case at Ammern. The crowd arrives at an area equipped
as a market on the parvis of the tomb. Each chief slits the throat
[787] of his beast. The victim jumps in movements eagerly viewed by
the crowd, which confers omen value upon them. The chief
washes his hands and his dagger in an earthen vessel that is presented to him. A savage scene. The beasts lie with throat cut
open, exhaling a forge's blowing through their open tracheae,
[634] while dogs lap up the blood that spreads. Then the invocation
starts, at which the moqaddem presides and which consists of
hopes for family, agricultural, and political prosperity. The
[171] sacrifice is what it is classically on similar occasions in other
regions of Morocco. The only two things to be noticed are the

/292 cont./
796 initial gathering above sidi bu Lqnadel (connection with the old
782 royal cycle?) and the direction of the procession. It is carried
out from upstream downstream, even for the offerings from the
plain. This latter trait and the mediocrity of the affluence contrast
radically with what happens at the feast of the Mīlād.

At this time the richness and the precision of the rite are
more perceptible, and the atmosphere without any doubt richer.
[619] The victim is a cow, offered by the Imt'ddan and their a. Irro
emigrants. Perhaps because they are the original group of the
saint or, better, the substitute for this group. The victimary is
traditionally furnished by the family of the a. Baqqa, from
[619] Tagunit (Imt'ddan). It is also this taqbilt that supplies the flagellants.
The procession departs from downstream, below|the mosque.
Same Prophetic litany. The victim is led, the one sacrificing it
holding it by the left horn, a naked dagger /293/ in the right, as
far as below the "house of Lalla Aziza." The house has an inner
court and a high open chamber as loggia, and where women are
gathered, as they are on the neighboring terraces. The whole
infinitely motley. People armed with bludgeons precede the cow
a little. They face it, screaming and brandishing bare sticks or
olive branches. The victimary slits the throat of the beast. If
[787] the latter rises in a jump, good omen. Cries, ho hos /Fr.
youyous/, and confusion, amidst which a marabout from Assttif
says the fāth'a, while the victim is skinned. It disappears under
a yelling cluster of the faithful who rush beneath the blows to tear
away some skin, some meat, by hand or with a knife. Upon the
arrival of the cow, an old woman kissed it between the two
horns. As soon as the blood spurts forth, there is a rush: one fills
a bottle with it, another besmears his face, many the eyes. Simultaneously,
the throats of two sheep are slit, one offered by
Assttif, the other by Wanchkrir. The blood of hens colors, however,
the downstream threshold of the zaouia. Then the degree of
emotion, perceptible from the beginning, becomes extreme. Excitement
reaches its peak. The animal, finally dismembered, is
put to cook in the large pots that the house shelters. Divided into
fragments, it will be carried in all directions by those present.

796 /293 cont./
782 who will sanctify new kitchens at home with it, a single little
piece sufficing to bestow the benefic effluvium on a whole dish.

796 Despite the atmosphere of apprehension, a diagram of wor-
782 ship allows itself, as can be seen, to be recognized. Determina-
tion of the minister: he belongs to a family of the Imt'ddan, so
182 close to the saint, to whom they attribute among other miracles
[823] the distribution of the springs among their villages. Association of an accessory agent who is precisely the vehicle of orthodoxy: the marabout of Assttif, whose intervention, it is not useless to recall, is necessarily quite late, since his zaouia goes back only to the seventeenth century. The veritable ministers here are this pack of individuals, associates and rivals at the same time in the dispute with blows for the conquest of a hallowed parcel. They are no longer, as in the rite of July, collective members of the tribal gathering, but volunteers. The usual techniques of collective exaltation, contrasting, in their tumultuary individualization, with the official order of July, stand out splendidly here. The real paroxysm evidently results from the violence with which the faithful hack away and tear at the victim beneath the blows.

[783] The first interpretation, one of our own making, is naturally rationalist and modest: the people would be atoning for their sins through the mortification of blows with sticks. But it is more precise to relate this rite to so many other agrarian rites calling for /294/ struggles or violence (1).

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1. Cf. concerning rites of conflict, bibliography in W. Marçais, Textes arabes de Takrouna /Arabic texts of Takrouna/, 1925, p. 224, n. 39, and description, p. 201. Flagellation is often linked to the idea of scapegoat. Cf. J. G. Frazer, Le bouc émissaire /The scapegoat/, P. Sayn tr., 1925, p. 234, who cites Westermarck (p. 235) concerning Moroccan rites. In a domain close to ours, the I. T'anan, R. Montagne has given a vivid description of the combat occasioned by the musem of the a. Tinkert. He

/294 cont./

796 /footnote 1 continued/ compares it rightly to
782 the simulated struggle indulged in at the
182 *mwuggar* of sidi Ah'med u Musa. In. /unpub-
171 lished/ note on the Idaw T'anan, arch. of
783 Imintanout, pp. 38, 39. Let us cite finally, without a hidden motive of comparison, and, if one wishes, for simple "curiosity," this description of old Egyptian ritual: "At night, thousands of persons, armed with sticks, keep watch around the temple; some want to keep anyone from reinstating in his *naos* a statue of the god . . .; others want, on the contrary, to facilitate the entrance of the god. The actors, who are beneath the portico, deny access to the temple; the crowd, running to the assistance of the god, attacks them; they defend themselves; a violent combat with blows from sticks ensues, and many skulls are cracked." (A. Moret, *Le Nil et la civilisation égyptienne* /The Nile and the Egyptian civilization/, 1926, p. 294.)

796 Flagellation even intervenes there at times, linked to the ideas
782 of the scapegoat and purification. Not far away in the Atlas, at
182 sidi Brahim near Asni, a camel is similarly slaughtered and
[785] skinned by the faithful, who tear at its flesh under the blows. At
[783] sidi Ābdallah u H'sayn, of Tameçluh't, the head of the animal is
carried away and fought over on the run by two rival parties (2).

2. Observations kindly communicated by G. Delaye.

Finally, the communional aspect which the distribution of the meat suggests (3).

[171] 3. An aspect which moreover is more pronounced in other North African rites, for example, that of the Kabyle saint Sidi ^{c}Ali n-Funas at Tizi Ouzou.

/*294* cont./
796 and which in other ceremonies a laic or municipal climate attenuates or eliminates, bursts out here in all its zeal. In the
782
182 region one would find such a force only at the October *musem* of sidi Ali u Brahim of the Idaw T'anan: the dispute is unleashed, not around a skinned victim, but around a paste to be eaten collectively.

In sum, the *Mîlâd* of Z'init', with an exceptional clearness and richness, comes under the jurisdiction of these rites by which rural societies perform "an uninterrupted series of concentrations and diffusions" (4) of the sacred, with the aim of assuring the continuation of the life of things and of drawing closer the relations of this life with that of the group. A difficulty, however, and even an anomaly. Not so much that the ceremony assumes an Islamic coloring; that is only normal. But how is one to explain that it has been dissociated from the July ceremony? The latter has remained purely civic and naturist. Its content has become impoverished, thinner. On one hand, seasonal insertion and official intervention of the groups. On the other, patronage of the Prophet, justifying, in an intense, ecstatic debauch, an old rite which is at the same time agrarian, expiatory, and /*295*/ communional. When did this dissociation intervene? The feast of *yulyuz*, also called *musem* or even *muslem*, would have been instituted less than a century ago, as other Seksawa *musem*-s have been subsequently. However that may be, the incontestable fact lies in the contrast between the two ceremonies and this kind of division of labor which operates between them. Let us take note of this characteristic, amenable to these meticulous balances or divisons that one finds so frequently in Chleuh /Shluh/ society, each time that it compounds with something that is not itself. In the case at hand, there is moreover a

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4. Definition by H. Hubert and M. Mauss, "Essai sur la nature et la fonction du sacrifice /Essay on the nature and function of the sacrifice/," *Ann. soc.*, t. II, p. 114.

/295 cont./

796 782 182 notation on the enormous problem of the division between the profane and the sacred on one hand, and, on the other, between the different sources of sacred, which takes place in this milieu with the accountant and classificator genius.

The dispute of the Mîlâd is related, as has been seen, to the very name of the place, pronounced with a doubling of the initial, z'z'init, and interpreted as an invitation of the saint to quarrel over her body. Is this not an etymological pun, or is the rite itself only a liturgical exposition of the name? The first interpretation seems preferable. If one relates a legendary trait, that of the rivalry over the body of the saint (1), to a ritual trait, the dispute over the body of the victim, the possibility of assimilation, quite classical, between one body and the other comes to mind. That would carry the explanation into a very old atmosphere. It would naturally be imprudent to conclude on such a hypothesis. At the very most it would have the merit of achieving the displaying of the virtualities of the rite and its full religious resonance, of a richness unusual in the Maghreb.

The History

776 175 In contrast to the preceding, let us now go on to the historical cross-checkings. What can we know of the real personality of Lalla Aziza? and, first of all, did this personage authentically 776 551 171 exist? Her name is not common, as has been seen. What would be more so would be Azzô or Azzûna. The Moroccan Middle

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[171] 1. That is a classical trait, cf. W. Marçais, Textes arabes de Takrouna, 1925, p. 217, n. 21. Sometimes, correlatively, the corpse of the saint itself manifests its choice for an emplacement: C. Trumelet, Algérie légendaire /Legendary Algeria/, 1892, pp. 65, 166, 243, 452; Les saints de l'Islam /The saints of Islam/, 1881, p. 31.

/295 cont./

776 561 171 Ages offer several examples of the latter name (2).

2. *Istiqçâ*, *A.-M. tr.*, XXXII, 1927, p. 239. Here is an ^{c}Azzûna: *Istiqçâ'*, *A. M.*, XXXIII, p. 152. The epidemic of 1442 is called at Fès /Fez/ "the plague of ^{c}Azzûna" (*ibid.*, p. 476). Bû ^{c}Azzûn is the name of a river near which /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ Turks and Chérifiens /Sherifians/ meet (*Sources in., Esp.*, I, 1921, p. 206). Points on the Riffian littoral bear this name (*Sources in., Fr.*, 2nd series, t. I, p. 123, n. 7, p. 127, n. 1). At Marrakech /Marrakesh/ there are a Lalla ^{c}Azzûna and a *funduq* of the same name.

776 171 notably /296/ the "famous Ta^{c}azzûnt," sister of an Almohade caliph. There is a Lalla ^{c}Azzûna at Marrakech. In contrast, the hagiological type is current. Moroccan tradition knows a number of saints, playing their role in the conflicts of the time. For example, an own daughter of Almohade Mahdî, or later, in the Sous at Issgdad, this H'awâ'b. ^{c}Abd Allah, expert in *uçûl* (1).

1. *Manâqib al-H'ud'aykî*, t. I, p. 4. This "Eve" belongs to the cycle of Sidi Ah'med u-Musa.

776 538 171 As for the shepherd or shepherdess, her character stamped with the ambiguity of the sacred -- lucky or unlucky, object of horror or of veneration -- is a universal theme, and notably Maghrebi and Mussulman. The flock which grazes without the shepherd's worrying about them is a common thing in the gilded legend: such as

/296 cont./

776 538 [171] sidi Bubker of the Ahl Srif and many others (2).

2. Ibid., t. I, p. 155, 1. 7 sq. On the magico-religious bibliography of the shepherd in the Maghreb, W. Marçais, Textes arabes de Takrouna, 1925, p. 257, n. 37.

Finally, the legend recorded by Brives suggests almost a rivalry between the high places, where the virgin is made champion, and the more moderate slopes of the pastoral life. The configuration of the site makes one think that there is some authenticity there: in the matter of high places, one immediately thinks here of the Tamjlocht, which dominates the scene, and remains today the
776 theater of an annual rite. The religious context of the region and of the epoch is supplied sufficiently to explain the figure of Lalla Aziza. One evokes, for example, all the Maçmûda saints that the Tachawwuf enumerates (3).

3. Ms. obligingly put at my disposal by G.-S. Colin.

Or also all these Regraga proselytes (4).

4. In the Moroccan S., the Regraga form "the solder," if I may venture to say it, between two prophetic cycles: that of Jesus and that of Mahomet. Disciples of the first, H'awwariyûn, they are almost the "baptists" of the second, whom they announce and whom they go to seek from the time of the beginnings of his mission. Their personality fluctuates between a confreric qualification and an ethnic qualification. Cf. concerning them R. Montagne, who has the merit of linking them to the Coutumes et légendes de la côte berbère

776 /296 cont./

/footnote 4 continued/ du Maroc /Customs and legends of the Berber part of Morocco/, Hesp., 1924, pp. 101 sq., 110 sq.; Michaux-Bellaire, Conférences, A. M., 1927, p. 16; De Segonzac, Au coeur de l'Atlas /In the heart of the Atlas/, 1910, pp. 414 sq.; Justinard, "Notes sur l'histoire du Sous au XVI^{e} siècle /Notes on the history of the Sous in the sixteenth century/," A. M., 1933, pp. 202 sq. For our region, let us cite the important unpublished study by Oqbani on "Les sanctuaires de l'annexe d'Argana /The sanctuaries of the annex of Argana/" (Arch. I., see especially p. 11, translation of a genealogical document). The Regraga of the high a. Âbdella, in Seksawa, also display a genealogical document dated 1687, and a dahir of tawqîr of the sultan al-Mançûr (1643), where the area of the zaouia is also called sâh'a, as in the text of Ibn Khaldûn.

one of whom was formerly pointed out among the a. Gasa. Or also these men of God, makers of rain and marvels, such as this sidi Ibrâhîm as-Samlâli who resisted the great purges of Ibn Toumert. On that, unfortunately, the imprecision of the sources makes us confuse the epochs.

175
776 /297/ We would be reduced to these hypotheses, if the windfall of a text did not permit a much more radical conclusion. It is a passage by the cadi Ibn Qunfûdh the Constantine (1),

1. Abû'l-^{c}Abbâs Ah'mad al-Khat'îb b. Qunfûdh (1340-1408) left Constantina in 1358. In 1362 he visited the house of Ibn Toumert: it is from this time that one can date his passage into the Dir, although he stayed in Morocco a certain number of

/297 cont./

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/footnote 1 continued/ years. Cf. M. Ben Cheneb, "La Fârisiyya ou les débuts de la dynastie hafçide /The Fârisiyya or the beginnings of the Hafsid dynasty/," Hesp., VIII, pp. 37 sq.

who stayed in Morocco toward the middle of the fourteenth century. He was the student of the famous Andalusian vizier Lisân ad-Dîn ibn al-Khat'îb, himself a poet inspired by the Maçmûdian mountains. He visited the region toward 763 Heg., that is, 1362, and as sightseer called at the house of Ibn Toumert. In his book Uns al-faqîr wa ^{c}izz al-h'aqîr (2),

2. Rabat manuscript, fol. 41a, 1. 2 sq. The spelling of the name of the Seksawa has been touched up and is thus given: skswia.

he collected valuable notes on the chain of the Deren, which struck his imagination, and the religious atmosphere of the place and of the time. He extricated from it the impression of a spiritual life nourished by contrasts and drawing a lively fervor out of the fierceness of these populations. Now, our Constantine savant met Lalla Aziza.

/The following three paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ "I have seen in Morocco, on the border of the Seksawa in the Deren, at a place called al-Qâhira, 'la dame princesse' /the lady princess/ (3),

3. I translate thus on the testimony of G.-S. Colin, Sources in. Port., III, p. 157, n. 1, apropos another sayyidatu'l-h'urra. But it is to be noted that this term is constant in the documents of the Moroccan S.

the saint ^{c}Azîza the Saksiwîya.

/297 cont./

175 776 "I acquired her baraka and conversed with her. She was occupied with reconciling two important groups. She had followers, men and women. Each of these two troops devoted itself to its ascesis and devotion in a separate place. They pitched a tent for Lalla ᶜAzîza on the side of the women. No one stirred without her order. If she held a public seance, she put her veil back on her without leaving an opening where someone might see her. She was very eloquent, in her responses, her orders, and her homilies. Nothing sweeter than her words when she was asking about the state of the people. She performed famous miracles.

175 776 648 "The famous general, governor of Marrakech, ᶜAmir b. Muh'ammad al-Hintâtî, came up to her and had a long conversation with her. When he returned, he said to me, 'O faqîh, what a surprise! She anticipated in her responses what I had in mind; and I could not refuse her what she asked of me. I have never seen anything stronger than the arguments that she expounded to me.' And nevertheless ᶜAmir b. Muh'ammad was one of those subtle men who do not consider any argument, and he commanded a column of an effective force exceeding 6,000 and richly paid. He proposed blocking the Saksîwa in their mountains in order to reduce them to homage. But she enjoined him to turn away from this standing security herself /298/ that they would submit. He thus turned away from it and, even before having arrived, he received a writing according to which they were submitting and assuring him of their good will (1)."

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175 776 792 (114) 1. Ibn Qunfûdh connects Lalla Aziza, like many other personages of whom he speaks, with the great Abû Madhyân of Tlemcen. That is an unlikelihood, but instructive, for it shows at the time of this epoch the play of confreric attachments. Abû Madhyân was born near the end of the twelfth century (cf. the abbé Bargès, Vie du célèbre marabout sidi Abou-Médien /Life of the famous marabout sidi Abou-Médien/, 1884) and died in

/298 cont./

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/footnote 1 continued/ 1197. He went to study at Fès /Fez/ under the direction of ad-Daqqâq, who taught there at the time of the great Moroccan mystics H'irzihim (d. 1165), Abû'l-Ghâlib (d. 1166), at-Tâûdî, Abû Ya^{c}za (d. 1177). On this period, A. Bel, sidi Bou Medyan and his master ad-Daqqâq at Fès, Mélanges R. Basset, t. I, pp. 31 sq., and bibliography, ibid., p. 32, n. 1. It is to be noted that H'irzihim and Abû Madhyân were partisans of the Ih'yâ' of Ghazzâli, like Ibn Toumert himself. The preceding generation of Moroccan mystics knew Ibn al-^{c}Arif, d. at Marrakech in 1141 (Bel, op. laud., p. 59, n. 1).

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What historical precision! ^{c}Âmir al-Hintâtî is a well-known personage, a friend of Ibn al-Khat'îb, and who will die dramatically. ^{c}Abd Allah, more commonly called "the Saksîwî," is equally historic. Lalla Aziza emerges from this text with very lifelike traits. Let us list them. A role of "resister" in the Maçmûdian siba against the Mérinides. The quite Mussulman modesty of her deportment, a trait of proselytism that doubtlessly should be related to the definitive Arabization of her name, or perhaps only to the viewpoint of the witness. A vocation as conciliator between groups or fractions, a role that she shares with a great number of legendary personages of the South. What one can glimpse of a division of the population into groups, each organizing the two sexes separately on the occasion of rites or fixed social functions. Finally, synthesizing the whole, a national figure, protectress of the mountain against the plain.

The windfall of this testimony, which there is no reason to hold suspect, and which, besides, is authorized by a certain number of cross-checks, achieves out of the historic precision a part

/298 cont./

175 776 of the inductions to which archeology, on the one hand, the critique of the oral tradition and the interpretation of the rite, on the other hand, have led.

Nevertheless there is no cause to draw from it more than it brings us: the atmosphere of the Deren at the time, with these quite Maghrebi contrasts between an archaic foundation and brilliant spiritual flares; the effort of the plain: in this case, a conquering diplomat, a regular, but prudent army, a cultured cadi who has come from afar, a curious thing of heroisms and miracles. And here, barring their way at the threshold of the valley, is a personification of the old race, full of the prestige of the sacred, and embodying her people with a force whose tremor nearly six centuries have not exhausted.

776 /299/ II. Unfortunate Rivals of the Holiness

[794] [778] The attachment, more or less late, of the cult of Lalla Aziza with the master-place, Z'init', the ritual and sentimental hegemony that she exerts in the entire valley and beyond have suppressed or absorbed other legendary figures. Only three stand out from a background of communal hagiology to assume, like the saint, but with infinitely less individual color and implications in the life of the group, some personal or social traits that elsewhere could have merited them a different fortune. These demi-failures of the spiritual no less arise originally from the pullulating troup of village saints, anonymous beggars of chickens or kids. One of them even has the advantage of seniority over Lalla Aziza. Another is, more than she, of classic type. The third is closer to actuality. And these last two saints, although less intense in imagery, less ambitious in scope, have nonetheless retained in the life of their group, in this case the conquering Idma, a morphological function which, well beyond the anecdote, links them to our remarks.

/299 cont./

The Cycle of the Founder

776 Sidi ^{c}Amer u H'addo, sometimes called Baba ^{c}Amer, has
[778] his tomb in a. H'adduyws, that is, in the high-mountain taqbilt
[634] that refers itself to the eponym H'addô u Yûsef. This is not the
place to criticize the orthodox but anachronistic Almoravide at-
tachment of which this H'addô now forms the object. The cupola
776 of his son, ^{c}Amer, between the villages of the a. Zemlal and
794 the a. Bâh'ammo, on the trail that goes up the Seksawa in the
[778] direction of Fensu, rears a modest piece of masonry, seat of a
cult whose importance seems to be more and more reduced. Fos-
sil cult, one might say. An observer noted in 1928 that only the
people of Agadir n-Tsuggin, a. Bah'ammo and Uz[illegible]go partici-
[796] pated in it. But he notes also, and this is more important, that
here again there is not one, but two feasts: one of avowed natur-
ist vocation, at the time of putting water in the ditches (March),
the other coinciding with the Nativity of the Prophet. This paral-
lelism with the cult of /300/ Lalla Aziza must hold one's atten-
tion and calls forth the same remarks, even though on a much
smaller field.

127 These rather sparse elements would authorize no commentary
if one did not quite opportunely have at one's disposal here old
acts whose analysis is going to permit closing up the problem of
the relations between the legendary tradition, successoral devolu-
tions, and history.

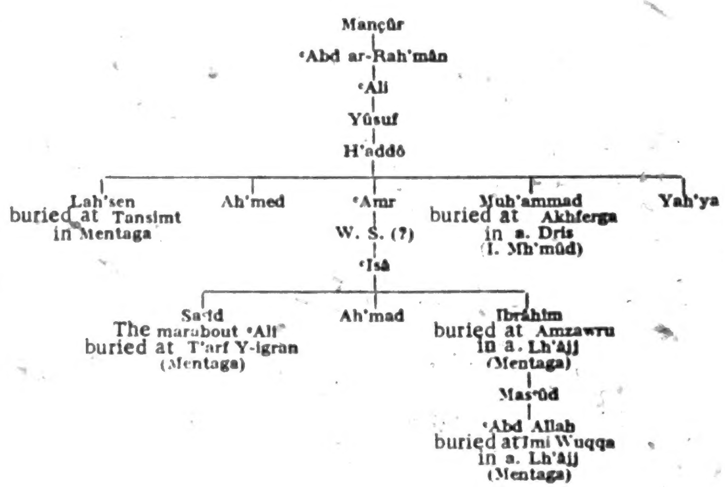
175 /The rest of the section, up to the last two paragraphs, are in
776 small type in the original source./ 1) A recent copy (late
ramad'ân 1341 Heg.) of an act very likely found in the Mentaga
794 tribe at Tansimt. It is the waçiyya/ "testamentary donation,"
428 that ^{c}Amr, in his lifetime and on his behalf, signified to the
people of a certain number of villages: a. Bah'ammo, a. Zemlal,
a. Fensu, Tasa. It was exhibited to us in the sanctuary one day
when I visited it in the company of R. Montagne. It stipulates,
for the benefice of the saint and for each year, one fleece
per herd, the harvest of three walnut trees, three churns of butter
in March, a feast in March (note that the one of the Nativity is

/300 cont./

175 not mentioned), and, by foyer, on the first day of the Fast, the
776 contribution of a dish of porridge duly garnished with fat; "who-
794 ever eats of it, the h'arâm will melt in his body like salt in viands."

428 There it is, to the life, one of these imposed, and undoubtedly argued, chchard' stipulations, which so often form the point of departure of the saints' benefices. One should note also the archaism of the testimonial procedure (in this case, it is a matter of a sort of testimony by turbs, anterior or foreign to the Adular /fr. adoulaire/ instrumentation and at the same time to the organized lafîf). Finally, the simplicity of the details on the purifying banquet does not lack vigor.

175 428 601 602 776 A genealogy follows, intended undoubtedly to determine the rightful claimants. Here it is.


Mançûr
'Abd ar-Rah'mân
'Alî
Yûsuf
H'addô
Lah'sen
buried at Tansimt
in Mentaga
Ah'med
'Amr
W. S. (?)
'Isâ
Muh'ammad
buried at Akhferga
in a. Dris
(I. Mh'mûd)
Yah'ya
Sa'îd
The marabout 'Alî"
buried at T'arf Y-igran
(Mentaga)
Ah'mad
Ibrâhîm
buried at Amzawru
in a. Lh'âjj
(Mentaga)
Mas'ûd
'Abd Allah
buried at Imi Wuqqa
in a. Lh'âjj
(Mentaga)

175 428 602 776 /301/ This ^{c}Abd Allah died in an ambush of the Zenaga, whom his curse immediately scatters and exterminates. He left as heir his cousin ^{c}Alî b. Sa^{c}îd, whom this mention undoubtedly identifies with the author of the exception pleadings. Whatever the authenticity of the act may be, it offers the interest of constituting hagiological liaison with the South face of the Atlas and the groups such as Mentaga, I. Mh'mûd, today detached from the Seksawa, but whom the Almohade documents align with them in the Genfisa unit, whatever this unit may have been. It will be equally interesting to compare this genealogy with the one that the following documents indicate.

175 127 2) If, taking into account the general remarks that have been made concerning the historicity of this type of document, the waçiyya of ^{c}Amr originates in a past hardly placeable, but certainly very ancient, the two acts whose analysis is here now go back only, but more authentically, to our sixteenth century, a period of intense religious fermentation in the Sous, and even in the part of the Atlas that had to submit to the repercussions of the Saâdian thrust, resisting it more than participating in it.

175 602 428 776 Here is first of all a document dated 999 Heg.: 1591. The first part is anecdotal and concerns the Almoravides, to whom, in spite of all the chronological possibilities, Yûsef, the father of ^{c}Amr, is attached. This anachronism, probably older than the sixteenth century, has already been pointed out. In this way, the genealogist goes back to Quraych, starting from a Sa^{c}îd who descended, on the twelfth generation, from ^{c}Amr. Let us note that the lapse of three centuries thus indicated would carry back, for the ancestor, to the end of the thirteenth century, which corresponds roughly to Khaldûnian chronology. Let us note also that the attachment to the saint, which is made by an ^{c}Abd Allah, does not coincide with the genealogy given above. But this ^{c}Abd Allah, who is perhaps the historical personage contemporaneous with Lalla Aziza and Ibn Qunfûdh, has a name that appears often in these genealogies. Not always in the same place: sometimes as son, sometimes as only great-grandson, but not without this repetition offering, in a matter so conjectural, some element of stability. Likewise a T'alh'a is mentioned here as a descendant on

/301 cont./
175 602 428 776 the fourth generation. This name also appears in other documents. And the a. D'alh'a, still represented, are given by oral tradition as the only direct descendants of the ancestor in Haut Seksawa. The coincidence is at least singular.

In extremely obscure terms, the genealogist makes a sort of restatement of the rightful claimants of the benefice. These restatements had to be frequent, since they were reflecting competition between heirs. According to our document: "There are the sons of the Arab woman among the Awlâd Tah'jamt (?); they are the sons of the Berbère /Berber/ woman (^{c}ajâmiyya). As for the Awlâd Sidi Yah'yâ b. Fâris, they are the sons of Yah'ya b. H'addô. As for Buzîd, the succession does not count him among the rightful claimants. As for the Awlâd Yûsef b. H'addô b. s. Abî Bakr, ^{c}Abd Allah integrated them among his own. As for [567] slavery, he integrated it for a third. As for the sons of Sulaymân b. ^{c}Amr, they emigrated."

Such a classification reflects a syncretism effected between different /302/ branches, different stages, or even different origins of the line of ^{c}Amer u H'addô. The author of this syncretism might be ^{c}Abd Allah, the contemporary of Lalla Aziza. [567] Let us note in passing an interesting distinction between Arab or Berbère /Berber/ mothers, and the mention of slaves or servants among the beneficiaries, according to a process, which, in the present case of Z'init', has resulted in making them the only rightful claimants. Let us finally note the names of Yah'ya and Sulaymân, historical personages who are precisely those whose tombs are still shown today.

3) Here is an act from the seventeenth century. It presents the peculiarity of having a known signatory, sidi l-H'asân b. Muh'ammad, ancestor of the line of the marabouts of Assttif, and whose signature is rather frequently displayed on old Seksawa papers. The act is from 1086 Heg.: 1675. He too makes a restatement of the beneficiaries of his time, at the same time that he justifies this position by their connection to one Mah'ammad, fifth descendant of ^{c}Abd Allah b. ^{c}Amr. At this time there are six parts coming, not to individuals, but to families designated

/302 cont./

175 by ait. The names of these families are: Abû'l-ᶜArûf, Ulwâh', 602 Mbârek, ᶜAbd as-Salâm, Saᶜîd u H'sayn, Mbârk u Belgâsem. No 428 other remark is to be made concerning the dispersion of the line, 776 thus confirmed from the seventeenth century, and which must have ended in a total effacement, since today only the guardians of the tomb claim the benefice, but as foqra and not as descendants. [613] Nevertheless, it is necessary to note that one of their ikhs bears the interesting name of a. Iz'm, "people of the Lion," and it is known that this surname is attested to historically in the chronicle of the kings of the fourteenth century.

4) Other old Seksawa acts concern the history of the ensemble of the populations of the high valley rather than simply that of the saint. Thus, a ṣṣadaqa of 976 Heg.: 1569, a genealogy of the a. D'alh'a of 1144 Heg.: 1732, and a genealogy of the a. Umgan, an ancient population vanished today, but claiming in this act of 1244 Heg.: 1828 an ancestry of ᶜAmr, again through ᶜAbd Allah, and which offers the curious likelihood that the lapse of twenty generations that is detailed there name by name indeed takes us back, it too, to the fourteenth century.

776 The conclusion to be drawn from these documents is that they [175] postulate, certainly not an attested filiation from the royal person- [602] ages of the Middle Ages up to our day, but a belief in this filiation. From our point of view, this comes to almost the same thing. Nevertheless, the cult that they authorize is neither that of an ancestor nor that of a hero. Significant thing. In spite of his liaison with the Eponym, it is as a mediocre saint, for whom it seemed necessary to recreate a legend of early epoch, that Sidi ᶜAmer very indifferently survives. This is so true that in the course of the ages periodical reclassifications seem to have intervened, bringing to light a list of rightful claimants more and more full and indistinct, until it finally disappeared as a consequence of its own super- /303/ abundance or the forgetfulness of the faithful. Thus are fixed, at chronologically identifiable stages of the tradition, some names, among which the one of a certain ᶜAbd Allah stands out, and some places where one finds mention of the principal groups of the circum-Tichka ensemble, this true cadre of our story.

/303 cont./

776 To complete this series of traits of authenticity, it will suffice to bring in this saint Baba Âmer, the personage likewise given by Ibn Khaldûn as the son of H'addû. He is called ^{c}Umar or ^{c}Amr and bears the title of king, agellid. He imposes upon his contemporaries his curious figure of jurist and magician. As [175] with Lalla Aziza, nearly six centuries separate us from him. If it is so that these concordances between the Arabic chronicle, the montagnard tradition, the family archives and archeology do not seem to be entirely fantastic, the clue to the tenor in history of a society too often studied as if it moved outside of time would not be trivial.

An Intellectual

Sidi Lah'sen of Assttif, he too, is an entirely historical individual. A number of acts where his paraph figures are preserved in Seksawa. [127] Use has been made of them here and there in this study. That places his personage: a cultured man assuming [693] the role of notary and perhaps of "cadi," in the sense that this society gives the word. According to the present head of the zaouia, Sidi Buh'sayn, this ancestor; like Sidi Mh'and u Âbderrah'man of Ammern, would be from the Idma. He would thus belong to the conquering group which installed itself in the middle valley by eliminating the a. Gasa by the sword. The two saints would have left to study in the Anti-Atlas under the Sidi Mh'and u Brahim at-Tamanârtî, a saint highly reputed in the legend and the jurisprudences of the Sous. One again finds here the scholarly and pious atmosphere that the collections of the Moroccan South reflect. Even more precise is Sidi Lah'sen's belonging to the Idma gest. In the genealogy that this taqbilt exhibits, he takes his place as sixth descendant of a Sliman who came from the Anti-Atlas to Seksawa in the course of the sixteenth century. The acts dated by his hand date from the second half of the seventeenth century. A contemporary of the saint of Ammern, according to the legend, as has been seen, he would precede by about a century another rather important Idma saint, the Lah'sen

/303 cont./
776 b. Bûbker buried at Ad'erd'ur. Thus, very lively local individuality,
at the same time as participation in a movement of minds
that is attested to us for the Sous in the sixteenth century.

792 The zaouia, where half the present inhabitants call themselves
/304/ descendants of Sidi Lah'sen, is set up under the walnut
trees, in the bottom of a hollow that the denuded mass of the
[172] Afuzar oppresses. Ground of a terrible dryness. The ravine that
unites it with the valley is full of calcined ruins of former a. Gasa
[487] villages. To the South, a steep path connects it to Ikis by way of
a sparse forest of small oaks. On the side of the Afuzar one sees
the abrupt col of the Meggayed'. On the other side are the
[634] Gedmiwa, or at least their high cantons, where the remainder of
the conquered took refuge. Far within the other tribe, the zaouia
[794] collects its chchard'. It thus forms the junction between two systems,
separated today, but which the old history, revealed by an
always young hagiology, united. A number of students from beyond
the crest come here. And the zaouia owns property in a.
Gasa. So many signs of a former straddling of both sides of the
776 Afuzar. The saints, whose service skips over the precarious human
174 limits, often set the researcher on the track of ancient
solidarities. We can lay out, with what tradition knows of their
itineraries, of their perimeters of attraction or of radiation, a
veritable cartographic document.

776 The intellectuality of the origins of the house of Assttif has
been perpetuated up to our day: It has even had a fqîha, Lalla
Fad'ma, an expert in Mudawwana. Above all, it has given birth,
and even of our day, to a saint: Sidi Muh'ammed u Abdallah, of
776 whom there will be talk later. Highly integrated with the aggressive
634 history of the Idma, it has not ceased to lend them its
support as patron, guarantor, and arbiter. It presided over the
[666] elections of chiefs at Inraren Z'dinin. Its border position allowed
it to extend its political action far to the E. In the recent period,
[631] at the time of the development of the power of the great caids, it
thus played a certain role in favor of the hegemony of the Mtugga.

776 It has always avoided, as we have noted, being integrated
796 with the naturist feasts of other Seksawa saints. Its orthodox

/304 cont./

776 origins and its attachment to an individualist atmosphere undoubtedly
796 armed it against this sort of confusion. To which its aspect owes some originality, but also some singularity. It does not have mârûf, and the present marabout takes pride in this.

776 With its intimate association with the gest of the Idma, whose energetic and sly personality it shares, it is this individual reserve with regard to the surrounding hagiology, this persistent vein of orthodox culture, here associated with a disdainful criticism of the milieu, that form its peculiarity.

/305/ A Classic

773 The figure of the saint of Ammern is much less intellectual.
776 And much less precise. The traditions concerning his origin differ.
184 According to one, he would have been an Idma, a contemporary of sidi Lah'sen. According to others, he came from the Ammeln of the Anti-Atlas, whose distorted name his zaouia still bears, and this would have taken place toward the beginning of our eighteenth century. Finally, according to others, he goes back, through the classic intermediary of the Marrakech mystic, al-Ghazwânî, to the great Machîch al-^{c}Alamî. Three traditions, three systems: one "national"; another conformable to the movement of populations coming from the Anti-Atlas; a third being integrated in the cycle of the Moroccan çufisme /Sufism/, with Nordic origins and relay in Marrakech. Profusion of legitimacy!

776 According to the last tradition, which is warranted by a
175 silsila, a document registering a "chaîne initiatique" /initiatory chain/ on a nonauthenticated copy, which is exhibited at the zaouia, sidi Mh'and died in 820 Heg.: 1417. Eight intermediaries would separate him from the Cheikh /Sheik/ of the Jebel ^{c}Alam. This date contradicts the one, much more recent, which would suppose a legendary journeyman-period with the saint of Assttif. But there is nothing unexpected in these antiquities or in these combinations of cycles: the incertitude over the origins is an adjuvant for the fervor.

/305 cont./

776 175 The fact is that the two saints are joined together in a series of adventures in which they are seen "reascending" from the plain, not without differences with the central power.

773 776 /The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ Sidi Mh'and and sidi Lah'sen cultivated together a field in Inzzûyma. But at this time a tyrant reigned over the Qaçba, Amjjot', "the man of the Mjjat'," or "the scurfy one," who oppressed all the piedmont farmers. Mh'and cried tears over it, which, falling to the ground, flew back as sparks. Lah'sen, desirous of incognito, in vain wiped them away with his hand; the tyrant became excited by it. He summoned the two saints and offered them all his wealth if they would confirm his exactions. But Mh'and, shaking a towel that was lying there, made money shower down from it. "You see," he said, "we have no interest in your money. We order you to free all these peasants that you are overburdening." Amjjot', seized by fear, made the promise, and the two saints returned to the mountains. God alone knows if the tyrant executed the commitment.

In this legend one can see an indication of the conflicts between the Seksawa and the power of the plain that builds fortresses to block them: Qaçba Umjjot' in the olive grove to the N.-W. of Inzzûyma, or Qaçba n-Qihra at the narrowing of the valley. Souvenir likewise /306/ of cultivations of mountain people in the plain, on the lands that lower taqbilt-s have now reserved for themselves.

According to other accounts, sidi Mh'and was a peregrinating schoolmaster: in Asif Lh'lu, where his house is shown, at the mosque of Usikis, at Tugg Lkheyr, at the Timzughin zaouia in Mez'ud'a, in a. Abdella, where he entered into competition with sidi Ghânem and where he was persecuted, like so many other local Berbère /Berber/ peculiarities, by the "black Sultan"; as fqîh, again in Nfifa at Lalla ^{c}Arîba, at Afella n-talat (Imintanout), in the defiles of the Amejnes, at the Tizi Wargyun, etc. In short, everywhere.

/306 cont./

776 The figure that results is sometimes that of a pedant, some-
823 times that of a maker of springs. The traits that are ascribed to
[789] him in this sense are numerous. The waters of Meghdir, T'abya,
ait Wardas, Usikis, Iggayzen, Wanz'id', Lâwina of Sidi Ah'med
u Âli are attributed to his miracles. Finally the source of the
Amerdul on the Tabgurt, famous for the difficult regulations of
irrigation between high-mountain villages, is attributed to him.
776 Letters and hydraulics, there are two specialties well adapted to
the milieu. So well adapted that they are merged in the moral
climate of the country, without a personal visage emerging from
it. Here one again joins the stream of rural saints, whose type
sidi Mh'and embodies.

776 But, a striking thing, he is practically the only one to em-
184 body it among the Seksawa, whom an originality very clearly
619 contrasts, on this plane, to the neighboring groups. Among the
Demsira, for example, the figures of classic Maghrebi saints
776 abound. Here is sidi Ṇâçer of Tamarwut, who, patient husband
184 of a quarrelsome wife, employs lions as forest workers to fell for
him and to tie up his wood for him. Again lions serve as mounts
619 for two doctors of Maâred'. And sidi Mh'and b. Âbdelkrim who,
825 again by lions, had his maize threshed! Only lions, the profane
will say! But the fact is that their name, figured iz'mawn in the
plural, designates properly the powers of the man of God. It is in
this way that one speaks of the "lions of sidi Ah'med u Musa"; the
term enters the lexicon of popular doctrine. We found it again in
776 the topography of the a. Musa. Again in Demsira, sidi Brahim
184 n-ait Lqad'i instructs the most redoubtable spirits in the forest.
Sidi Lah'sen b. Moh'ammed of Iregh drove away birds and rodents,
619 so harmful to the crops. The Seksawa hagiology, imperiously
centralized on one heroine, Lalla Aziza, appears dryer, more
organized. In this not very exploitable domain of comparisons be-
tween tribes, it is necessary to stop here with an impression, which
only a monographic investigation of this part of the Atlas will be
[181] able to infirm or confirm. If it were verified, this trait would re-
join a certain /307/ number of others to make up for the Seksawa
the original physiognomy that one perceives in them, without al-
ways being able to define it.

/307 cont./

776 Sidi Mh'and, as has been seen, is probably the only one of his kind here. Inventor of springs, and protector of fields and herds, his importance is great, especially in Idma. Associate /Fr. *Parèdre*, from the Gk. *paredros*/ of sidi Lah'sen in the acts concerning the life of the *taqbilt*, he also receives a cens in other Seksawa groups.

776 794 [634] /The following four paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ Approximately 80 villages furnish the saint what we have called a "subscription." That is, by *taqbilt*: Idma, 4 villages; a. Musa, 1; a. H'adduyws, 10; a. Châib, 4; a. Bkhayr, 2; Afella Issen, 2; Irohalen (Demsira), 2; a. Lh'sen, 5; Sekrat, 2; a. Daud, 4; a. Mh'and u Musa, 2; Iberhan, 2; a. Abdella, 4; a. Lbûr (Nfifa), 1; Dwiran, 2; Mez'ud'a, 6; a. Tigidar, 1; Ind Maghus, 1; Amejnes, 1; a. Gasa, 1.

[792] This expansion amply goes beyond, in all directions, the close radius of the zaouia of Ammern. Circum-Tichka ensemble on one side, tribes of the col of Imintanout on the other, and points on the Dir, as far as into Gedmiwa. In other words, perimeter of some half-scores of kilometers in radius. And it is only a matter of a saint of really rather limited total importance.

The content of the *chchard'* is naturally variable. In general, it consists of an annual charge for each foyer of half a measure of barley or maize and the churning of butter "of a Friday." For only the Seksawa tribe a rough evaluation gives the following quantities:

[592] One thousand foyers, grouped in some 25 villages, pay annually at Ammern: 63 qx /quintals/ of barley, 161 kg. of butter, 26 qx of maize, 3 sheep, one bovine, and 12,000 nuts. That is, in the course of 1951 a value of about 250,000 fr. It would seem that this total must be quintupled, bearing in mind supererogatory gifts and offerings, the object of fruitful quests practiced by the *igwrramen*, according to the itinerant method. In 1951, one of the beneficiaries having, unknown to the others, collected on the spot the gifts of a single village of Ind Maghus, a complaint was lodged. The final transaction involved 5,000 fr. To which are

/307 cont./
776 to be added the proceeds of the large feast celebrated each year
794 at Ammern itself and the fees for the pilgrimages to the tomb of
sidi Mh'and.

This is not the place to pursue this kind of evaluation. The above figures will nevertheless give a sufficient idea of the economic support of the hagiology in Seksawa and of the role that it plays in the circulation of goods, as a center of attraction and consumption.

796 For some fifty years, on the tenth of September, Ammern
782 has been the seat of a so-called immolation ceremony, *tighersi-*
win, like that of Lalla Aziza, which, however, is older. An ox
is sacrificed by each canton of the Seksawa, to which are added
[184] the Iberhan. The resemblances with the ceremony of /308/ Lalla
Aziza are great, except that the procession here goes in the direc-
tion of up the valley, up to an area situated above the sanctuary.
The same Mohammedan litany resounds there, grandiose in this
rugged spot. Then offerings in money are deposited, while in the
sanctuary the recitations of the scholars buzz. The crowd presses
796 in, curious, moved. Business is done: animals, olives, almonds.
One strikes up acquaintances; one makes agreements for betrothals
or other combinations. A moralist mountebank says, matched
with emphatic gesticulations, the *h'ddit*, "homily of instruction"
on the duties of prayers, ablutions, etc. He catechizes his audi-
ence, whom he has had put the hands together in the gesture of
vow, *ddu*^{c}*â*. And undoubtedly he will not hasten to have it re-
open them too soon, for he puts it little by little in a state, not
of trance, but of emotion and plenitude, of which the final col-
lection will feel the effect. With moving gestures, cleverly in-
termixing his sermon with religious couplets, chants, interroga-
tions *ad hominem*, shaking a sheet covered with characters that
he pretends to consult, even though he does not know how to read,
he impresses the good people, from whom he elicits from time to

/*308 cont.*/

796 time applause, or rather what we would call a ban /measured applause/ (1).

> 1. For this society knows "applause," *chchamkha*. Expression of the mountebank, "A ban!", *chchamkhat âli-h*, a locution in which Arabic and Chleuh /Shluh/ blend.

[794] In the enormous hubbub of the crowd and animals, a note of youthful and poignant tenderness coming from the heart sometimes rises on a single tone: some *tt'aleb* invoking the name of God. From the level of the crowd, of the commune, of the rural feast, this cry rises to another plane. It escapes the sociology of groups.

/*309*/

III. Individual Depassments

128

God among the Seksawa

"A god understood is not a god (1)."

> 1. R. Otto, *Le Sacré* /The Sacred/, tr. 1929, p. 45.

And this study would abandon the essential if it were limited to the rites, to the figures, in a word, to what can be apprehended from outside. On the inside resides the *tremendum*, "the mystery that makes one tremble."

114
781 On an August night a multitude descended the escarpments of the Tichka. The festivity, the whole day, was in full swing. But the signal to return had been given already at the evening meal, for it was better to make the difficult stage of the Tabgurt, a six hours' march, in the coolness. A French visitor, by way of an unbelievable slope with hairpin bends, plunged into darkness that even dulled the trembling glimmer of the candle ends, entrusted himself to his mount. There was nothing else to do. This was an

/309 cont./
114 elephantine mule, which, by precautionary jerks in the darkness,
781 descended something as steep as the stairway of the Sacré-Coeur. The night was filled with cries: an indistinct crowd skipped along the road. One barely glimpsed a few moving spots in passing: whiteness of a garment furtively lighted. Long howls, with a sharp ricochet, cascaded from the rocky walls. Suddenly, all was silent and one heard a pure melodic phrase: stanza or litany. And anew, at 1,500 vertical meters, a clamor was let loose: "hâ, hâ, hâ, â â â..." The crowd came to itself in its cry. The visitor turned to his Mussulman companion, in the daze of the march at three o'clock in the morning. "They are afraid," the other one told him. "Afraid of what?" -- "Of the people of the mountain." -- "Where are they?" -- "You should know that the night is full of them."

781 Panic exaltation, mixed with irrational fear: raw religious moment. Here it was a case of a mass. But it is even more often a case of an individual. From the role of the crowd is then disentangled that of the specialist: marabout, initiate, doctor, t't'aleb, quaestor of science or maker of books of spells. And that of the faithful as person is disentangled.

128 /310/ Now, no one knows what takes place in the conscience of the Chleuh /Shluh/ when he prays, joins a brotherhood, pays a visit to the tomb of the saints. Or, what comes back to the same thing, one is reduced to knowing it by intuition. More scientifically, one would only have a choice between two methods: either the approximation by the numerous and arduous paths of modern psychology, which is not practicable for the moment; or a partial analysis, conscious of its discontinuity. In fact, that is the only path that remains open. If we were to neglect it, it would be better to refer to the descriptive literature, or, better still, to the talent of the novelist, in case one could be found to make felt, thanks to the suggestions of the fable, an infinitely synthetic and hidden reality (1).

1. See, for example, in another domain, some short stories of Ahmed Sefroui, and especially the work of François Bonjean.

/310 cont./

128 At least this method of blanks and full parts, to which it is indeed necessary to resign oneself here, as in other parts of this work, has one good thing: the lack of presumption. Also it is not only honest fear and reverence before the complexity of the matter. On particular points it will venture to affirm; on others it will hesitate, which perhaps will be more instructive. Finally, on others, it will have to upset recognized ideas and open new debates. But, above all, as positive as it proves to be regarding certain results, it is of merit only through its methodological doubt concerning the ensemble.

And this ensemble is one of these domains that North African science has indeed only timidly approached, unless it treated them haughtily with disdain.

Stages of the Sacred

121 771 And here, from the very first, are two opinions that confront each other. According to the one, which an option of primitivism has devoted, not without success sometimes, to certain aspects of a society that stands out over other Maghrebi societies, more "evolved," less "pure" or simply less "curious," the magico-religious structures of the Chleuh /Shluh/ world, indeed Berbère /Berber/ world in the larger sense, dominate its law, its economy, its folklore, and even its language.

According to the other opinion, it is by an avowed profane character, a laic orientation of the institutions, and, in any case, their relative independence with regard to the religion and its marvels that such a milieu affirms its original nature.

To attempt to resolve such an opposition of tendencies through a /311/ choice or a conciliation between its two terms is, without any doubt, one of the most important interlocutory necessities of an investigation, were it limited to the Seksawa.

Now, the course of this work will perhaps have prepared us to approach the problem. It is not in a transactional eclecticism that one must, I believe, look for its solution. But with the assistance of one of the most constant laws that it has been granted

/311 cont./

121 771 us to observe here: the differentiation between functions and degrees. That is to say that the judgment and the definition must vary, according to whether it is a matter of spirituality individually attained by the elect, or of the ritual expansion which the agrarian structures manifest. Between the two, all the stages of practices, of elaboration, and even of interpretation.

771 At the level of the rural order, limited to the necessities of juridical constancy and naturist efficacy of the group, is distinguished a kind of sacred appearing only rarely in hagiology, and which is identified in good part with the most defaced movement of the community. Here one is well within individual destinies, legendary explication, and even historical relations.

776 [182] Of an entirely different level are the clienteles that link the cantons to a saint of banal type, such as the one of Ammern, or to the heroine of Z'init'. Both assume, unequally, their function of unifying symbol of the Seksawa, as well as that of protectors or avengers. In the person of Lalla Aziza, in that of Âmer u H'addo, which distance blurs, this political vocation is burnished by a precise historicity. In the ritual polarization of this type of saint resides an originality of the Seksawa, related to their so personal past.

776 175 What is undoubtedly less peculiar to them, but seems, on the contrary, a general trait, is the contrast between saints of an exclusive naturism with definite visage, indeed with a name, and historical saints. The rarity of the latter contrasts with the hegemony they exercise in the few instances where one locates them. That is undoubtedly related to a concrete evolution of the milieu. But it is not a matter of indifference that between the agrarian sacred of village rites and the spiritual primacy of a political saint, attested to by the documents, the place of the supernatural figures remains secondary, or at least statistically restrained. The almost purely social that is observed at the ground level of this religious life gives way, on the stage of the great patrons, to some historical personalities, all extremely concrete and, in some way, verifiable.

/311 cont./

771 History has prevailed over myth here. But it has been able to do it only by reason of the vocation, so characteristic of these groups, to /312/ affirm their temporal administration. We see this capacity being exercised on the very echelon of the canton feasts. What is dominant here is not the communional aspect, it is the contractual aspect. Auctions, sales on credit, notarial registration: the profane goes beyond the ancient sacrificial rite on all sides. An individualist debate, a communal administration, purely juridical operations already appear, and are displayed with a growing profusion as the cadre of activity becomes larger. Henceforth, law and religion are going to take separate roads.

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771 And here is a holiness of great individuals and of great spaces. Its tentacular action could be represented on the map, from the Haouz to the Sous and to the Drâ. Its protection is solicited from far away. Its avidity is exercised even farther. It is served in free order, with particular devotions of groups, villages, families. This mysticism with geographic expression tends itself toward another, more secret form. That of personal affiliation with a master. This phenomenon, in North Africa, has known, under the name of confrerism, an extension to which, for at least half a century, has corresponded an excessive infatuation of our investigators. In the confrerism, most often and essentially esoteric, the local community does not act, or acts less. An atmosphere of organization and of hierarchy reigns. Concurrently, the hagiological individuation assumes an extraordinary relief. Like sidi Âbdallah u Sâid, sidi Ah'med u Musa, sidi Mh'amed Bennâçer, these "beacons"...

771 In short, in the course of this ascension, we shall have seen several layers of religious reality succeeding one another. On the two ends, rival forms, being exercised fully. Below, the anonymous naturist sacred of the Tamjlocht, for example, a place of deep collective vibration; on the other, the great figure of the mystic of the Tazerwalt, and his idealism with broad oriental and Mediterranean correspondences. Almost absolute social integration on the one side. Individualism colored with mystery and legend on the other. Rural order below. Initiatory wisdom above.

/312 cont./

771 Although the antithesis could be prolonged for a long time, one will avoid doing it for fear of twisting it. It will suffice for us to bear in mind this contribution that the study of the tiered levels of the religious life in the confined milieu of the Seksawa can contribute to the general analysis of the phenomenon.

The Ig^{w}rramen

776 182 It is not necessary, however, to go up to the "Poles," like the saint of the Tazerwalt, in order to observe the function that /313/ this genre of personage assumes, on the same spot and concurrently with forms profoundly embodied in collective rhythms. One type forms the transition between the communitarian and individual forms. 792 This is the one of the saints' descendants or ministers. Except for a few nuances, which distinguish the ones from the others, they share a ritual qualification that makes them dispensers of favorable of unfavorable influences. Yet, and although each of them has at his disposal, according to a hierarchy that is proper to them, a part of these powers, they are presented as an organized college, a special jemâa. Mussulman procedural or notarial forms: founding acts, genealogical trees fix their traditional power and are invoked in case of conflict. It is thus that the agurram, plur. ig^{w}rramen (let us call him by his Berbère /Berber/ name, the term of "marabout," divulged among Europeans, not being in usage here), presents himself in the "division of social labor" halfway between the collective vocation and individual specialization (1).

1. This category, too, comprises a veritable statistical profusion. It figures quite rightly in the old censuses of the offices of A. I., under a special rubric. In the neighboring Dwiran and Mez'ud'a, the "marabouts" constitute an important part of the population. Naturally, the fact that such-and-such a "fraction" assumes, in the division of social

792 /313 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ labor, this role of avant-garde immediately furnishes a genealogical fiction. This links the collectivity thus marked to an ancestor saint or else to
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121 the Prophet. This is the very type of these corporations in confraternities by reason of an ancestor for which Durkheim clearly noted the characteristics of a form of transition. It expresses the "mixture of the rising professional organization with the pre-existent familial organization" (G. Davy, Eléments de sociologie, I: Sociologie politique, 1950, p. 115). But sometimes the fiction is unnecessary: the status
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171 is created by auto-affirmation, one might say. One thinks of the Touareg /Tuareg/ tribes described by the Cdt Cauvet and who, by their simple attestation, come to be considered as marabouts (H. Lhote, Les Touaregs du Hoggar /The Tuareg of the Ahaggar/, 1944, p. 163). In the Moroccan case, that of the Ud Bessebâ^{c}, for example, an intellectualist milieu furnishes forthwith the collective pretension of pedantic reasoning: the sherifian revendication enters the category of the pseudo-historical classifications that have played such an important role in the Maghrebi past.

792 Pretty much as the corporation of rural or urban artisans constitutes in the economic life an intermediate stage between the tribal qualification and the profession.

Let us study a concrete case, that of the a. Wammern, descendants of sidi Mh'and.

[534] Their moqaddem joins to his hagiological functions and to his knowledge of some impressive tricks (playing dead, for

/313 cont./
792 example) the talent of a tambourin player. He is an assistant
[534] greatly in demand for all the choruses and dances in this part of
the mountains.

Around him a legion of cousins agitates, avid for their part
of the benefice and not falling back before the cunning or /314/
[794] violent competition. Beyond the "portable" offering that comes
at the time of the tighersiwin, or at the time of the payment of
particular cens, there are contingent ones, or those "paid on application,"
which so-and-so of the rightful claimants goes to
seek, taking his chances, from tribe to tribe. This quest is not
exclusive of either harsh disputes or sometimes of trickery. Such
[691] an agurram carries off the share of the legitimate devolutionary.
That ends in proceedings under the compliant eye of the temporal
chiefs or of the jemâa.

No particular dignity, no hypocrisy characterize these comportments.
[778] Titularies by inheritance of a parcel of the "benefic
emanation," or baraka, and, correlatively, of a portion of the
cens or fees owed the saint, his descendants exploit it with a
naïve impudence, in which the good people are not far from
recognizing a trait of this simplicity in the passions which is so
compatible with the profession of the sacred.

Like the ig^{W}rramen of Assttif, and even more than them,
those of Ammern help in understanding the peculiarity of life
resulting from a "maraboutic" origin. No moral judgment, no
notion of merit is mixed with their prestige. They can be quarrelsome,
greedy, or debauched, like any of their neighbors.
Less absorption in field work, a diet with more meat, resulting
from so many sacrificial offerings, a physical selection testifying
to more experience, and more taste, in the choice of wines, differentiate
them physically from the profane. Also more freedom
in their ways, due to the traditional fiscal exemptions,
tawqîr, and to fewer inhibitions. The agurram is one who lives
[778] fully. Nature is allowed to speak in him, even in the form of
the most unbridled of appetites, or of incoherence, for this
nature is itself bearer of baraka. One seeks in it a sort of

/314 cont./

792 complicity with the heavens, a complicity that is bought with many indulgences or even at the price of money. Ethnology has made us familar with these incarnations, or these collusions: even though an Islamism that is never wanting, perhaps because it corresponds in the case at hand to a very keen critical sense, acknowledges for the agurram divine favor or gratification, but by no means association with the divine.

Not the slightest nuance of this famous "anthropolâtrie berbère" /Berber anthropolatry/ with which certain ethnologists rather indiscreetly regale themselves! And even, what is striking in the milieu, that all the consequences are drawn from such privilege, without the slightest ethical nuance being mixed up in [577] it. To each his role. The good believer strives for virtue. The marabout enjoys baraka and, accordingly, may make his entire life a feast or carnival: without reproach, he can be the fully natural man. One could say of /315/ him, parodying Nietzsche's phrase, that he has the right to be "the hottest of hot monsters" /Fr. le plus chaud des monstres chauds/.

792 781 [778] The attitude of the faithful with regard to him is very clear here: attentive and somewhat interested service, tender or secretly envious devotion, but realistic judgment, complete moral independence. The baraka is revered, and, still better, "served," but strictly encompassed in a system of division of labor in which the marabout does not overstep the function imparted to him by belief and the mores. Consigned to his function, his exemptions, his exceptions, he must leave space, for the rest, for the civil order.

Men of God

792 Let us go on to more individualized types.

First the doctor. Our collection of the psychological paradoxes of the ground would not be complete if one did not mention at this place a learned citizen who left the montagnard sanctuary and hid from Z'init'. In Marrakech, moreover, he

792 /315 cont./
keeps its name: si Muh'ammad Uzinit', such is the name under which the I^{c}lâm registers him (1).

1. ^{c}Abbâs b. Ibrâhîm, al-'I^{c}lâm bi-man h'alla Marrâkuch, t. V, 1939, p. 307.

And in the same region, if we go a little beyond the cadre of the Seksawa, the case is not isolated. The barbarous a. Mh'and u [181] [693] Musa have indeed maintained a "cadi" Ulwâh', famous doctor, a great one in jurisprudence (2).

2. Al-h'afîz' al-Fâsî, Riyâd' al-Jinna, t. I, 1932, p. 58.

Let us pass on from phenomena of this nature, naturally more abundant in the Dir, and these moraines of zaouias and médersas that border the mountains. It is rather, in spite of the difficulty that the distance of these figures in time creates, on the side of the great jurists and great saints of the South, all coming from the most personal, the most confined corners of the Atlas, a Suktânî, a ^{c}Abbâsî, a Nâçirî, a Tamanârtî, tens of Samlâlî, and still so many others, that it would be necessary to orient the analysis. Such an investigation of "literary history," as Renan would have said, would indeed be of interest. It could cast useful light on the cultural history of the Moroccan South, so poorly known up to now. But it is better to give it up out of qualms for precision, or rather localization.

212 794 More directly observable, if not more decipherable, is the t't'aleb of yesterday, today, and always. We shall again see his silhouette appear when studying the juridical structures of the milieu: there, too, his role is important. For the moment we shall interest ourselves only in his spiritual role. He has, of course, a wholly /316/ orthodox side: the periodical recitation of the Book and the "attachment," mulâzama, to the communal sanctuary. But his heterodox aspect is even greater. The psalmody of the great texts, the handling of the dangerous thing

/316 cont./
212 794 that scripture is, the more or less occult utilization of the Arabic formularies, finally a separate mode of life, in which the hands are devoid of calluses, the face pale, the arms without muscles, the body slender, the health precarious, all these traits make up for the t't'aleb a physiognomy singularly ambiguous and powerful. Let us not speak of his habits, which have nothing to do with the subject, except they sometimes constitute an additional element of segregation.

212 794 789 [688] In fact, very few of these scholars resist the temptation to utilize their power. Sale of exorcisms or making up charms, that is only the lesser evil, and this society, perhaps because it has no clergy, sees no simony in this. But there are white magic and black magic; there are especially demonology and necromancy. In common belief, the t't'aleb, after some success which he uses for the realization of his appetites, is himself victim of the forces that he has released. Like the sorcerer's apprentice, he is henceforth dominated by these forces: demons command him, and finally make him decline, leading him to a bad death or precipitating him into error. It is thus all over for those who frequent him or have had trust in him. The past, even recent, of the Sous and of the Atlas would provide many examples of these deviations. In general, they have taken the form of manifestations of fanaticism or indeed of messianism. To go back only to the last independent amghar of the Haut /Upper/ Seksawa, it was the t't'aleb-s of the Mentaga who, making demoniacal alliances glitter before him and promising him "mastery of the hour," launched him on a hopeless adventure. Many anecdotes of similar type could be reported. And certain ones even more recent.

127 Here is a document emanating from a fqīh, not from the Seksawa at all, but from a closely neighboring montagnard tribe, the Ergita, document acquired on the occasion of a judicial action, autographic, and offering, from an ethnological point of view, so much interest that we shall give it here in extenso. It is a confession.

/316 cont./

787 539 /The rest of this section, except for the last three paragraphs, are in small type in the original source./ Know that I left the mosque of X... in a turmoil and extreme anxiety. That in April. I remained in this trance more than four months. One day I saw a glimmering similar to that which the moon emits before the sun. When it came up to me, I set about proclaiming my prayer. "Very good," said a voice.

[212] [794] A dream came to me in the mosque. Someone was telling me: speak to the /317/ t'olba ad-dawla. I then went to the mountains to relate my vision to the t'olba.

And he said to me, "Salvation upon the t'olba of Y." I remained there until he said, "Salvation upon you."

I then came to this spot about which the birds had spoken to me: "speak to your God at the mosque of Z..." I assented three times. Then I waited there until the approach of the Suq Tleta. It was then that a voice said to me: "Mbarek uld Brahim, leave the Tleta."

We set out with Si Ah'med ou Bihi. We found work and bastinado. We returned home.

The second Tuesday, we bought nothing at the market.

The 3rd Tuesday, I went to the market determined to accomplish this act. I then said to myself: "No," and returned to Z...

But that very night, I myself saw Him who said to me: "Why have you not executed my order?" Terrified, I awoke. My son was also terrified. I fell asleep again. My son became frightened a second time. His mother asked what it was.

I went to Si Moh'ammed N. and said to him: "What is this vision?"

A being spoke to me in the mosque and directed me to go to speak with the t'olba ad-Dawla. I then went to the mountains and told this to them (to the one in the zaouia and to another in Ichekad'en). "Last night he told me: 'Salvation upon you.' I saw a bird who called me to God. I told him 'yes.'"

[789] -- "Do you then practice thaumaturgy?"

-- "No."

787 [539] /317 cont./

-- "Drive these visions from the depths of your being," he told me.

787 538 [171] In general, the form taken by this communication with the beyond is that of millenarianistic prediction. Indeed, this old theme, so familiar to Semitic societies -- but to many others as well -- is very common in the Moroccan South. In Seksawa itself, it gives rise to many compositions, very obscurely contrived, according to the rules peculiar to this genre of literature, in a Chleuh /Shluh/ language, mixed with scholarly phrases, and which Arabic writing renders very improperly.

One of these texts, for example, originating from the archives of the rebel *amghar*, goes back to an ancient and tumultuous epoch: that of the al-Hîba movement. In violent language the writer predicts obscure but terrible calamities on all the chiefs of the Dir, and notably on the great Mtuggi, "this dog." "You, Aguzzal" (1).

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1. Minor chief of the a. Daud, fourrier of the Mtugga on the side of the mountains.

Between the traditions of millenarianism and the political opposition from time to time assuming the appearance of a "master of the hour," the bond is close and constant. Ch. Richard, apropos Algerian events, *Etude sur l'insurrection du Dahra (1845-1846)* /Study on the Insurrection of the Dahra (1845-1846)/, 1846, 85 sq., analyzes with finesse the social psychology /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ of the *mûl s-sâ^{c}a*. In the Moroccan S. many of these traditions have for foyer the *ribât'* of Massat, R. Montagne, "Une tribu berbère du S. Marocain: Massat /A Berber tribe of the Moroccan South: Massat/," *Hesp.*, 1924, p. 364. Even quite recently a curious conjunction of these traditions with Islamic purism has been

/317 cont./

787 /footnote 1 continued/ produced in the per-
538 son of Ibn al-Muwaqqit, scholar from Marrakech, whose prediction on the end of the world greatly agitated the circles of *t't'olba*. A. Faure, "Un réformateur marocain... /A Moroccan reformer.../." *Hesp.*, 1952, p. 191.

it was written, "you will flee more rapidly than the dart. And /318/ you, your power shall be broken as by the wind that ravages the leaves of the almond tree. You shall lie in pieces like the *meksûr*" ("nuts crushed to a pulp and sold in bulk"). Biblical tone!

787 Other prophecies circulate, some of which, attributed to a Sidi Lârûsi, evoke an end to the world in about 70 hegiran years. At grave moments: 1912, Mâ' el-^{c}Aynin and al-Hîba; 1931, rebellion of Ah'med Umulid; closer to us, in 1940, a quite latent millenarianism rears its head.

The Holiness

771 According to a classic ambiguity: lucky or unlucky, divine or demoniacal, good or bad magic, initiate or counterinitiate — the profane is ignorant as to whether these trances merit one or the other qualification. It is thus that error waylays it. Truthfully speaking, this debate is posed only for the individual, and when his personality is exalted, by riches or power. That is the just risk incurred by the pride of one who gets out of the communal cycle. It is the just ransom for the possibilities that then
778 open up beyond paltry horizons. But it is a benefic guarantee
776 that God then opens to the man: the powers that he dispenses to the saints. That is why this whole society lives in ancient and precise relations with its saints.

It is meticulous archivist of the territorial sacred, of its figures, of its legends. Its sensibility is touched by the constant solicitation of a heroine, Lalla Aziza. But it goes further. The mercy of the Unique and the intercession of this archangel whose

/318 cont./
778 name, Jebrir (Gabriel), is sometimes given to children mean
776 that the "mystery of grace," ssirr, will not cease. Holiness is again present, recognizable by its miraculous tone.

778 And here is one manifestation among others:

776 /The following paragraph is in small type in the original
114 source./ Sidi Moh'ammed, father of the present fqih of Talmst in Nfifa, descendant of sidi Âmer u H'addo, was preparing one day to take leave of me, when a violent storm broke out. I tried in vain to keep him. In spite of my insistence, he then left the house and, at the height of the storm, ascended the very exposed crest that leads to Imintanout. I accompanied him. In spite of the fury of the elements not a drop of water reached us. A zone /319/ of preservation stretched around us. How amazed I was, upon returning to the village, to learn that a veritable tornado had been raging, uprooting trees and inundating the dwellings!

778 There is more than "superstition" in the belief in this im-
776 munity of the saint: the narrator is an educated believer. If he were asked to explain the phenomenon, no doubt he would call upon divine intervention; similarly no doubt he would mix in ethical ideas on the saint's role and the just recompense which, through the karâmât privileges like that one, renders this recognizable to the faithful. These distinctive signs can be useful, as has
[212] been seen, in avoiding unfortunate confusions in a milieu where
[794] the ambiguous figure of the t't'aleb, participant in both an unsophisticated scientism and old esoteric traditions, assumes communication with the invisible world. The new powers hidden by the Arabic writing, in a society that is taken with it to the point of attaching all its law to it, has these risks as ransom. Classic ambivalences, and all the more dangerous, even in the eyes of the believer, as the writing is decked out in an air of piety and culture.

792 In this respect they open, in the old rural atmosphere, an
794 evolution toward repudiation. The jostling of the unlettered agurram and of the scribe of furtive sapience within the same

/319 cont./

792 zaouia, or the same village, already makes a contrast stand out.
794 It is not rare that the local scholar very soon affirms his distrust with regard to agrarian rites. He displays a skepticism whose expression, astonishingly free, would belie the good nature of such a milieu, if we did not know to what extent this milieu lends itself to breaches of tone, to paradoxical proximities. Rural unanimity, rationalist criticism and occultism merge in strange and diverse fashion in the Mussulman affirmation. Certainly, the despoliation of the communal restraints, rebellion are embodied in such an individual, separated from the crowd. But they can be embodied also, more obscurely, in each one. Each may feel the appeal of protestation, of flight, of adventure. And this appeal will meet that of the "luminaries" and of orthodoxy. Hence the complexity of the phenomenon.

000 This progress is likewise that of the variety of minds and of the division of labor. It is often accomplished by the emigrant. It then includes economic traits and may end when these traits are effaced: recovery of the land and return to the mountains, fortune once made. But these stages may be passed spontaneously by such-and-such individual mentality.

What is more common today is the escape of the worker, through the union and the politics of the towns, and the escape of the /320/ military man, through the jovial impiety of the camps.
792 But the scholar, too, "escapes" in his fashion, through the occult
794 powers of writing, the advancement of his culture, the repudiation of the rural imperatives. The role of communal officiant, which is given him by the group, is greatly surpassed by his sallies of an individual more refined than his brothers. This depassment can lead to error. But it can also lead to holiness. In the recent period the Seksawa have known at least one example of these exaltations of the person, or — this is the other face of the phenomenon — of these personal elections of Allah.

159 /The rest of this section, except for the last two paragraphs,
792 is in small type in the original source./ It was only in 1915 that
175 the agurram Moh'ammed b. Abdallah, descendant on the tenth

/320 cont./
159 generation of the saint of Assttif, died. He spent a large portion
792 of his life at the zaouia of the Mez'ud'a, where his intervention
[175] re-established harmony during a difficult succession of cheikh
/sheik/. It is known that this zaouia, revived by the teaching of
Timgilcht, and mother of several other zaouias of the plain, exercises
a great influence in the mountains: notably upon the a.
Lh'sen, on the Tigguga, but also on the ensemble of the Seksawa.

What is remarkable about it, in the popular consciousness,
is that the holiness has been renewed there, in the course of
generations, and each time under a different figure. In the
[175] seventeenth century, sidi Sâid u Bubker, Orient sherif, joined
the Nâçirian cycle, then at the height of its freshness. He was
such a just man that, when he circulated about, he muzzled his
donkey in order to avoid the slightest damage to others' fields.
[776] His grandson, sidi Ah'med u Âli, was a healer. He was called
the saint "of the bees," lwali n-tiz'z'wa. His bees plundered the
plain downstream. People from the distant Chichaoua came to
complain to him. "Mark them," he told them; they did this,
sprinkling the little animals with henna. The saint, then having
proof of the ta^{c}addî, condemned the guilty ones to leave his
mountain. Above his tomb, overlooking the immense perspective
of the Mez'ud'a and Ud Bessebâ^{c} plain, was erected a
madrasa, still famous, and which has hived off into the plain,
covering it with its subsidiaries — Bu^{c}anfir, Sa^{c}îdât among others.
A scholar of the Italen, one qualified from Timgilcht, comes
from time to time to revive the old body. He is a purist Mussulman,
anxious to spurn, against even his disciples, any miraculous
reputation. But it is not the same for one of the latter, from
Assttif, and who is the agurram sidi Muh'ammad u Âbdallah, on
the name of whom this digression opened.

159 This Seksiwi, he is not at all loath for miracles. It is
792 evening. The students are holding a session, and the lighting ?
789 of the hall falls to one of them. They did not inform the man
from Assttif that it was his turn to prepare the light. They
anticipate his confusion. But it is they who are going to be confounded,
and edified: rubbing his finger against the mat

159 /320 cont./
that carpeted the hall, he raised it and light was emitted from it.
792 Prudent injunctions from the master were necessary in order to
789 dissuade him from continuing the exercise of his karâmât.

159 /321/ Moh'ammed b. Âbdâllah was endowed with the gift of
clairvoyance. According to a well-established mystical tradi-
787 tion, his visions intervened during his sleep. The account of a
792 dream from 1312 Heg.: 1895, which permits him to converse
with a deceased former Cheikh /Sheik/ and with the Prophet himself, is valuable. It is a fine text of Berbère /Berber/ religiosity, and all the more remarkable because it emanates from a personage from one of the most archaic cantons of our Seksawa. Its value as a spiritual sign, strong revealer of the atmosphere of these zaouias of the South and the mystical escapes that sometimes force their way through at some interstice of these closed societies, is remarkable enough that it might not be fruitless to give a partial translation of it below.

"I was in a half sleep. I saw myself in the mausoleum of sidi Ah'med u Âli, conversing with the blessed sidi Ah'med b. Mh'ammed, expert on questions concerning the zaouia. We felt the need to ask the opinion of the venerable sidi Mh'and. My companion called him, and sidi Mh'and appeared at the door. I embraced him, and he embraced me, as a friend does to a friend. He asked me, 'Are you a sincere friend?' I said I was. We then continued the discussion until I observed that the Prophet's presence was necessary in order for us to resolve a particular point. I called him three times, and we were dazzled by an immense flash, and such that each of us was constrained to shield his face with his hand. And the Prophet entered among us, by way of the outside door of the zaouia. My half sleep was illuminated by it. The Prophet held Abraham by the hand. They seated themselves beneath the window that faces East, and we placed ourselves in a circle around them. And the Prophet urged us to follow his path, and told us things that I have forgotten. Then Sidi Âbdallah Frugi moved among us. He was dragging a sword as if he had just come from a battle..."

/321 cont./

159 787 And the session continues, full of color for the eyes and instruction for the heart. The account that is given of it contains precise allusions to the crisis that the house was then going through and announces events that, it seems, took place afterwards without fail. One is thus dealing with a jurisprudential oracle here (1).

1. On the mantic of the dream, L. Massignon, "Le folklore chez les mystiques musulmans /Folklore among the Mussulman mystics/," Mélanges René Basset, t. I, pp. 259 sq., 264, 269. Numerous anecdotes of this type in the Manâqib al-H'ud'aykî.

Certainly not with a Songe de Scipion /Dream of Scipio/. But the continuity with the Abrahamic message, the reminder of the great Witnesses are expressed here with a vigor that has to make this last saint of the Seksawa a being of imitation and edification.

792 Of what may be felt in the presence of such persons, not by the common herd taken with contracts for agricultural assurance or payer for amulets, but by the humble disciple, adolescent "of prayer and of desire" (2),

2. According to the magnificent expression of L. Massignon.

who hides his fervor in the obscure cells of the zaouia, here is still-warm evidence. On the blank page of a volume, /322/ [776] both a solemn pledge and talisman, a young man, Brahim Nffisi, "dedicates his being, his goods, his destiny" to the sherif sidi Jilâlî b. Ah'mad as-Sibâ^{c}î in exchange for his mu^{c}âchara, and the latter promises to dispense it to him. It would be too easy to see in this veritable act of "affrèrement" /becoming brothers/, [776] dated 1194 Heg.: 1780, only a trait of suspect friendship. This

/322 cont./

792 [776] Sibâ^{c}î is a saint whose memory survives at the zaouia of Takerkuzt (1).

to the S. of Marrakech, from where this volume comes. This mu^{c}âchara that the exaltation of a young soul solicits is the initiatory commerce.

128 Let us thereupon terminate the study of religious structures, the outline of which would have remained inexact if, besides their connections to the rural group, one had not also mentioned what they let pass in sallies beyond this group. All that we can say now no longer concerns the Seksawa, not even the Chleuhs /Shluh/ as such. Let us give the floor to E. Dermenghem, explorer touched by Maghrebi holiness.

/323/

A Juridical System

I. Techniques of Settlement

Let us go back some thirty years, that is, before the institution of the present Tribunaux Coutumiers /Customary Courts/. That is little for a historical investigation. It is sufficient, nevertheless, to reveal a triple order of phenomena, corresponding to three layers of the social reality, as well as to three kinds of techniques.

691 [692] Let us first set aside the more or less important litigations in which the authority, jemâa, amghar, or moqaddem, arrogates to itself the decision. The expansion of personal power is limited here by a very strict tradition concerning the devolutions of competence. As will be seen, it is above all a question of matters concerning the public order, that is, bringing into play the internal structure of the group or its combination with neighboring 691 groups. A second category of litigations, the most common ones 695 in a rural society, is under the jurisdiction of sworn law. We

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1. Today submerged by the waters of the dam of the Nffis.

/323 cont./

691 have studied it above. It aims at re-establishing a distributive
695 integrity among riparian patrimonies, thus bringing into play an agrarian order on whose exact nature it has been necessary to reserve judgment.

423 Finally there are the conflicts of personal or landed-property
691 order. The procedure — it is indeed then a matter of procedure — is in two parts. The temporal authority, made cognizant first, brings about and records the agreement of the parties in the person of a muh'akim, most often a religious or scholarly individual. Who is this personage exactly?

Judgment or Arbitration?

623 The judiciary attributions in Chleuh /Shluh/ country are en-
634 trusted today to a collegial Tribunal. This is an extension of the
619 former competence of the jemâa, which customarily dealt with
692 only public law and the first phase of the judiciary instance properly speaking. But this extension doubtlessly is not exorbitant of a lively communitarian tradition, which is explained by the fact that, in contrast to the feudal forms observed on the plain, it impressed the reformer.

/324/ On the other hand, and on the historical plane, nothing permits affirming that in a number of epochs this extension of
[629] competence was not produced spontaneously. The demarcation between the natures of the public law and of the private law is tenuous since most of the landed-property litigations arise from conflicts between groups or subdivisions of groups, which is also the theme of the public life of the canton. Some written traces of settlements of this sort authorize the hypothesis.

/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ An act of 982 Heg.: 1572, concerning the well-known gens of the a. D'alh'a and some persons from Tawanghast, mentions that one of those interested "produced, in the bosom of the jemâa, the act of guarantee of his mother's dower," kharraja ^{c}ala wasat'i'l-jamâ^{c}a. In this affair, obviously of private law,

623 /324 cont./
634 the intervention of the collectivity appears to have a jurisdic-
619 tional or notarial value. This testimony is important. It is not
692 at all isolated.

In the old Seksawa titles one often finds mention of the *jemâa* not only as Senate, or as guardian of public order, but in
[693] judiciary or arbitral attributions. A writing of 1042 Heg.: 1630, in a. H'adduyws, mentions it sitting simultaneously with a "cadi." More recently, in 1315 Heg.: 1897, a long piece relates the meeting of the entire *jemâa* of the Idma, with its two *moqaddem*-s, in order to resolve a serious matter, which, taking account of the reticences of the text, appears to have been the rape of a notable's daughter.

The *jemâa*, moreover, is always present, like the chorus of old tragedy. But it is also often the protagonist of the piece,
[792] either if it exercises its function openly, or if it acts only indi-
[794] rectly, through personages who tend to differ with it or even compete with it: profane chiefs like the *moqaddem* or the *amghar*, men of piety, of study, or of benediction, like the *t't'aleb*, the *fqih*, the *agurram*.

692 There is one point, however, where a division of labor seems
693 always to operate. This is in the landed-property and successoral procedure. The distinctive trait in this is the dualism. The affairs, first presented to the chief or to the *jemâa*, are referred to a personage who has been agreed upon by the two parties. In this instance, it was most often the marabout of the zaouias of Assttif or of sidi Ah'med u Âli or of Bu^{c}anfur, far in the plain. Sometimes, too, it was a specialist called "cadi" (1).

1. On these personages in the Atlas and the Sous, cf. J. Berque, "Un glossaire notarial arabo-chleuh de Deren (XVIII^e siècle) /An Arabo-Shluh notarial glossary from the Deren (eighteenth century)/." *R. afr.*, 1950, pp. 388 sq., with references to jurists of the South.

/324 cont./

693 692 The existence of this latter is /325/ intermittent. It appears most often as linked to the progress of personal power and naturally also to the nearness of the towns. He is supported, but also imposed and oriented by the chief. Nevertheless, he always judges "by mutual accord," s-tarad'i, and his intervention is challengeable, like that of any other arbiter. But is it indeed a matter of an arbiter? Some old documents will permit analyzing the institution better.

175 634 69 /The following four paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ There is first an act of 923 Heg.: 1518, of the a. H'adduyws, recording a verdict rendered in a landed-property case, and which gives to one of the parties the ownership of parcels seized as counterpart of the expenses of mortuary services. And this in a great meeting of Seksawa and Idaw i-yzimmer. The h'âkim bases his authority upon the mutual and written appeal of the two adversaries to his court, called court of the char^{c} /Sharia/, "of the law": ba^{c}da rid'â'i-him bi-majlisi'ch-char^{c}i laday-nâ bi-rasmi't-tarâd'î.

Another act of 1109 Heg.: 1698, of the I. Geryun, in very
bad Arabic, relates a complete procedure. The moqaddem and
[794] the jemâa place the case of two parties before a fqih designated
by lot, ba^{c}da d'arabat la-hum al-qur^{c}a, "so that he may strike
them with the sword of the law." It is a matter of a habous
[681] /wakf/ lawsuit. The two litigants promise, in case of nonappearance, to pay into the hands of the moqaddem three mithqâl-s in penalty. Initial citation and appearance in court, designation of a judge, referral, fine in the event of nonappearance: all the moments of the first part of the procedure are brought to light here.

175 69 Again a tarâd'î consignation dated from 1122 Heg.: 1710, and coming from two personages from Alus, who solemnly empower a "cadi" of the a. Tikssit to act for them in making a settlement. "They are in agreement (to place) the charî^{c}a of God in the hands of the fqih such and such ... for all that has become clouded between them in the case of land, trees, houses,

/325 cont./

175 69 grindstones, manâhil (transhumance shelters), inanimate goods, dry crops, and all other claims of the one upon the other."

We have an example of what these verdicts may be, when the magistrate makes a point of culture, in a long writing of 1118 Heg.: 1707, where a scholar originally from the a. Ish'âq develops, in good writing with comparisons and quotations, his point of view on a habous /wakf/ lawsuit. It is a matter of a patrimony disputed among branches of devolutionaries, some of whom have died out, munqaridîn, a type of case that war and epidemics must have made frequent. The learned man acts on the authority of an indirect quotation from ar-Rasmûkî, then of a Meccan precedent, of the Fès /Fez/ jurist az-Zaqqâq, still others... Such an argument, he says, is null, nonexistent, ujûdu-hu ka'l-ᶜadam. It is like a mirage that the imagination believes to be of water, whereas if one reaches it, one no longer finds anything.

693 One appreciates this paradox of atmosphere, if one may venture to say it, which inspires in the humble montagnard jurist the poetry of the camel driver. The respect given by apparently barbarous cantons to the /326/ scholar, zaouia sheik or "cadi" is significant (1).

693 121 1. Can we go further than these observations? Does the antiquity of this procedural dualism permit evoking, across the gulf of time and distance, the division of the Roman procedure into two phases? We are far from the idea of finding again in the Atlas something that would recall the profound originality of the formula. But perhaps in the referrals to episcopal arbitration, frequent after Constantine, we can find something exciting for the imagination, if not [114] serious for comparison. The first hypothesis has already been set forth by G. Surdon,

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/footnote 1 continued/ Esquisses de droit coutumier berbère marocain /Outlines of Moroccan Berber customary law/, 1928, p. 185, n. 1. One finds in this work very exact, but incomplete and scattered notations. For example, on the alwāh', pp. 12, 142, 179, 181; on the instinct for patrimonial preservation among the Imazighen, pp. 35 sq.; on the true character of the rahn, pp. 196 sq.; the asghurt, p. 128. We are obliged to point out these coincidences with our own observations.

69 And it is no less so that such a judge, often far from the place of litigation, cut off from any possibility of investigation, and chosen even because of that no doubt, does not base his decision on objective data at all, indeed sometimes not even on hearing the two parties. The decision is often presented in fact in the form of a letter delivered to one of the litigants, and undoubtedly solely on the evidence of his statement. One might be surprised by the fact that a rural society entrusts its most precious [627] interests to such a whimsical magistery. But, on the one hand, the great majority of the conflicts are under the jurisdiction of prelaw and hence never come to procedural argument. And, on the other hand, the latter brings into play the not negligible factors of auctoritas. First, the weight of the person, of the writing, and of the reference to the Law. Then, the recourse to an external culture and ethic, felt as such, but to which one adheres at the appointed time and place, no more, and which one has intervene when it is necessary and when one wishes. In the second phase of this procedural splitting is read one of the attitudes of Chleuh /Shluh/ comportment with respect to Arabism and external civilization in general. We shall not engage here in a discussion of social psychology, which could lead far.

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The appeal to an eminent sapience (2).

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2. In the thirteenth century, al-^{c}Abdarî shows the people of the Sous literally seizing passing scholars, Cherbonneau tr., *Journal asiatique*, IV, 1854, p. 151, and B. Nat. ms 2283, fol. 5, 1. 5 *de fine* sq. Notations of the same order in Léon, on the side of the present Imintanout, *Description de l'Afrique* /Description of Africa/, Ch. Schefer, 1898, t. 1, p. 219 (in "Semada," with arbitration described in full), and citation in L. Massignon, *Le Maroc dans les premières années du XVI^{e} siècle* /Morocco in the first years of the sixteenth century/, 1906, §106, p. 127. It is necessary, however, to set against this aspect (exteriority of the judge) what Léon tells us about the veritable "parliament" that functions in ait Daud in a seemingly indicated professional climate (*ibid.*, Schefer, p. 153).

Examples of dualist procedure in a. Wawzgit (De la Porte des Vaux, "The a. W. de la vallée du Zagmouzen," in *CHEAM*, p. 111), the Anti-Atlas (Huot, "L'organisation de la justice dans les tribus de l'Anti-Atlas," in *CHEAM*, p. 15).

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the talismanic action of Arabic writing are certainly what characterize this instance the most, rather than the arbitral aspect suggested by its terminology. /327/ There are no conciliators here, but magistrates, and better yet liberators of forces. Forces that the milieu considers transcendent and which it carefully keeps at a distance.

695 /327 cont./

The expression s-tarad'i (1).

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> 1. Maghrebi ethnology will have made real progress when it is able to follow, over the whole gamut of North African societies, the progress of such-and-such a notion, reduced to its precise meaning, in the most varied linguistic dress; and corollarially to study the semantic variations of such an institutional term. I am thinking, for example, of the word chert' or chchard', or of the word ta^{c}amamt, well known in the Kabyle matrimonial law, and which I find again in the Beni Iznasen (Renisio, p. 144), indeed even in an old text from the Sous ...

"by mutual agreement," certainly concerns the designation of the judge rather than the character of the verdict. It is true that even a judgment properly speaking, that of the present tribunals, for example, must little or much, in order to be executory, rally the yielding party. Ur rd'igh, "I do not agree": such an utterance occasionally indicates the nonrallying and hence also that the malcontent will appeal to other paths of recourse: obstruction, 695 121 dilatory maneuvers, indeed violent resistance. Is it necessary to conclude that an arbitral aspect, profoundly ancient and authentic, has survived even in the modern organization of jurisdictions and that a fortiori the ancient s-tarad'i decision was merely arbitration pure and simple?... All that one can conjecture is that the development of the Chleuh /Shluh/ proceedings still implies today, and, with stronger reason, formerly implied, old mores rendering obligatory, under penalty of nullity or of loss, a "commitment" by both parties. This commitment has significantly taken a contractual form. In return, the distance at which the jemâa takes care to remain with respect to the settlement of the case screens the latter from the opinion of the group. And the reaction of the city procedures has cloaked the person of the magistrate and his

/327 cont./
695 manner of acting in a doctoral and formal style, the very one of
121 an eminent justice.

Two Procedural Forces: The Writing...

212 The classic Arabic verb istaz'hara, "to produce, to manifest
691 the proofs of a law," is very often employed in the Seksawa ar-
695 chives, apropos landed-property litigations. In spite of its reassuring pedantry, I am not sure that it is not necessary to compare it with the practice that consists of reading the acts that the parties oppose on the spot of the litigation (qerri afella, "to produce against...," or factitive saghra, saqra, "to have read"). And perhaps even, at a more ancient stage, the act was purely and simply deposited upon the contested land. Hypothesis? The characteristics of efficacity not at all /328/ intellectual and mediate ("elements of proof"), but direct and concrete that the use of these titles offers naturally lead to this sort of hypothesis.

An immense red-tape flora, timidly rising from the end of the fifteenth century, already more fecund in the sixteenth century, subsequently spreads with more and more luxuriance. The Seksawa mountain is a conservatory of charters (1).

1. Cf. Et. in. /unpublished Study/ by B. de La Forcade, "Les actes en pays de coutume /Acts in countries of custom/," CHEAM, applying especially to the region of Igherm.

It happens that these old acts themselves make mention of the days of privation that a chest or leather bottle cost scholars for those
[175] salaried on the occasion of a trial. In 1193 Heg.: 1779, the a.
[465] Març, on the occasion of litigation, inventoried their acts. Cost:
5 mûzûnas-s in salary to the fqih, who had spent four days of work
[794] there! ... In general, the paper is thick and narrow, of heavy
212 grain, and veritable cardboard in certain cases. Difficult deci-
695 pherment, in view of the incorrectness of the language, both

695 /328 cont./
212 pedantic and rustic, and the rudeness of the characters. To this proliferation of the writing corresponds the major judiciary role
171 that it is made to play. A comparison with the neighboring fiqh
695 /Islamic law/ will help one understand better how exorbitant this
212 role is.

In the fiqh, the act is only the materialization of the testimony (2).

Its link with the human word is always present in that this word both offers solemnity (cf. the chahâda, in the sense of "profession," of "attestation") and must express sincerity. The Mussulman criticism of testimony will also oscillate between the two poles of psychological verification and control of form. Law of the human word, the fiqh will have no particular respect for autographic proof any more than it will for objective inquiry. It rejects, almost like two equal idolatries, the cult of the writing and that of the facts. Between the two, it will follow an elegant road, that of formulas well regulated and not at all inclined to formalism so much as to a certain precision of tone, fixed once and for all, and subjected to the double control of the grammarian and the moralist. The motives for infirmation will consequently be the impurity of the agent and the defects of the language rather than the inadequation to the real. The content of the "allegation," al-qawl, and the authority of the "alleger," al-qâ'il, remain the principal objectives of the criticism. Therefore the system of proofs is hand and glove with the enchainment of tradition and the application of the essential norm, which is the "dominant opinion," machhûr. A remarkable unity of methods is manifest in all this. The same criticism of /329/ oral testimony presides over the imitation of the Prophet, the construction of the law, and

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2. E. Tyan, Le notariat et le régime de la preuve par écrit dans la pratique du droit musulman /The notariate and the regime of proof by writing in the practice of Mussulman law/, 1945, p. 5.

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212 /329 cont./

[171] theology. The ensemble forms an eloquent, seductive, affable, conquering whole, quite in the Arab manner.

Nothing of the sort in the Seksawa society. The acts, *arraten*, *rrusûm*, *laçl*, constitute there the legitimating base and the ultimate recourse of all possession. The writing bears its force in itself, as worthless, as much a "scrap of paper" as it may appear. Perhaps because it extends the force of such individual attitudes: one has seen this in the case of the *istir^{c}â'*. But moreover and especially because of its nature as writing. The verbal noun *ara*, "to write," is attested with the sense of "charm, talisman" in several dialects (1).

1. A Basset, "Six notes de linguistique berbère /Six notes on Berber linguistics/," *Ann. I. E. O.*, t. 5, 1939-41, pp. 16 sq., denies the nevertheless tempting relation between *ara*, "to write," and *tiuri*, "curse."

[789] [875] [794] The rural scribe, *t't'aleb* or *lfqih*, still today concurrently cultivates notarial activity and magical competence, at the same time that he exercises a municipal religious function, that of *imam* and schoolmaster. This characteristic pluralism has lasted up to our day. It reveals a confusion, fraught with lessons between different orders of things that we would readily classify in strongly contrasted categories: official cult, communal organization, education of the children, notariate, more or less clandestine
[197] practice of magic. If one adds that Arabic, language of all these acts, has always kept in a certain measure the value of initiatory language and professional speech, one will measure the force that resides in these writings generously prodigalized today by the parties in the course of their litigations. Without exaggeration, one can estimate that, beyond its value as preconstituted proof, it is the act in itself that has an effect most often, *ex opere operato*, to speak like our Middle Ages.

The very material of the title counts at least as much as its content. In proof, sometimes, of the perfect vacuity of the latter.

/329 cont./
212 Such-and-such a jrīda, "list of parcels," victoriously brandished
695 in support of a case, rests only upon the absolutely unilateral al-
legations of an ancestor: what belief would it merit in strict
212 proceedings? From that, too, the frequency of falsehood. In the
695 judiciary jousting, every expedient counts. What is falsehood
577 after all, if not a meritorious trait of craftiness, of concern to
give better proof, and, finally, of intelligence in the dispute?
More profoundly, if the force of a title consists on the one hand
of its very material, on the other hand, of the emotional intensity that it reveals on the part of the usager or avowant — force of the thing on one side, force of the person on the other, /330/ the distinction between false and authentic act will be only subtlety. This is indeed what, even today, the litigants as well as the judges confusedly feel.

695 The notion of oral testimony, on which the written act rests
212 in fiqh, could not therefore find total application here. On the
one side it is replaced, in case of conflict, by chirographic
proof (1).
695 On the other side, it is surpassed by sworn law: plural oath among
others. The "witness" is effaced before the coswearer. Here the
ordeal, there the human word.

... The Oath

One knows how much the cojuratio, by its still indicated magical character, mixed with rough computations, has retained the attention of our sociologists (2).

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1. Thus decided, in 1953, apropos a case of this kind, the Tribunal coutumier /Customary Court/ of the Seksawa.

2. Summary bibliography and discussion in J. Berque, "Les Ajwiba d'al-^{c}Abbāsī /The Ajwiba of al-^{c}Abbāsī/," R. al., 1950, under §15.

/330 cont./

695 Notably in the Moyen /Middle/ Atlas, its favorite milieu, they have posed it as the sole mode of proof. In Morocco, as in Algeria, it holds a place of honor in Berbère /Berber/ studies, which, according to general vagaries, seem not to have sufficiently circumscribed its aspects. Does Chleuh /Shluh/, and more precisely Seksawa, society, with its careful demarcations permit doing it? It will permit in any case, thanks to good fortune, the discovery of an act from the end of the fifteenth century, casting some light upon a considerable problem, that of the historical relations between plural testimony and the plural oath, cojuratio and lafīf, in Moroccan Mussulman law.

695 In Seksawa the oath is above all a releasing of magico-
784 religious forces. That is demonstrated by what I shall call "the
exception of Aldebaran." No oath may be taken in the mountains
[245] before the period called that of Aldebaran (beginning of May): it
is the one when the fructification of the almond trees is con-
[824] sidered assured. If the interdiction is broken, the entire harvest
[823] will be lost. On the other hand, the oath, even an insincere one,
remains harmless if it is taken by the Seksawa on the plain. No
moral explanation, punishment for perjury or anything else is al-
leged. It is indeed, and almost expressly, the releasing of forces
[585] whose effect is feared. Let us note as a corollary that the a.
H'adduyws proscribe not only the taking of oaths, but the celebra-
tion of marriage, tameghra, during the critical period. The
Idma, the Imt'ddan, the a. Lh'sen from above, the Iguntar also
[184] do this. Only /331/ the a. Abdella and the a. Musa escape the
rule. Even among the latter, those from downstream forbid taking
oaths before the ddurt feast of the Regraga in May. In the upper
cantons, the interdiction extends not only to the taking of oaths
and the celebration of marriage, but also to the solemn reading of
titles to the terrain, which furnishes a nice confirmation of the
views set forth above.

/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ To return to the matter of the oath, let us again call on a commentary of the a. Lh'sen.

[Ait Lh'sen]

/331 cont./

695 784 778 [821] The oaths, they say, are so dangerous that it is forbidden to take them in certain particularly efficacious places. Such as the timezgida of Awines, the one of Tifesfas, the one of Iguntar, the sanctuary of Sidi Musa. The latter punished the perjurer, and his whole canton along with him, by a devastating storm. He is irritable. It suffices if some vindictive woman comes to scratch the soil of his tomb for him to unleash the wind. It would be necessary to surround this tomb with an enclosure opening with a key, without which we would remain exposed to these dangers. At Iguntar, no one dares to take an oath at the mosque. One goes to do it on minor, unknown Regraga saints, on the side of the agadir. The timezgida of Tifesfas, which one day rose from the soil completely built, caused twelve coswearers and their twelve adversaries to perish for false oaths: that for an affair of twelve dinars. Families that lightly wasted their cojuratio have been punished by perpetual mediocrity; thus the ait Bella of Ighilan. They one day dared to affirm against the a. Barka, descendants however of Sidi Musa, and by this title formidable, that they themselves had planted the contested olive trees; but they had been content to cut off suckers that they thrust into the soil. But the a. Barka, thanks to the help of their ancestor, confounded the cheats, who afterwards were in jeopardy to the point that today their stock is very close to extinction.

695 571 This testimony from the a. Lh'sen curiously mixes naïve expression with reinterpretation. In any case, something else proves that the oath hides its virtue somewhere other than in its veracity. It is the fact that it is administered to a group determined in advance rather than to a person who has a resemblance to a witness of reality. The coswearers are invited to attest to things that they manifestly cannot know, that they have not seen, that they are reputed not to have been able to see. It is purely and simply their balance /Fr. appoint, money paying off an account, balance, change, odd money completing a sum/ that is required, and nothing else. This balance is identified with that of the group. [602] It is the group itself, namely, in our region and today, the group

/331 cont./
695 of kin according to the order of decreasing agnatic closeness.
571 And even though it is the adversary who, as in certain cases, has
[602] the choice of the coswearers to be supplied and who are then
called mord'iyin, it is invariably these close ones that he designates: the very same ones who in fiqh would be challenged by
[171] him. Certainly, /332/ Seksawa law offers here less richness, less
variety than other Maghrebi systems of law, where the structure of the group calls for, beyond the kinship factor, a consensual factor (1).

1. De Leyris points out, "Guide pratique de justice coutumière en ait Souab /A Practical guide to customary justice in ait Souab/," in CHEAM, the tulit, which would be a quinquagenarian group of people reciprocally owing one another assistance by oath, p. 9. The coswearer who disappears can be compelled to comply by 5 oaths of the party concerned. One feels here a great richness in the nuances of the obligation of solidarity. See the interesting case of the "sacramental isolated one," ag^{w}mmam. In ait Mgild of Azrou, the foreigner can assign coswearers himself by a sacrifice (Coudino, "Le serment en a. M. /The oath in ait Mgild/," in CHEAM, p. 13). It would be proper to point out here in the opposite sense, as a simultaneous advance of individualism and of "lumières" /lights, luminaries, enlightenments/, the case of the ag^{w}mmam, who solemnly exempts himself from any participation in a cojuratio. Cf. the interesting study by A. Adam, "Remarques sur les modalités du serment collectif dans l'Anti-Atlas occidental /Remarks on the modalities of the collective oath in the western Anti-Atlas/," Hesp., 1948, pp. 299 sq.

/332 cont./
695 Besides it is possible that the diminution, at least following our
571 intervention, of the effective force of the swearers, formerly considerable in case of murder, for example, has impoverished the institution. Here are some datable indications that permit conjecturing so.

/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the orig-
[175] inal source./ An act of 1257 Heg.: 1841, from the lower valley and referring "to the time of the sultanian *h'âkim* Ibn Abdeççadoq," that is, to a more or less makhzanian ambiance, constitutes a declaration of insolvency for a quinquagenarian *cojuratio* in a murder case. This insolvency is certified by twelve witnesses — the rate of the *lafîf*: a curious point of junction between two procedural orders.

175 An act of 1233 Heg.: 1818 (a. H'adduyws) reveals a trait dif-
695 ferently archaic. During the course of ceremonies not described,
613 but which doubtlessly were dependent on pacts of alliance, and after a solemn declaration at the *timezgida* of Tasstuft (Sidi Lah'sen u Tiqqi), subdivisions of *ikhs* of the Idaw Geryun fix among themselves the order of taking plural oaths. A serious action and involving the future. The a. Benâisa of Messdat speak also in the name of their progeny to come. Protestations of mutual and eternal pardon are exchanged. Finally, they agree on a fixed order in which future ceremonies will be performed. First, such-and-such a family of the a. D'alh'a (the a. Bubker) will swear, then such-and-such another one of the same *ikhs*, in third place the a. Benâisa of Messdat. "If they are required to swear, they will mutually support one another."

Such a text is important. It refers to oath-takings where the
[674] agnatic family does not succeed in furnishing the allowed number of coswearers; this is notably the case for criminal questions. The present pact thus constitutes in certain respects a mutual assurance against the imputation of murder. The alliance between a. D'alh'a and a. Messdat suggests, besides, possible interferences between a genealogical system and contractual agreements: the prospects thus opened are rich. Now, the date of such a pact

175 /*333*/ is quite recent: barely from the last century, where it
695 jarred as an archaism. Finally, the manifestation at the *timez-*
613 *gida*, the use of Mussulman roots arousing religious notions, those of *s.m.h'*, *gh.f.r.*, *ch.h.d.*, proceed from the tone voluntarily conferred on — or added to — the operation. In this pact of fraternity, a distant reminder perhaps of those that Berbère /Berber/ antiquity mentions, notably for the Almohade period, it is remarkable that the sacramental *initium* thus assumed puts in first place two families of the a. D'alh'a. This is explained by their authority as descendants of the Seksawa kings. And outside of the case at hand, one thus catches a glimpse of interesting juridical hierarchies between *ikhs*-s, completing other hierarchies inherent in the agrarian order.

175 But here is what chills, if need be, the beginnings of primi-
695 tivist enthusiasm on the part of the investigator. In an act from the same valley, much older, since it is from 981 Heg.: 1573, a *fqih*, Âbdelâziz b. Brahim, renders an opinion according to which the enemy's testimony must be rejected. A moral criticism breaks through here. Some scrupulous ones state that they will not take an oath any more. Henceforth, no rule of kinship, no rule of performance will any longer be able to make them participate in a *cojuratio*. In 1206 Heg.: 1792, at Azend'o, a personage whom one feels to be pious and sedate attests that "he henceforth will not take an oath any more, either for his brothers, for his children, or for any other person. He is standing aside," *radda nafsahu fî jihat*, and "is returning," *tâb*, "to God for the rest of his days." Such an individual evasion, such a renunciation of the social contract, seems to have been rarer here than in the Sous, for example, where it gave rise to a particular juridical form.

But what complexity, what anachronism in the matter! Criticism of testimony in the sixteenth century, scruples of the Géronte in the eighteenth, pact of solidarity in the nineteenth. Let us note this persistent trait of the system: the juxtaposition that it presents of the most heteroclite, the most anachronistic elements. There is no doubt that the pact of sacramental fraternity taken up by the Idaw Geryun groups is no more archaic in tone than a criticism of testimony. Now the second is in fact

/333 cont./

175 695 greatly anterior to the first: by several centuries! It is probable that these Seksawa societies permitted simultaneously institutions, minds of both forms, indeed impulses of one or the other genre within the same minds. Any genetic explanation consequently appears singularly suspect. On the contrary, what is likely is that this genre of contrast has existed all the time, and that this society, if one may say it, has looked upon it favorably.

695 /334/ A Document on the Historical Relations Between the Plural Oath and the "lafîf" Testimony

The Moroccan judiciary practice ended up by admitting a subsidiary form of "testimony," initially reserved for only the "just," ^c^adl. In opposition to this canonical concept, the lafîf restored the statistical concept of any witnesses whatsoever, that is to say, close or complaisant (1).

> 1. Al-^c^Iraqî, "La preuve par témoins, lafîf /Proof by witnesses, lafîf/," Revue du Maghreb, 1939, No. 9, pp. 1 sq. ("Doctrine"). Question frequently approached in the Moroccan juridical literature. It is the subject of an entire treatise by al-^c^Arabî al-Fâsi in the seventeenth century. Cf. also al-Wazzânî, Commentaire de l'^c^Amal /Commentary of the ^c^Amal/, pp. 93 in fine sq.

Let us take heed, that was only the pure expression of a support of the group. Between the ordeal, which is the basis of the plural oath, and the moral criticism to which the religious law subjects the testimony, the lafîf constitutes a sort of third position, influenced by the notarial practice. The latter being specified, one no longer discriminated between witnesses as "just," ^c^adl, and nonjust, but as professionals and private persons. At Fès /Fez/ this mode took some time to assert itself. Polemics on this subject prevailed throughout the sixteenth century. The lafîf was

[171] 695 175

/334 cont./

695 constantly presented as a rural tolerance. Nevertheless the long 175 and harsh controversy that took place for the admission of the complementary oath imposed by the cadi on the cowitnesses of the *lafîf* was perhaps dominated by an obsession to avoid in this testimonial mode, acclimated in the town with difficulty, anything that would look like the rustic ordeal.

One will measure from that what might be the weight of documents, owed to the hazards of discovery, that permit conjecturing with some chance of precision the passage from one form to another. This is perhaps the case for the following act, very ancient for this society: 899 Heg.: 1494.

/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the [195] original source./ It is composed of two titles. First a habous /wakf/ foundation, which begins in a pure epigraphic style: "Let all those who will come upon this writing know that ^{c}Abd al-Mu'min b. Abî Bakr u Alus assigned habous, etc." After the definition of the property by its borderers on the 4 cardinal points, and a redundant enumeration of the effects of the foundation, the act continues: *^{c}alâmu^{c}âyanat il-bayyînat al-muzakkiyûn al-murd'iyûn ^{c}alâl-h'ubûs wal'-h'iyâzat wa'd-du^{c}â'i bi'lbarakat*. That is, textually, "on the visual verification of the proof (*sic*): the accepted purifiers, with regard to the immobilization, to the tradition and to the invocation of the *baraka*, etc." These "accepted purifiers," that is, the coswearers of the closest degree (whether this degree might be kinship or contractual), are considered here as sufficiently well known for the scribe to dispense /335/ with enumerating them. Note the use of *bayyînat* in this personal sense, where it covers some term of Berbère /Berber/ [212] law. Finally, no paraph, the virtue of the writing being deemed sufficient.

The second act, joined to the first, is the transposition of it in *lafîf*. "*Astawqafa* (the son of the founder) requires for the proof the ones who have witnessed (*sic*) the habous in his possession, and whom his father took as witnesses *astachhada* in the above act which he indeed told them, etc." The son has the

/*335 cont.*/

695 175 initial act, here called *sijla*, recopied "for fear of destruction by wear," has it witnessed by six persons, and furnishes the whole with three rudimentary *responsa* justifying the operation. This evidently took place in the sixteenth century. In the space of the generation that had just passed, the insufficiency of the former oral stipulation, with magico-religious sanction, plunging into the solidarity of the *jemâa*, and doubtlessly illustrated by the rite evoked by the word *du^câ'*, has been pronounced. The son lives in a milieu with notarial preoccupations and formalizes the paternal foundation by reutilizing, but this time as witnesses, the names of former coswearers.

[128] Truthfully speaking, one isolated document could not sufficiently establish the hypothesis. The impropriety of the terms used by scribes knowing Arabic only moderately can moreover falsify the interpretation of the first text (1).

> 1. As-Suktâni, *Ajwiba*, ms. from the zaouia of the Ud ^cAbdalmawlâ, who was interested in several of these technical notions as a result of the numerous epistolary relations that he maintained as consultant with the justiciables of tribes still plunged in custom, *bâb achchahâdât*, pp. 135 sq., seems to use *murd'iy* in the sense of "accepted witness." But this whole affair is extremely confused. Although allusion is frequently made to *wathâ'iq* formularies, practice often stops at the single witness and at the interferences between the oath and testimony (p. 140 b.).

But quite disturbing chronological coincidences confer upon it a certain weight. It is known that the genre of the Formularies is a genre peculiarly Moroccan. Its vein runs throughout the cultural history of six centuries, from the *Wathâ'iq* of al-Mattîtî to the recent commentary of the *Fir^cûnîya*. At what time did this art

/335 cont./

695 penetrate the Sous? One points out a Kitâb ummahât al-wâthâ'iq
175 from Daud at-Tamulî or at-Timlî, m. in 841 Heg.: 1438.
This date indeed appears to furnish the terminus a quo, and one will observe that it precedes by some fifty years the procedural shift that our two Seksawa acts reveal. This delay of transmission between the doctrine of a scholar from the Sous, probably the initiator or the popularizer, and the notarial practice of this remote canton is quite likely.

Notarial Role of the t't'aleb

212 As for the role of the "just," ᶜadl, whom a pan-Islamic evo-
794 lution has made a salaried professional, it is instructive to com-
693 pare it /336/ to the one that the instrumentary t't'aleb plays in
the western Haut-Atlas. Because there, too, there has been specialization, although in a completely different sense.

Certain tribes, among them the Seksawa and the tribes of the circum-Tichka in general, reserve the notarial capacity to only t't'olba attached, mulâzim, to the village mosques. Accordingly, they are endowed with the force that emanates from a collective unanimity materialized by such communitarian practices: meal of investiture, assessed compensation, etc. The wandering scholar and mendicant that this milieu likewise knows is thus kept from the notarial function, sometimes even in spite of the prestige of the person. A recent decision of the Tribunal coutumier denied any conclusive force to the paraph of an important marabout on the grounds that he was not a village imam, drawing up deeds in this village.

Near the end of the thirteenth century, a traveler depicted the inhabitants of the Sous seizing passing scholars in order to confer upon them the functions of village imam. Four centuries later, the Ajwiba of an-Nâçirî devote long passages to this institution. The adjustment that they point out between the compensation of this fqih and the order of turns for water reveals an ancient and profound correlation between the system and the very foundations of this society. It is of little importance that the personage

/336 cont./

212 is uncultivated, keeps his head bare, wears only one shirt, lets his
794 wives devote themselves to tasks more or less decent; the Malé-
693 kite /Maliki/ utilitarianism tolerates him all the same, because,
without him, the village would no longer pray and would no
longer enter into contracts.

These different traits will complete the encompassing of two essential motifs of the Seksawa, indeed Chleuh /Shluh/ in a larger sense, procedure: the writing and the oath, with their municipal atmosphere. At the same stroke, the beginning of historical precision, in a matter which is ordinarily so deprived of it, comes to cast some light on the relations of juridical modes, whose articulation in time one thus begins to perceive. Although narrowly limited to the field of this study, such elements merit for the ensemble of Morocco the very thing being conferred on the Moroccan South, as producer of juridical forms, an unexpected primacy.

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II. Familial Law

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Agnatic Family or Conjugal Family (1)

1. This problem is absolutely central in our investigation. Hence it can be treated only gradually in the development of the account. The notion of the agnatic group as the basis of Berbère /Berber/ society long ago passed the boundaries of the monograph. It goes back to very old observations, notably made apropos the cut-up habitat, or quarter, and such as are found, for example, in the Voyages d'Ali bey /The Travels of Ali Bey/, 1814, t. I, pp. 90, 217. Masqueray, Formation des cités chez les populations sédentaires de l'Algérie /Formation of cities among the sedentary populations of Algeria/, 1886, draws some valuable analyses from it. All

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/footnote 1 continued/ the literature of the "bureau arabe" /Arab office/, Daumas, Villot, Richard, etc., had insisted upon the "patriarchal" side of Maghrebi life. These views are systematized by M. Morand, Etudes de droit musulman algérien /Studies on Algerian Mussulman law/, 1910, pp. 10 sq., and A. Bernard and Lacroix, L'évolution du nomadisme en Algérie /The Evolution of nomadism in Algeria/, 1906, in their very rich chapter IX on the social life, pp. 271 sq. They give an account there of the profound study by E. Doutté, "L'organisation domestique et sociale chez les H'âh'a /The domestic and social organization among the H'âh'a/," Rens. col., Jan., 1905, which approaches our sector, pp. 8 sq. Observations by W. Marçais in a domain more distant, but valuable for the North Africa ensemble, Textes arabes de Takrouna /Arab texts from Takrouna/, 1925, pp. xi sq.; good bibliography by A. Mouliéras on the ^{c}azwa of the Jebala, Le Maroc inconnu /Unknown Morocco/, 1895, t. I, p. 66; by H. Bruno on the ^{c}az'âm, "Introduction à l'étude du droit coutumier des berbères du Maroc Central /Introduction to the study of the customary law of the Berbers of Central Morocco/," Arch. berb., 1918, p. 306. In this context of observations, R. Maunier does not hesitate to approximate the Kabyle takharrubt to the Roman gens, Mélanges de sociologie nord-africaine /Miscellaneous works of North African sociology/, 1930, p. 64, and describes a "segmentary" society. These ideas have been very widespread. Vidal de Lablache himself, Principes de Géographie humaine /Principles of human geography/, 1922, p. 291, compares Berbère /Berber/ society to an ensemble of Hellenic

/337 cont./

594 171 114 /footnote 1 continued/ cantons that did not bring about their "synoecism." To return to concrete observations, a thorough study of the ikhs in Morocco was undertaken by R. Montagne in a series of works published in Hesp. beginning in 1924, and also Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le S. du Maroc /The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco/, 1930, pp. 43 sq., 218. R. Montagne consequently will affirm the importance of the patriarchal family, for example, very recently, in Naissance du Prolétariat marocain /Birth of the Moroccan proletariat/, 1950, pp. 21 sq. G. Marcy, Le droit coutumier Zemmour /The Zemmour customary law/, 1949, pp. 1 sq., insists on the importance of the agnatic group, although he has posed the conjugal family as "elementary cell." He had already expressed this idea, especially in "L'alliance par colactation /Alliance by colactation/," II^e^ Congrès de la Fédération des Sociétés savantes/, 1936.

121 594 613 Let us suppose that groups, inversely to the exigencies of an individualist logic, were determined from the more to the less extensive rather than by an amplification that began with the individual. This idea of Durkheim's has a chance of being verified historically by the Berbères /Berbers/, whose present fragmentation could have been preceded by vast conjunctions. The study of the great ensembles of the medieval Maghreb, then that of the leagues of the recent past, then of the confederations, /338/ tribes, cantons, would bring to that of the agnatic family (1)

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1. Cf., on the "undivided agnatic family," the ideas of G. Davy, Sociologues d'hier et d'aujourd'hui /Sociologists of yesterday and today/, 1950, 2nd edit., pp. 109 sq. The slightly

/338 cont./

121 /footnote 1 continued/ different term that
613 we employ seems to us to correspond better
594 to the reality described. Its definition is no
less opposed, in the fashion indicated by G.
Davy, to the patriarchal family.

and, in second place, of the conjugal family more and more precise foundations and a progressively lighted background.

The familial life is par excellence the meeting place for the
most diverse orders of facts: magic, folklore, mode, positive
right, morality, religion. The demarcation between them is
594 tenuous. Which of them to choose as the most revealing? Now,
613 for the Seksawa it is the familial law that refers most to Mussul-
183 man ethics. It wants to recognize only the individual person and
refer in everything to the norms of the fiqh. Truthfully speaking,
it is a matter of a theoretical profession rather than of a real
practice. An ideal result, if one wishes, but one that this society
intends for itself. A point of arrival also, if one bears in mind
that the constructions of the past disclose, to the extent that one
can investigate them, something quite different. But when to date
the change? And was there change for an appreciable period?

594 The first approach of our inquiry gave on that, and precisely
613 in what concerns the mountain societies, results of a nature to in-
spire prudence. The habitat, the style of life, and even the food
appeared to us as clearly divided on the echelon of the conjugal
family. Let us then be led by the observable actuality to an
initial approximation of the fleeting social reality that forms the
subject of this chapter. Like the usager, one will concentrate
one's attention on the conjugal family, takat, genealogically
linked to the common ancestor of all the other families of the
ikhs. Let us define the latter as a "differentiated agnatic family,"
ending in the individual — man or woman — as subject of rights.
613 The ikhs itself is suppressed in the shadows, along with the other
bases of all that has not become an institution approved by the
commune and subjected to the stamp of the written word. But it
sometimes also crops out on the plane of the judicial dispute. On

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613 the occasion of plural oaths, it is the most closely drawn circle of agnates that is invited to confer on the litigant its balance /Fr. appoint/. 613 423 Conservative mechanisms, such as the chchfâa or the habous /wakf/, are applied to maintain or re-establish a patrimonial immutability, less familial in the narrow sense than gentilitial, against any land alienation or leasing. The /339/ ancient act to which one party, the açl, will allege an exception, and which has the more worth as it becomes older, many times consists of a simple unilateral affirmation of the land rights of the ancestor. The genealogical tree, chchajara, and the successoral distribution, lmirath, archival documents manifesting the agnatic continuity, play a decisive role in the proceedings. An instinct for reconstitution stands in opposition to the dispersive force of inheritances and personal enterprise. Between rich cousin and poor cousins, it animates and obscurely justifies these takings and retakings that tradition and opinion liken less to usurpation than to escheat or a sort of permanent revenge between rightful co-claimants. This alone justifies and authorizes the existence of a gentilitial agrarian order.

613 671 All the effort of the jurisprudence, were it that of the great cadis of the Sous, has been dedicated to serving rather than amending this situation. It is that the ikhs thrust itself, with all its attachments of public law, upon the private law. Conjugal foyers on the one side, city on the other are pendant, one might say, on the two sides of the ikhs. In it is their point of junction, on each side of which profoundly different social rhythms reign. On the one side kinship and alliance, justiciable to the memory of the living, and finding their practical application in each successoral dispute. This is the reign of the writing. On the other side, larger and larger classifications are drawn up in echelon from the ikhs to the smallest political unit, the taqbilt, and from there perhaps to the great legendary divisions of North Africa: Maçmûda, Zenâta, etc. There the reign of unwritten law begins.

At the antipode of this gentilitial life, here is the individual person. Not only is it the single subject in the eyes of the law,

/339 cont./
613 but the displays or the subterfuges that the old Chleuh /Shluh/
671 procedure has been prodigal with to maintain against it some-
thing of the old solidarities are in sum only a trifle in compari-
son with the primacy that it holds for the mores. One will see
this notably in the matter of the division of acquests and of
matrimonial customs. In both cases, the "patriarchal" and
statutory character gives way to an individual and contractual
character more pronounced than any analogous one that can be
observed in the alleged Islamic model. In this matter the
Chleuh /Shluh/ system goes beyond the fiqh. The influence of
the gentilitial organizations, although combated by orthodoxy,
its notariate and its conception of personal rights, could resist
them, but not prevail over a powerful local tradition, that of
egalitarian computation between conjoints, parents and children.
These three influences have nevertheless interfered, and all three
are to be found, although to unequal degrees, in the different
sectors of the familial institution.

/340/ Morphology of Marriage in Seksawa

584 Each year, at the feast of the Mîlâd, young men and young
[796] women from the surroundings stream to the holy place of Z'init'.
The attraction is exerted as far as in Mentaga to the S., up to the
^{c}Abda to the N. It is the market for wives. Couples, who only
rarely ask for the parents' approval, form according to their sym-
pathies. In certain cases, however, the fiancée "presents" her
fiancé to her family, which goes to accompany him home. Most
often, it is necessary to say, the unions have nothing at all that
could satisfy the moralist. "But," as an amghar of the Seksawa
[776] told me, "one must believe that the saint delights in it, for her
[778] baraka guarantees the prosperity of these marriages and makes up
for the sometimes considerable delays of the usual betrothals."
[582] This market for girls, especially dear to the plains Arab wooers
who come here to choose a montagnard woman to their liking, has
lasting fruits. The single village of Z'init' has at the present
time three of its women who have married sanctimoniously into
the single H'mer tribe.

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581 That is, however, a sort of exception, of reminder. In fact, in spite of a great ceremonial richness, marriage here no longer offers any trait that would reveal, at least on the plane of the law, collective conditionings. In the eyes of the local jurists, this whole part of their institutions draws its inspiration closely from the fiqh (1).

[114] 1. In this sense, cf. J. Lafond, Les sources du droit coutumier dans le Sous /The sources of the customary law in the Sous/, 1948, pp. 25 sq., and, in an Islamizing sense naturally indicated even more, the nikâh' chapters in the works of an-Nâçirî, ar-Rasmûkî, al-^{c}Abbâsî, etc.

Such a profession, assuredly exact if one clings to the judiciary plane, is less so for one who considers the mores, the tensions that they express, the images that they suggest. What part to give to the one and to the other of these two modes of perceiving, each reflecting a different level of reality? The inquiry by Westermarck (2), [114]

2. E. Westermarck, Les cérémonies du mariage au Maroc /Marriage ceremonies in Morocco/, 1921, and the numerous allusions to the Moroccan institution made in the other works by this author. On the method of W., see Lévi-Strauss, "L'oeuvre de W. /The works of Westermarck/," R. d'hist. des Religions, No. 1, 1945. E. Westermarck was struck by the Moroccan institutions to the point that his Histoire du mariage /History of marriage/, for example, tr., 2nd ed., makes broad appeals to them, and not always happy ones. Cf., for example, what he says about the famous Night of error (t. I, pp. 121 sq.). Interesting remarks

/340 cont./

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/footnote 2 continued/ on courtship (t. II, p. 205 sq.), marriage by flight (t. IV, pp. 49 sq.), marriage by exchanges of fiancées, which is the ante-Islamic chighâr (t. IV, pp. 90 sq.). E. Doutté, Marrakech /Marrakesh/, 1905, pp. 331 sq., gives a remarkable description of marriage in Reh'âmna. He cites, same page, n. 2, an exhaustive bibliography for his time and for Morocco.

which one has the good fortune to have available in the second of these two domains, is of little help here, in spite of the /341/ suggestive prospects that it opens here and there. It in fact neglects morphological analysis and in the end contributes only a collection of traits more valuable for a general comparativism than for an examination of a localized institution in its relations with the milieu. 581 121 The account below will attempt to combine, according to the dosage that reality itself offers, the point of view of the local jurist, who already codifies and elaborates, with that of the usagers who know law only by what they see and experience of it. Tendency toward normalization and emotive participation, the one individualist and rational, the other of an entirely communitarian spirit, but cropping out in the law, will equally have room in our curiosity. To the one as well as to the other, one will try to give a just part in this overly schematic account, which is resigned to neglecting the varieties between groups.

584 /The rest of this section is in small type in the original source./ Seksawa marriage includes several phases, the succession of which is punctuated by ceremonies.

a) the asghurt, "prenuptial stage," is a period of frequentation preliminary to cohabitation. It is of indefinite duration.

Inaugurating it are:

1) the id'ilâb, "request" solemnized by the sacrifice of an animal and
2) the agreement of the fiancée and the two families, sanctioned by a meal in common;

/341 cont./

584 3) the feast called *asghurt*: it gives to the ensemble its name, which etymologically evokes a "ritual cry."

Beyond the presents handed over on this occasion, arising from an economy of the gift and of the feasting, the young man owes to the girl during this period clothing and ornaments, according to the customary modalities. He contributes to her support at the domicile of her parents. In exchange, she owes him a certain intimacy in general not total, and joins him in various practices bringing into play age classes and rites of passage: young people's feasts and evenings, applications of henna. The unilateral rupture of this state by the young woman entails on her part the obligation to give back the gifts and expenses incurred.

585 b) The "nuptials," *tameghra*, include a ritual part, a statutory part, and a conventional part.

Ritual part:

1) The *tarzift*: the delivery of propitiatory gifts by the young man to his parents-in-law, giving rise to a "procession," and sometimes to simulated pillage;

2) the processional conveyance of the young woman to the marital house, this is the *âid n-tslit*;

3) the exposition of the dotal contribution of the bride, the *âid uruku*;

4) the utterance of the *fâtih'a*, Koranic formula accompanied by wishes of good augury;

/342/ 5) The consummation: this is the *âid ukechchum*, sanctioned, if it is a matter of a virgin, by the yo-ho /Fr. *youyou*/ of the matron on duty, *taghorit*, and a new gift, *lh'aqq n-ççbâh'*.

Statutory part:

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1) Conclusion of the *amerwas*: promise by the bridegroom to the bride to have to pay her, in case of dissolution of the marriage, a sum uniformly fixed by the custom of each tribe, and varying from one to the other: in Seksawa, 6.50 for a virgin, 3.25 for a nonvirgin;

/342 cont./

585 [428] 2) Right henceforth acquired by the wife to her part of inheritance anticipated by the law, that is, half of one part of the male heir, conforming to the fiqh. Her right to the acquests remains dependent on an extension of one year of common life.

Conventional part (and facultative in principle):

1) The chchard', "stipulated marriage settlement" by the bridegroom for the benefit of the bride;
2) The taking in charge, by the same, of the jihaz, "contribution of the bride into the community."

[788] [779] An official report of these conventions is drawn up in this case by literate men when the fâtih'a is pronounced; this is the only moment when an atmosphere of religious law reigns. A moment short and eccentric, in the proper sense of the term.

c) The "conjugal state," litihal. Its first aspect, to which are attached magical, sentimental, and moral notions, is that of cohabitation and procreation.

585 421 Under its second aspect, which is that of a society of work, it includes the right of the woman to her share of acquests (tizzla) among the other participants in the familial society (imezzalen), in equality with each of the latter, men or women, and once the deduction has been made for the contribution of the ones and the others. The marital contribution counts officially for a half out of the ensemble of acquests. That is a patrimonial praecipuum.

[562] The woman's right to her share is regarded as the counterpart of the tasks that custom imposes on her, according to a rigorous discrimination with regard to those that fall to the men. Today it is likewise regarded as compensation for the statutory modicity of the amerwas. This, however, is undoubtedly a reinterpretation.

586 562 d) "Dissolution," uluf. The repudiation pronounced by the man is always definitive. The woman's liberation is authorized by the delivery of a document, tabrat, which she often requests by the judiciary route at the same time as her share of acquests. The woman may, as in the fiqh, judicially request the dissolution of the marriage on grounds (cruelty, impotence, etc.), submitted

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586 562 to the evaluation of the magistrates. But in Seksawa she can obtain it on simple incompatability, which constitutes an exorbitant originality in relation to the fiqh.

As an orf judge said, only the woman may be the judge of the d'd'arar ddakhili, that is, "hidden objections." An original vein of protective tenderness with regard to daughters and sisters circulates here in /343/ the customs. It is so notable that, the regularization of this practice having been brought about by tribal deliberation in 1949, the jemâa unanimously, with one exception, manifested its formal agreement. The isolated one was from the Bas /Lower/ Seksawa. A man from Arab confines.

Comparison with Orthodox Marriage

585 171 While there can be no question here of a historical comparison between the Chleuh /Shluh/ institution and the Mussulman institution, as it is presented in theory on the one hand, in Moroccan practice on the other, one immediately notices certain differences.

First of all, a difference of profile in time. The conclusion of the orthodox nikâh' is sanctioned by the payment of at least a part of the çadâq /ṣadāq/. This is incontestably its point of departure. 584 171 Nothing is less true of Chleuh /Shluh/ marriage, where the nuptials are preceded by what I have called a prenuptial stage, which is not always today, and in any case seems not to have been formerly, exclusive of the sexual act. But let us not dwell on this question; it could be suitably treated only in the perspectives of the Berbère /Berber/ comparativism that a recently opened controversy over "Kabyle betrothal" (1)

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584 171 114 1. I am thinking of the malicious criticisms by G.-H. Bousquet, Justice française et coutumes kabiles /French justice and Kabyle customs/, 1950, p. 63. If, however, on a juridical plane, they appear decisive, I wonder if the question would not merit being thoroughly examined on the plane of general ethnology. A. Magdelain,

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/footnote 1 continued/ Essai sur les origines de la sponsio /Essay on the origins of the sponsion/, 1943, p. 104, finds in very ancient Roman law an opposition between the "betrothal," more conservative form, more imbued with magic rites and with the notion of patria potestas, and "marriage," individualized and consensual form. In Rome, however, the juridical tie of the betrothal fell into decadence early. Similarly in Mussulman law the institution's point of departure in time, in the juridical sense of the term, is the fâtih'a. Nevertheless in Chleuh /Shluh/ law the frequency of litigations that we would call "breach of promise of marriage" is significant, and at the very least covers the notion of a juridical state already established anterior to the pronouncement of the fâtih'a. This is what I call the prenuptial stage, by allusion to practices of this order fallen to the level of simple folklore in certain European milieus, for example. Cf. Van Gennep, Manuel de folklore français /Manual of French folklore/, 1943, t. I, pp. 226 sq., 249, 259. In the Berbère /Berber/ domain itself, it would not be adventurous to compare this phase of "frequentation," where the daughter remains at the home of her parents, with such a trait of Touareg /Tuareg/ marriage: "custom requires that the newly married live near the parents of the woman for a year," M. Benhazera, Six mois chez les Touaregs du Ahaggar /Six months with the Tuareg of the Ahaggar/, 1908, p. 18. In Morocco itself, the Moyen /Middle/ Atlas knows different practices dependent on a conjugal life first paired with work at the home of the parents, according to the Biblical theme of Jacob at the house of Laban. This is the custom of the amhares. Something analogous among the ait ᶜAt't'a of the Sahara,

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584 171 114 /footnote 1 continued/ according to de Ligniville. G. Marcy, *Le droit coutumier Zemmour* /The Zemmour customary law/, 1949, too quickly ranks under the name of *tiddukla*, "compagnonnage" /Fr. *compagnonnage*, time of service as journeyman after apprencticeship/, some traits of this sort (p. 7). Same reproach to be made concerning his discussion of the theory of H. Basset, drawn from the uniformity of the *alig* in a. Sadden, a. Warain, a. Seghruchen, B. Mgild, Zayân, etc. (pp. 8 sq. and 9, n. 4).

584 171 renders rather inconclusive in the case at hand.

What is undeniable, on the contrary, is that the Chleuh
581 /Shluh/ marriage /*344*/ is a society of egalitarian production (1),
where each rightful claimant, women included, contributes his
capital and his work. The capital of the woman is the *jihaz*, and
her share of acquests, the *tizzla*. Nothing similar in Arab coun-
581 171 tries. At Fès /Fez/, for example, the mores indeed force a
bourgeois who is marrying off his daughter to give her a "marriage
settlement," called *chuwâr* or *tajhîz*, of an amount equal to
double the part of the *çadâq* paid immediately. But this is a
sumptuary liberality which turns round as a threat of forfeiture in
case of repudiation. Assuredly not, as in the Sous, a society that
[181] invests itself. Ostentatious economics and tension between great
families, such is the climate of Fès; modest and meticulous community of work, such is that of the Sous. The meaning of the practice differs completely from one case to the other, but from the one to the other, it is true, no solution of continuity, and sometimes use of homonyms to designate quite dissimilar forms.

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1. J. Berque, "Les *Ajwiba* d'al-^{c}Abbâsî /The *Ajwiba* of al-^{c}Abbâsî/," *R. al.*, 1950, §§1 sq., and notes. Nothing more instructive than the difficulty of the orthodox jurist in order to justify the aberrant solutions of the milieu.

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585 675 171 Even more instructive is the indefinite bringing forward of the payment of this amerwas, deemed to correspond to the çadâq. It is known that in fiqh at least a part of the çadâq must be paid in cash. Absolutely not in the Sous. The fact that the payment of the amerwas as regards the totality is to be postponed there until the dissolution of the marriage: 1) clearly dissociates it from the consummation of the marriage, and thus even removes it from its orthodox role of canonical purifier of the sexual act (2); 2) leads one to seek in other traits of Chleuh /Shluh/ marriage the veritable inaugural formalities.

The invariability of the amerwas in one and the same tribe (3)

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[192] 2. And nevertheless a "marabout" jurist such as an-Nâçirî, Ajwiba, ms. of the zaouia of the Mez'ud'a, p. 40, 1. 14, must consider that the indefinite carrying forward of the integrality of the çadâq (in this case the amerwas) is without inconvenience and does not render the marriage illicit.

[586] Let us recall — without, of course, wishing to establish a comparison — that Moroccan Hebraic law brings these diverse notions together under the name of kitubba. The latter, quite like the Berbère /Berber/ amerwas, is demandable only in case of dissolution of the marriage. The "forfeiture" aspect is moreover more pronounced it it. Cf. on the kitubba, E. Malka, "La constitution du douaire par contrat de mariage /The constitution of the marriage settlement by marriage contract/," Revue marocaine de droit, 1952, pp. 209 sq.

3. Westermarck has already noted it, Les cérémonies du mariage au Maroc /Marriage ceremonies in Morocco/, 1921, pp. 61, 67. He even gives a

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585 675 171 [586] /footnote 3 continued/ remarkable example: that of the Glâwa, where his quantum varies according to the subgroups (p. 62). In case of flight by the married woman, the rate of compensation varies, he writes, according to the tribes or the subdivision of tribes (pp. 57 sq.). The Arab jurists cite the practice of an invariable çadâq as tainted by Bedouinism. Cf. at-Tasûlî, Comm. Tuh'fa /Commentary of the Tuh'fa/, 1355 ed., t. I, p. 247, 1. 6 sq., and 27 sq., with citation of this Abû ᶜAlî whom we always find as revealer of Moroccan authenticity: lâ yuzâdu ᶜalay-hi li-jamâli-ha wa lâ yanquçu li-qubh': "beauty or ugliness is of no importance," the famous cadi says, smiling a little!

is the second of the characteristics that set it opposite the çadâq. The amount of the /345/ latter in Arab countries is not statutory, but contractual. But has it always been the same? Here again we find, attested to by the jurists, an ancient Bedouin stage, where the practice of a çadâq, invariable and payable only upon the dissolution of the marriage, would have been general at a certain time, since authorities as scattered as Ibn ᶜArafa (Tunis), al-Qawrî (Fès), and cadis of Sijilmâsa are cited with respect to this (1).

1. At-Tasûlî, Comm. de la Tuh'fa, 1355, t. I, p. 250, 1. 4 sq.

Indications Concerning the Anterior State

675 585 586 121 In any case, the uniformity and modicity of the amerwas, its liaison, not at all with the consummation, but indeed with the dissolution of the marriage, lead, at least for the Chleuh /Shluh/ group, to the hypothesis that it may be a matter here of an element superposed, perhaps by way of authority, upon an

/345 cont./
675 autochthonous institution, survivals of which are to be found in
585 the *asghurt* and where it would as yet be only incompletely dis-
586 solved. The comparison of the institutions only ends in an im-
121 passe there, for we are back to the historical problem of the
penetration of the *fiqh* in this region of Morocco.

779 To the dossier, still quite light, of this discussion, I shall
792 bring only one contribution, but precise and datable: this is a
175 text taken from the *Nawâzil* of the Cheikh /Sheik/ Mah'ammad
585 ibn Nâçir (d. 1674), master of a great religious brotherhood, and
675 initiator from the Moroccan South.

/The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ The Cheikh married persons who had come to rely on him. He began by questioning two among them, who were of the same tribe, on the amount of the *çadâq* in their country at the same time as on their matrimonial usage. After many silences, they answered him, "We are of your faith and your flock. Do what you judge good to do." "As for us," said the Cheikh, "our practice is simple. I myself once gave one of my female relatives in marriage without asking for anything more than a dish of couscous for the clerks. Such was in fact the custom of our ancestors. But I have reformed it and abandoned it in order to adhere to the *sunna* of the Prophet. Our present practice is one of the simplest, be it a matter of the banquet or of the *çadâq*. I have fixed the latter at three *mithqâl*-s of money by weight." He then added: "Where is the representative of the husband?" He was pointed out to him. He then requested witnesses, and when they were before him, in the presence of the representative of the woman, he declared: "Praise God. We praise Him and by Him we guide ourselves. Witness that I have married such-and-such a daughter of so-and-so and such-and-such a son of so-and-so, both from such-and-such a country, within the rights and stipulations of the woman, the *sunna* of the Prophet, and against legitimating *çadâq* (2)."

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2. Mah'ammad b. Nâçir ad-Dar^{c}î, *Ajwiba*, ms. of the zaouia of the Mez'ud'a, p. 40, 1. 11 sq.

779 792 175 585 675 /346/ This took place in the middle of the seventeenth century. It is a matter of a pious personage, a holy man and converter. His family is from the Drâ, from which the Saâdians had surged forth in the preceding century in an intense religious and martial fermentation. Let us not take this evidence for anything other than what it is: an isolated trait in the present state of the examinations. But, as such, it does not cease to be disturbing, as much by what it reveals of the practices of the period as by its orthodoxy, still of a bizarre taste.

175 584 But do we not find the trace of former organizations in the Z'init' fair for wives? According to some evidence from the fourteenth century, the saint camped surrounded by two separate groups: the women and the men. It is not impossible that this was an indication of a classificatory rite.
584 [796] [782] Even now the promise exchanged by the fiancés during the exaltation of the feast and the sacrifice near the tomb of Lalla Aziza creates an irremissible obligation. A man from the Gedmiwa who had ventured to escape from it was found a few years ago hung in his room. Trace of former collective functions? The written sources impose a salutary lesson of prudence over this point in the hypothesis.

585 675 175 /The following three paragraphs are in small print in the original source./ An act of 916 Heg.: 1510, and one which offers some interest by reproducing this hapax that seems to have been, since Ibn Khaldûn, the name of the Genfisa, is a marriage contract, drawn up according to the habitual pomp of the style of the city. It anticipates a çadâq of 200 dinars, an unheard-of sum for the period. To which are added clothes, jewels, slave. The total is taken care of by the father of the husband, along with the production of real guarantees. A naqd is paid. There are stipulated as the responsibility of the husband, a curious thing in testimony emanating from such an ancient and supposedly such a rough milieu, "pleasantness in relations, the instruction of the woman in her religion, and in attention to the good." This text, by the style, the content, and, one might say, the sentiment, is discordant in these remote cantons.

Another act, more recent, and coming from the great family of the upper valley, this haunt of authenticity that the a. D'alh'a

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585 are. It dates from 1299 Heg.: 1824. The formulary perfection is
675 even more marked here: beginning eulogies in rhymed prose,
175 wishes of benediction and good augury, favorable description of the
two married people. The ṣadâq is some 50 mithqâl-s in money,
ᶜabbâsiyya.

Another contract, of which use has already made, and which is from 1042 Heg.: 1630, also carries a ṣadâq high in cash and kind. It is true that it is a matter of a young lord, ach-chaykh ach-châbb, a singular expression that undoubtedly sets one on the track of understanding.

It is evident that a particular style: literary wording, numerical hyperbole, care taken in preserving the document, must have presided over the marriage agreements insofar as they /347/ escaped statutory banality. In other words, it must have been a matter of exceptional cases: the sons and daughters of chiefs or marabouts, emerging from the milieu, but that cannot infirm statistically the general rule. Such testimony does not only reflect a characteristic variety. Basic contrasts have been able to force their way out at all times in the mountains, between the villein and the lord, the traditionalist and the odd person, the impious and the scholar. The milieu had to find an escape from the dissatisfactions caused by the inequality of culture or fortune.

585 However that may be then, not only in the division of the ac-
[562) quests, but even, in certain cases, in the matter of the nuptial
gift, the Seksawa woman knows an eminent economic dignity.
One has seen above how the institution went beyond the Mussulman
pattern, upon which, after the event, it was desired to model it. It
went beyond it as much in the ceremonial richness, magico-
juridical foundations, statutory egalitarianism, as in the contrac-
585 tual acuity. Nothing makes the originality of the system stand out
171 better than its opposition to another system, the Kabyle one (1).

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1. Essentially Hanoteau and Letourneux, La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles /Kabylia and Kabyle customs/, 1873, t. II, pp. 148 sq., and the criticism of it by G.-H. Bousquet,

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/footnote 1 continued/ *Justice française et coutumes kabiles* /French justice and Kabyle customs/, 1950, pp. 48 sq. What is striking in the stage described by H.-L. is the nullity of the woman's rights, not only concerning what would correspond to acquests, but even concerning the "nuptial price," *taâmamt* or *tutchit*, which I translate thus provisionally, for lack of anything better, and even concerning the conventional supplements, or *chrut'*. What is called *cedak'* in Kabylia (H.-L., *ibid*., p. 162) is in sum only a facultative marriage settlement handed over by the parents and deemed equal to renunciation of inheritance. The powers of the husband are exorbitant, since they sometimes include beyond the grave a sort of right of retention, *taâllak'ith* (*ibid*., p. 156), and, in case of repudiation, a negotiable power of interdiction, capable of rendering the woman *thamaouok't* (p. 178), etc.

which one would imagine to be quite close to it by reason of so many analogies in the habitat and the public law. Now what is striking in the Kabyle system is its brutal masculinity, its negation of any bilateral equity in the status of the conjoints. In the eyes of the French reformer this is a permanent scandal, but a very resistant scandal, against which up to now one has been able to do very little. That speaks of its profound adherence to the milieu.

Let us content ourselves with this brief reference to another Maghrebi law, in order to make the balanced character and the moral value of the Seksawa type stand out. And the comparison will have another advantage: that of dissuading the investigator from calling on a hypothetical common basis of Berbère /Berber/

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institutions in order to account for their originality (2).

2. The comparison with the neighboring Ud Bessebâ^c is characteristic. The "masculinity" of their mores is so marked that the woman often gives up the rights that the fiqh gives her, such as, for example, the /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ food allowance for the children. To tell the truth, the Moroccan ^{c}Amal has naturally registered as a "Bedouin" practice the calculation of an indemnity corresponding to the si^{c}âya of the woman, that is, to her comings and goings outside the house. This is what is called the kidd and what the cadis willingly apply to Berbère /Berber/ tribes subject to the chra^c /Sharira/, such as the Mtugga and the Mez'ud'a.

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The Family In Time

613 Under such a rubric will be grouped aspects that a classification excessively steeped in our manuals would study successively by the titles of filiation, the state of persons, guardianship, successoral status, adoption, and foundation (1).

1. This is what is done by J. Lafond, Les sources du droit coutumier dans le Sous /The sources of customary law in the Sous/, 1948, pp. 47 sq.

This family in time, which is also, as one has seen, a family in space, is the ikhs. Now its traits appear only in the form of twists or of subterfuges, of flights from the fiqh. This is, moreover, a classic method, but here one whose coherence, obstinacy as

/348 cont./
613 though encircled, stubbornness goaded by scruples scarcely have an analogue elsewhere in North Africa.

The agnatic law in fact among the Seksawa collides not only
613 with the Mussulman adherence, but with the notarial genre. No
779 part of their system is dominated more by the *fiqh*, that is to say,
178 in this case by the formularies. That is to be understood from the
671 writing's having come, with its prestige, to support and at the same time to distort the memory of the group. Whence a very curious technological richness: under the names of *tenzil*, *istirkab*, *assyas*, *tarikt*, *tabanni*, *waçiyya*, *ççadaqa*, is refined and specified, but always in terms of the writing, a juridical personality that, in the matter of matrimonial law, as has been seen, was always able to remain exorbitant of abstract schemata. Nothing surprising in this contrast. In the adaptation to the *fiqh*, this part of the system, out of lack or perhaps out of excess of original substance, has shown more resistance and at the same time more docility than the rest.

613 More docility, vulnerability, because the development of the act, portative justification, individual weapon, mobilizable property, found in the contractual sense of the milieu an unheard-of adjuvant. By that it easily outweighed all the other mnemonic methods and benefited from the overwhelming superiority that writing manifested when it was a matter of fixing a time, a name, a circumstance. But more resistance also, for the permanence of the *ikhs*, the profound accent of its life remain inseparable from its material support, inconceivable without its articulation with the /349/ agrarian structures and, more broadly, with the physical and moral rhythms of these societies. This point has already been studied. We shall return to it in the chapter devoted to the landed-property law, apropos institutions such as the habous /wakf/ and the *ççadaqa*.

178 Thus, since the generalization of writing in the Atlas during the sixteenth century, a divergent evolution has been produced, separating from each other, at the very least in the mode of expression, the two faces of the local genius. It has sharpened, by a technique incessantly more active, fortified by a mass of

/349 cont./
178 archives incessantly more abundant, instincts of litigious individualism.
It has driven back into the background, on the other hand, although without abolishing the force of them, these landowner bases of the family that link it by degrees to the great classificatory entities of the country. Such a rupture was serious. Generator of deeper and deeper conflicts, it will end up being fatal for the local personality. It has not yet been so for the Seksawa family, at least where no external factor has come, as in a. Abdella, to make the forces of breakup prevail.

212 But everything has become a notarial affair. The village
t't'aleb, with functions quite laden with communal virtue, it is
671 true, has become the artisan and, in certain respects, the arbiter
178 of the juridical permanence of the group. The continuity of the
[538] latter in time has certainly lost in part original modes of expression
such as — one can at least imagine it — the heroic legend or choral poetry. It is no longer expressed except under the abstract schemata of the act, of the formulary. But it has brought to it its competitive fervor and its sense of olden times. To the point that these acts have proliferated immensely, the mountains have become a library of charters, and all this literature has even known there a historical density inconceivable in the Morocco of the plains, or the so-called cities of written law.

613 How distorting a mode of expression! Of itself it caused the
671 essential to escape. By law of genre, it transposed and mutilated
what it allowed to pass. Of the two faces of the familial law, the one that concerns the group and the land, on the one hand, the one that concerns the contentious individuals, on the other hand, only the second could thus show through, and yet at the price of
613 stylizations. However that may be, and with these reservations,
671 such archives can restore, across several centuries, the permanence
of families. It is thus that the name of the principal ikhs-s
178 and their disposition, still present, appear throughout the last four
centuries in the acts called inçâf, "repressive tariffication," but in which we can already observe that they express a right, not gentilitial, but communal.

613 175 [623] /350/ /The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ Here is an act of 1168 Heg.: 1755. It concerns the jemâa of Ad'erdur (Idma). It specifies the ikhs of each of the personages mentioned: A. Abbû, a. Ikru, a. Ighechchi (today: a. Dris), a. Arbâi (today Ichâwiyin), Azarra (disappeared), a. Bjikko (disappeared), a. Bajja. 613 178 That is, 8 ikhs-s as opposed to only 6 today, among which one finds the a. Ikru, a. Uchâwi, a. Dris, a. Bakkin. Two have disappeared. Others have dissolved and are no longer counted as ikhs-s. The laws of these evolutions would merit a monographic analysis, which cannot be undertaken here. Roughly, these ikhs-s, each of which furnished an assistant for the chief of the village, are still the same as in our day. Examples of such permanence, unheard of with regard to the incertitudes of the Morocco of the plains, would be indefinitely renewable.

594 671 It is true that there we are fully in public law. The atmosphere is quite different as soon as one passes to acts concerning the conjugal family: and the latter is alone to appear here either at the moment of its constitution by marriage or on the occasion of all the acts implying its exercise or its perpetuation.

597 671 [171] "Adoption," assyas, tabannî, constitutes a first divergence with the orthodox system. One thus sees crop up on the plane of sworn law a form that elsewhere in North Africa has remained on that of suppletory custom (1).

1. Cf. G.-H. Bousquet and R.-P. Demeerseman, "L'adoption dans la famille tunisienne /Adoption in the Tunisian family/," R. afr., 1937.

It is nevertheless rare in Seksawa, and these lateral modes of augmentation of the family are far from assuming there the same importance as elsewhere. The strict adaptation to the fiqh has eliminated here the interferences between the pacts of work or of alliance and filiation, so characteristic of the Moyen /Middle/ Atlas. An effect, let us say, of "acculturation." The Seksawa system diverges from the fiqh on another point. One knows that in the latter representation does not exist. Trace perhaps of an

597 671 [428] /350 cont./ Trace perhaps of an old principle of magical continuity; the succession is broken by the lack of a link: the grandson does not inherit from the grandfather if the latter has survived the father. In the orthodoxy itself diverse subterfuges have obviated the rigor of this principle. But they have known limitations to which the Seksawa system was not bound any more than its recourse to "substitution," tenzîl, istirkâb, remained in the statistically restricted proportions of the Mussulman institution. But the true problem was elsewhere.

593 671 [881] The great event of the Seksawa family is the arrival of the child, boy or girl, at nubility, which makes him a co-operator. Questions are then found posed, which are all resolved, a remarkable thing, in a spirit, not of patriarchal indivision, but of /351/ accountancy. In effect, filiation creates rights at the same time as it does parents, and indeed beyond the mere capacity to inherit.

593 421 First, a right to benefit from the familial society, and from the share of acquests proceeding from it; over and above this, for the daughter, there is the right to the "dotal marriage settlement," jihaz, to the "trousseau," aruku, at the time of marriage, to maintenance in case of widowhood or need. The son's economic autonomy is accentuated again by the practice of seasonal or permanent emigration. Finally, the separation of the goods, separation of usufruct and administration at the very least, is frequently obtained by the children even during the lifetime of the father. The act then takes the form of a habous, of a ççadaqa or of a waçiyya. It is an anticipated testament in which often figures the strange stipulation by the constituent of a reserve for his benefit, which seems to imply immediate disseizin of the rest.

593 421 175 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ Thus in 1028 Heg.: 1619, at Alus, in Idaw Geryun, a fiqh /sic/ of the a. Umgan and his wife make a donation, çadaqa, to their grandchildren, of a property from which they exclude a "margin": the parcel of Taglagelt.

Again at Alus, an act of 1061 Heg.: 1651 describes the distribution of a patrimony among brothers. They operate with all the guarantees of technique and equity: "full agreement,

/351 cont./

593 421 175 evaluations, drawing of lots, convention, measuring." Moreover, the distribution is performed "in front of the jemâa, with the reed, according to the boundaries and by the drawing of lots, and followed by the taking of possession in the presence and under the auspices, bi-wajh, of the father." The latter reserves for himself, the same as the mother, a margin, h'âchiya. All this under the presidency of the grandfather, the chaykh /sheik/ Sa^{c}îd b. ^{c}Abdallah. Patriarchal ambiance, but careful about preconstituted proofs, communitarian, but accountable. This double aspect of the Chleuh /Shluh/ institution stands out nearly everywhere.

593 421 Such a practice, in which both the patrimonial permanence and the autonomy of the person are combined, passes only distorted into the acts to which it gives rise. A discordance breaks out at this place between the juridical base and the form that it has assumed: the latter depends on the free disposition, indeed even the liberality, of the father; but it is not very probable that this tie expresses the authentic climate. The latter is indeed one of a veritable right exercised by the son over the father, still alive, in the name of a certain solidarity among them all concerning the ancestral patrimony, and with a view toward freeing the initiative of each rightful claimant in the realization of the "augments," zawâid (1).

1. It happened this very year that in Demsira, taqbilt of the Irohalen, some children came to claim against their father, still alive, the right to divide /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ the land. One finds, in another Moroccan domain, this attempt having passed to the stage of jurisprudence, R. J. cout., No. 2, 1951, pp. 8 sq. (B. Zeggu of Ahermoumou).

To amass, to round out the plot by /352/ progressively nibbling at the slope or the forest, to accumulate from generation to

/352 cont./

593 generation, like new sediments, humble advances that the labor
421 of man realizes, such is the peasant ideal that this classic form
of the proceedings reveals. Primus brings against Secundus a chchfâa resulting from the existence of a habous set up by his great-grandfather. The purchase consented to by the father of Primus, which Secundus is referring to, is then null. But Secundus demonstrates that the foundation only dealt with an area far smaller than the landed property now claimed and that such-and-such extensions were realized, after the habous, by the grandfather and the father. The discussion is then oriented toward verifications of the civil state of the parcels by the production of old "nominative inventories," jrida.

613 The division of labor between these familial co-operators
423 coincides most often with a landed-property indivision that may
branch out, over the lapse of several generations, indeed over the
whole history of an ikhs, into monstrous juridical arborescences.
[428] The woman inheriting, in principle, on the pattern of the fiqh,
the minors and incompetents are then found most often enlisted in vast agnatic solidarities, whose abuses find a corrective in the insecurity of established situations, imprescriptibility of rights, and criticism of origin to which this milieu untiringly delivers any possessions. Here again a sort of equilibrium at term is realized. In time it is true: and several generations sometimes pass before there is recovery. The disappearance of such-and-such individuals, of such-and-such families, by "extinction," for example, inqirâd', a theme that recurs quite often in the old acts, is not free from ending in the constitution of a certain margin of "goods without master," closely inventoried moreover in the consciousness of the group, and which, tacitly, are the appanage of the powerful of the day. Premium for individual appetites, and rudiment of a domainal one.

613 Thus individual depredation and communal constraint encircle
671 the life of the ikhs. The modern law of the Seksawa has perhaps
made out of the exuberance relations of action and of reaction established, on both sides of the ikhs, by these two rivals. Doubtlessly the gentilitial structure, evoked by unwritten laws of the

/352 cont./
613 agrarian order, has survived up to us. But on the juridical plane,
671 it has finally suffered, more than the group, from the invasion of
the notarial writing. And its contest with the economic chances
of the individual still endures, and becomes bitter. If it were
ever able — a stage /353/ quite hypothetical — to preside over a
form of this society where everything agreed harmoniously around
it, ritual autonomy of the patriarchal family, hagiology of ancestors, law of agnatic type, that collapsed long since. One has
[178] the impression that for four centuries at least, in the place of
what one can imagine of the ancient *ikhs*, the society has been
undone or, more exactly, redone (1).

[171] 1. These reactions of the group to the *gens*, sometimes by legislative means, are known in classical Antiquity, where they constitute in short the essential of "reforms" that intervene here and there. Durkheim has profoundly noted it, *Ann. soc.*, t. VI, pp. 324 sq., 373 sq., apropos the Athenian *genè* and *phylaî*. We shall return to this idea in our conclusions.

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Land Law

Double Character of This Law

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423 The maintenance of the agnatic group in its landed position
[128] will be the central motif of this chapter. But a total liberty of
landed-property operations surrounds this motif with a fringe of
lesser application or even of contradiction. In extreme cases
423 mobilization and alienation of the land intervene, and put in play
181 a passionate contractual individualism. This is an important
theme of these societies. It interferes with the one, no less important, of communitarian permanence. Both react constantly
with each other. Hence contrasts and antitheses, at which a
superficial view might stop, but we shall try to see if their

423 /354 cont./
181 existence is only picturesque chance or corresponds to something
historic.

423 Two adages, reproduced by the Chleuh /Shluh/ jurists, illus-
829 trate the two faces of the problem (1).

"The field," says as-Suktânî, "is, in the Sous, more essential than the house elsewhere." "Our fields," says an author from the Ammeln, "are our money. Therefore we use them as someone else would use money." How the permanent landowner-foundation of this society can arrive at a completely fiduciary mobility, this is what we are going to try to understand.

423 The space, I mean the irrigated and valorized space in which
this life moves, is madly exiguous. Figures have been given that
would illustrate to the eyes of the economist the fundamental
futility of it: something like a humanity upon flower pots! But
423 this very unsufficiency seems to have at all times contributed,
166 along with other factors, to the practice of emigration. Depar-
167 tures, seasonal or for a longer term, descents, coastal or deep-sea,
174 if I may venture to say it, to the plain, desertion before famine or
sickness, evacuation before the enemy, movements provoked by
distress or aggressiveness: quite an intense vibration of groups and
individuals is to be divined in the past. Whence these still /355/
identifiable deposits left by layers of vanished populations: a.
H'oggʷa, a. Ish'aq, a. Gasa in the Moyen /Middle/ and the Haut
/Upper/ Seksawa. Indications of a violent past, certainly. But
423 violence in itself alone does not explain everything. Landed-
425 property legitimacy is irreducible here. The best proof of this is
that in the case of military conquest the conqueror himself judges
his right insufficient as long as he has not succeeded, by long and
difficult negotiations, in consolidating his land expropriation by
regular purchase. Here are three examples of this.

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1. J. Berque, "Les Ajwiba d'al-ᶜAbbâsî /The Ajwiba of al-ᶜAbbâsî/," R. al., 1950, note to §10.

/355 cont./

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/The following three paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ Some a. Gasa titles were shown in 1948 on the occasion of a dispute bearing on lands situated between Z'init' and Jjgit. They came in support of a claim which did not hesitate to attack an occupation of at least a century and a half.

An act of 1234 Heg.: 1819 records an agreement among the a. H'adduyws on the subject of some property of the a. H'ogg^{W}a. The _jemâa_ proclaimed the unopposability of the habous to which the a. H'ogg^{W}a were pleading an exception in order to break up the landed-property alienations and leasings, even those consented to on the part of women, to which a conqueror referred.
691 Such a deliberation, which implies the existence of numerous and
423 argued litigations, attests to the fact that the a. H'ogg^{W}a, al-
425 though pursued by war and in fact dispossessed, are always regarded as the origin of all landed-property rights, and that it is necessary to go back to them by regular purchases in order to justify a possession. The fact of eliminating the difficulty originating from habous in no way limits this preoccupation with origins; on the contrary, it confirms it, since it is only by purchases that the habous can be opposed. One thus sought to purchase.

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A third example is offered by a document of 1310 Heg.: 1894. A few years earlier the same a. H'adduyws had won the ground of Tasselli from the Idma. By ransom or counterattack the Idma recovered it. But certain _ikhs_-s were false, being on the side of the adversary. Their goods were then divided into portions awarded to the members of the coalition. This trait would seem to be in opposition to preceding ones. It is so only in appearance. The owner's legitimacy, if it resists eviction, may disappear because of certain errors solemnly attested to. A marabout of Assttif presided over the exclusion of the traitors. This is a sort of ostracism. Neither spoliation nor even civil sanction. The group, by an intense manifestation of its internal tension, re-established in their purity the bonds that attach it to its soil.

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175 This new element will have made the analysis progress. It
423 results from written testimony, and by no means from hypotheses
691 more or less subject to caution. It reveals, in the comings and
goings of the man, due to the difficulties of the times, a constancy
that attaches it to a ground, and is not without aspects of
a magico-religious order. This bond can survive the most violent
vicissitudes. On the condition, undoubtedly, that the name survives.
[103] The primacy and the extreme conservation /356/ of
toponyms in this part of the Atlas are perhaps the reason that this
persistent legitimacy can be observed here to a degree unequaled,
it seems, in the rest of North Africa.

The last of these acts also supplies an important element. It
is seen here that the equilibrium between the group and the ground
may undergo modifications because of the intervention of the
[613] group. Consequently who knows if the patrimonial representation
of the ikhs-s in the quarters does not reflect deliberate initiatives
and, in short, measures of application of the first law?

425 However that may be, permanence and agitations of the
landed life are fashioned according to figures that it will not be
from an overly systematic logic to call tied between them. Now
[436] the instrument of the exchanges here is money: that which is,
amassed on the spot and that which is fetched from the outside.
This is the double aspect of a monetarism that forms the unity
among the so-called contradictory, and at the very least contrasting,
aspects of the milieu. How these different economic or
moral factors are ordered is what we are now going to try to
elucidate.

Patrimonial Legitimacy Versus Possession

428 And first of all the notion of patrimony exists in this society.
The law, like the mores, expressly refers to it. This is the ddment
[192] (1).

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1. From the Arabic ad-dimna, plur. diman, "place smoked by the proximity of the

/356 cont./

428 [192] /footnote 1 continued/ habitations." This semantic derivation was perhaps inspired by the analogy of Berb. tamazirt, "cropland," a general term in a whole portion of this linguistic domain, along with amazir, "manure." Hanoteau and Letourneux seem to make a rapprochement between these two terms, La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles /Kabylia and Kabyle customs/, 1873, t. I, p. 414.

corresponding to a notarial word, ad-dimna, semantically strange. In the settlements of acquests, a praecipuum of a half is always subtracted as representing the portion of what we would call the "family property," if this latter term did not much more precisely express the Seksawa habous. A fatwa /futwa/ of 1220 Heg.: 1805 (Tamt'ddit) illustrates the antiquity of the practice. "The ^{c}orf," it states, "sets aside half the goods for the dimna, by analogy with the commandite where a part of the initial capital is reserved. The remainder is acquests and accrues to its sharers." This conservatism nevertheless lets fuse here and there forces of evasion, wishes for rupture. Such more or less aberrant circumstances have sometimes permitted personalities, either introduced or local, to seek to break this sort of immanence of the ikhs-s in their soil.

175 423 425 /357/ /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ Thus in 1147 Heg.: 1733 a "caid" from the piedmont, Lah'sen Twagga, implanting himself in the lower valley, affirmed: "All this land has never had a master — to one's knowledge — either in our time or under paganism or under Islam. It has not been reputed associated with anyone until the present Caid, the first, vivified it. And he vivified it in full by his means and those of his men. He put it in a state of "repletion" (^{c}imâra, in contrast to "desertic emptiness" or to "vacancy," khuluw). He remained there. He made a frequented bourg out of it. He dug a ditch there, not without setting apart a portion

/357 cont./

175 of it for the saints of the Seksawa, such as Lalla Aziza and the
423 H'ançaliyin, in conformity with ancestral usage. He planted it
425 with trees and sowed it with cereals, and surrounded it with an
enclosure," etc.

Much farther upstream, at Rekto Wasif, in 1011 Heg.: 1603, a cultivator required evidence that he had exercised usufruct over a piece of land "from the time of the sherif." The witness attests "to have participated in a twiza of fertilizer and other practices of tillage and harvest with the Ait Wasif."

423 But possession will never hold against the right of origin, the
671 basic legitimacy, açl. The fact is important enough to be the
171 object of deliberations and even of codifications. In effect it runs directly counter to Mussulman law. This conflict between the master and the disciple is striking. Indeed, despite the moral exigencies that bring it closer to our canonical law in its criticism of the vices of usurpation, violence, and even of precariousness, the Mussulman law causes to intervene the notion of a duration whose prolongation entails juridically the purge of these vices and constitutes in the long run the title of ownership. Moreover, its litigious and technical nature, making it confuse the right and its proof in most of the cases, leads it to confer upon the possessor the advantageous qualification of defendant, which very often will end the proceedings in his favor with a simple swearing of an oath. Nothing more remote from the Seksawa custom, where the burden of proof devolves on the possessor, and which is ignorant of any legitimating effect of duration.

423 Applied to the letter, the preponderance conferred on the
671 written title, by a technique so imperfect and offering so little in guarantees of authenticity, over ancient possession apparently leads to the worst of hazards. In fact, the "legitimation" of
[613] which the documents speak is the notoriety of the group attaching such revendication to the well-known patrimony of the ikhs. This genealogical consciousness of the group, tied to the structure of the ground, is what must be referred to in order to give an account of the customary rule of action that has become incomprehensible beneath its cloak of written law. Deliberations of this sort,

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423 denying any value to possession, have been /358/ found in Imt'd-
671 dan and in Idma. I have given elsewhere (1) the text and the translation of the second of these documents, which it seems useful to reproduce, as much for its basic interest as for an illustration of the singular disposition of these groups to legislate.

175 /The following six paragraphs are in small print in the orig-
423 inal source./ Copy (1348) of an act of rabīᶜnabawī 1266 Heg.:
671 1870. Be it known by these presents that in the custom of the
Idma country there can be no rights drawn from possession. The latter, even prolonged, does not constitute valid title.

It is only if the titulary of the possession establishes its origin: how the right to the property passed to him, and the proof of his entering into possession by sale, redemption, donation, inheritance, that his possession will be valid. The party arguing faulty sales, or redemption, will again claim his title, and the original right will return to its origin.

Consequently, possession legally requires from the one who argues for it a legitimation. But if the origin that it invokes was reduced to nothing, the possessor would be no more than a usurper in our country. If not, not.

That is what we hold in all certitude from our past ancestors, and what they have written in our acts anciently and successively.

Still today, whosoever does not produce his origin, his possession depends on the pillaging of the goods of orphans, and on the iniquity due to the fact that in an unruly country the weak one does not obtain his rights (2).

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1. "Documents anciens sur la coutume immobilière des Seksawa /Ancient documents on the landed-property customs of the Seksawa/." R. afr., 1948, pp. 386 sq.

2. Fine trait of what a modern school would call a feeling "of alterity"!

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It is for this reason that the tribe has agreed upon this point, thus cutting short contestations opposed to past or future revendication.

This hostility to a right drawn from possession, that is, let us take care, to ownership, whenever it does not agree with the gentilitial distribution of the ground, is not new. A judgment of 991 Heg.: 1583 (a. D'alh'a) is based on the consideration that "these claims given out on faith from possession are vain and can be heard no more than the void." At this time, the generalization of the notarial writing being quite recent, it is not very probable that the açl was necessarily an act. One is thus led to suppose for this period means of proof other than the production of writing. Recourse to a sacramental procedure, to sworn law or to such a manifestation by the group? It is probable that the notarial [177] method was literally snatched up by the needs of the Chleuh /Shluh/ society, which, in this matter as in others, surpassed and overwhelmed, according to its own ends, the prototype from the fiqh.

425 /359/ Former Form Poorly Normalized: the "rrahn"

This procedural rule found its keenest necessity in the existence of an institution that combines stability and mobilization of the patrimony. I mean the rrahn (1).

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1. On the Berbère /Berber/ rrahn, cf., besides our afore-mentioned article on al-Abbâsî, notes at §§12 and 14, with quotations from al-Bakrî, from the Istiqçâ', and from the Manâqib al-H'ud'aykî on the history of this form in the Sous and the Atlas, see as-Suktânî, Ajwiba, ms. from the zaouia of the Ud^{c}Abdalmawlâ, pp. 80 b sq. Among the European authors, cf. especially, besides the fine study on the Kabyle rahn by H.-L., Kabylie... /Kabylia.../, t. II, pp. 534 sq.; G.

/359 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ Surdon, *Esquisses de droit coutumier berbère marocain* /Sketches of Moroccan Berber customary law/, 1928, pp. 196 sq.; Marcy, *R. al.*, 1932, "L'engagement immobilier (rrehen). Contribution à l'étude du droit coutumier zemmour /The landed-property engagement (rrehen). Contribution to the study of the Zemmour customary law/." pp. 78 sq.; R. Aspinion, *Contribution à l'étude du droit coutumier berbère marocain* (Zayân) /Contribution to the study of the Moroccan Berber customary law (*Zayân*)/, 1937, pp. 185 sq.; Blanc, "Effets du contrat de rehen dans les tribus berbères du Haut Gedmiwa /Effects of the rehen contract in the Berber tribes of the Upper Gedmiwa/," *R. J. C.*, 1952, No. 7, pp. 7 sq., which describes the forms closest to those of our sector.

The equivalent in Arabic that is given in the texts for this term is the one of "sale with power of redemption," *thunyâ*, known from the *fiqh*. The jurists of the Sous, such as al-^{c}Abbâsî, have devoted long developments to it. In fact, it is a customary type so frequent, under diverse names, that the claimant is allowed, long after the fact, to put in a plea to demand the resolution /annulment/ of a sale: he then explains the length of his silence by a "presumption of *thunyâ*."

This sale is general in the Sous: *ghâlib fî buldati-nâ*. It bears several names there: *iqâla* or *rahn*. At-Tamanârtî writes: "No difference between this assumed *rahn* so widespread in the country and the *thunyâ* sale." And at-Tamulî: "My rule in matters of purchases of land made in our country under the name of *rahn* is to leave the fruits to the purchaser, for what the parties have sought is clearly a *thunyâ* sale."

This resolutory faculty (properly called *iqâla*) is in principle a clause vitiating the sale. Nevertheless the tendency of the jurists is

/359 cont./

425 to tolerate the latter as a fait accompli. They even use the argument of this vicious clause to rescind the sale in exchange for reimbursement. And that even after lapses possibly exceeding a century, and during which the possession effected no prescription. Rescission and application *a posteriori* in this case come back to practically the same thing. They are of interest to us only through the judicial preoccupation that they express to offer a local form absolutely irreducible to orthodoxy.

But here are further significant aspects. With the assimilation with the classic *thunyâ* are already distinguished some elements of of a singular archaism. Thus in the modes of "resiliation." It takes effect reckoning from the payment of a portion of the sum, *tamuzunt*, /360/ *tauqit*, that is, of an "obole." In a. Abdella, the deposit is made on the pile of fruit. Everything happens as if the lessor thus re-establishes communication that was interrupted by the collecting of the price. Such seems to be the substrate of what was later interpreted as security, sale with power of redemption or with resolutory condition. Even at present a devaluation of a hundredfold to one has not taken from the Seksawa any of the gravity with which they effect the liberation of the field, its ransom, *tefdiyya*, *ifda*, *iftida*, in exchange for sums of a ridiculously small amount. For there is in all that indeed something other than the quantitative.

425 175 Truly an ancient form: al-Bakrî points out the existence of it in this part of the Atlas in the eleventh century. He undoubtedly connects it with some montagnard heresy: *râfid'î*-s or worshipers of the ram. During periods of religious zeal the reaction of the learned became vehement. Thus, in 970 Heg.: 1563, the official interdiction of this contract was proclaimed at Taroudant. This was a period of fervor and strong political power. At about this period the mystic Ah'med u. Musa died. The Sâadian Mawlây ^{c}Abd Allah al-Ghâlib bi'llah begged for his approbation and had conferred on himself the quality of *^{c}adl* by the doctors of the South. This was also the time when the Arab notarial practice became generalized in the Atlas. However that may be, the interdiction did not hold against the customary unanimity that it

/360 cont./

425 tried to break, and whose riposte, significantly, assumed a pious
175 and juridical coloring. The jamā^{c}a cadi of Taroudant, Sa^{c}īd ibn ^{c}Alī al-Hawzālī, consulted the saint Muh'ammad at-Tamanārtī, who, by classic reasoning of Malékite /Maliki/ pragmatism, concluded in favor of tolerance: "And that is why this practice is thus perpetuated throughout the country of the Sous up to our day."

425 If the saints come to the rescue of the lender at interest, it is because it is a matter of a particularly powerful social fatality. In fact this mode of credit on a landed-property pledge is not only an economic and juridical category. It is also a sentimental motive power: the lessee's effort to consolidate his possession is opposed by the continuous attack of the lessor. Any means will do: feint, fraudulent denegation, falsehood, etc. All is fair in war. The two parties, as an amghar of the Seksawa told me, confront each other like cat and dog: one seeks to disguise the rrahn as a definitive sale, the other to do away with it without any outlay by title of pure and simple monopoly. More than gain, it is probably an advantageous position, fame in the bosom of the group, that one seeks. That against preoccupations of subjective sincerity, indeed old rules of obligation that the rrahn still expresses, /361/ this is undeniable. But what counts here is triumph in the joust. Something superior even to patrimonial legitimacy is affirmed in this tension that divides the group in conflicts of sometimes several generations. These mores give the skillful litigant and even the falsifier his chance. Must one accordingly attribute them to the decadence of the institutions? No, undoubtedly, but rather to a procedural primacy. And beneath this last is divined an old agonistic structure.

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The Ruse-Sale

This is undoubtedly what explains the fact that, in spite of all the objections against landed-property alienation, it nevertheless exists. It is rare in Seksawa, and certain neighboring populations have purely and simply abolished it. Out of four "sales" one is affirmed as definitive: such is the ratio

/361 cont./

432 that one can very roughly imagine from the lists of ancient acts that sometimes fall into our hands. Naturally during periods of [175] famine usury practices its ravages. People remember in a. Abdella the years 1295-96 Heg. when a piece of land was sold for one riâl! But the grandfather of the present amghar confiscated all these acts one day, put them in a pile the height of a donkey in Inzzûyma, and set them on fire: and everyone regained his rights.

This was a violent procedure. There are others. In fact the ratio of sales is much smaller than that of one out of four. Now, whatever might be the nature of the terms that there has been care to have consigned to it, the local law will change the resiliable act, make it slip in some way into the inferior category, if the wording in the least presents a weakness or irregularity of technical order: a single notary instead of two, and two who are qualified; the seller's suddenly producing an iqâla, "resiliation," the fact that there has been no tradition; that the lessee does not have peaceable possession, etc. Obviously all sorts of obstacles are raised against the consolidation of the sale.

It is thus that a dissertation, undated, but attributed to the son of sidi Lah'sen u Tiqqi, who would have to go back to the second third of the seventeenth century, assembles in a potpourri all the nullities that can infirm a sale: indetermination, chance, injury, conditional stipulation. Fine manifestation of pedantry conspiring with the inalienability that local instinct wants and which such codification will express by decreeing that whoever is convicted of wanting to alienate land to a foreigner must sacrifice a cow as an offering to the jemâa.

/362/ Indeed, even better, the seller can unilaterally go back on his act, either because he declares himself wronged or constrained: this is then a declaration of istir^{c}â', or because he "repents": this is then an istighfâr al-bay^{c}. Lacking written jurisprudence, one poorly knows what the judiciary effect of these declarations might be. Undoubtedly to contribute to creating a climate propitious for revendication, rather than to orient the procedure, henceforth bilateral, decisively. A trace undoubtedly,

/362 cont./

432 as has been seen, of a very ancient imprecatory law that disappeared under the adaptations to the fiqh. An amusing expression of these repentances is offered by an act from Imsker. The witness goes gack on his declaration, proclaiming that the sale did not take place, he was misled by Satan the accursed and the enticement of a few pounds of honey! (1141 Heg.: 1729.) It is not rare that the troubled conscience of the t't'olba becomes clear toward the end by the inscription of these curious acts "of repentance," istighfār, infirming such-and-such of their testimonies. The act remains hidden at the bottom of a leather bottle. Its accidental discovery will produce a striking procedural event and will cause everything to begin again at zero: the ancient possession will no longer count for anything in opposition.

Correlatively a veritable profusion of orthodox formulas will come to color the hazardous alienations and compensate for their obvious precariousness by a virtuous verbalism: "Firm, licit, executory, definitive purchase, exclusive of any cause for redemption or option, concluded in full knowledge and elimination of ignorance concerning the price and the thing a price was put on, for a sum and a forfeit of an ounce and a half of whole coin, the two rightful claimants being put in possession, one of his money, the other of his property." It is doubtlessly thus that the buyer runs his risk. Although he enters into a perpetual dialectic with the progeny of his seller, he hopes to make his rights valid, and, seniority helping, to constitute an açl. It is possible that this açl may be contrary to the old agnatic distribution; in any case, the thing will not go far, since about five centuries of play of notarial writing have not noticeably disturbed the order of the grounds of the valley.

These purchases and these rrahn-s ordinarily bear on, rather than land topographically delimited, parcels individualized by the name of the legitimate owner in such-and-such a quarter. The expression is sometimes: "all that on which his name bears" (1).

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1. In a completely different society, the France of the upper Middle Ages, it was the name of the

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432 /footnote 1 continued/ estate that identified
171 the land: a formula diametrically opposed to ours and which rests, as has been seen, on a completely different conception of the "field." Cf. Fustel de Coulanges, *L'alleu et le domaine rural* /The allodium and the rural domain/, 1889, p. 18.

With any aim at comparativism set aside, but by title of a geographical lesson, /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ let us note that in the milieu, similarly montagnard and conservative, of Andorra the so-called sale with power of redemption is by far the most frequent. Like the *rrahn* of the Chleuhs /Shluh/, the Andorran redemption can be very long term, transferable to a third party, and the operations of repurchase are connected, in their validity and their effect upon the pending harvest, with considerations of agricultural season! J.-A. Brutails, *La coutume d'Andorre* /The customs of Andorra/, 1904, pp. 198 sq.

432 /363/ The sale is then called "aggregate," *muchâ*^{c} (1),

1. Al-^{c}Abbâsî, *Ajwiba*, lith., t. I, p. 169, l. 8 sq., defines this *muchâ*^{c} sale, the name of which he writes, *ibid*., p. 174, l. 15 sq. Locally *muchû*^{c} or *lmuch*^{c} is also said.

an expression of bookish origin that we will find to designate the collective, with an unexpected oriental analogy. Other terms are sometimes used: *busiyyar* or *basiyyar* in Nfifa, for example.
[195] Sometimes the pen of the writer even rises to hyperbole: a whole

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432 [195] [175] country is sold, a whole mountain canton. As an act of 1093 Heg.: 1687 says, "all of it is sold, including the jackal of the forest," jami^{c} mâ la-hâ ff dhi'b al-ghâba.

To the lineage revendication, a term that appears to correspond to the patrimonial constancy of the ikhs, is added yet another resource: the chchfâa. This is a matter of something much broader than the faculty of pre-emption that the fiqh offers to the joint-tenant /Fr. coindivisaire/ of the seller. It is not even excluded that formerly the son would have been allowed to put it in opposition to the sales of his own creator. Such a pretension, monstrous in the eyes of the Mussulman law, and moreover of logic, was in 1952 seriously brought before the Tribunal coutumier. In fact, what the Seksawa call chchfâa could be defined: "the exception drawn from the patrimonial maintenance." Sometimes, and this is the orthodox case, a relative intervenes in order to make the option work to his advantage; but by definition this form is as rare as the sale itself. In the generality of the cases, the exception comes to act a long time after the event, as a means of having a habous sale rescinded. I thus come to this institution, which, in Seksawa country, does not at all have its classic or even Maghrebi physiognomy.

Agnatic Sequestration

794 423 What is striking first of all is that in the Seksawa mountains the goods of a zaouia, such as the zaouia of Lalla Aziza, a rather large estate-holder /Fr. domainière/, have the characteristics of a private estate. Likewise the turn for water, for example, earmarked for the marabouts on the downstream séguia. On the other hand, the private goods in the mountains are habous most of the time (2).

794 423 428 562 2. This meaning of the habous has been seen clearly by J. Lafond, Les sources du droit coutumier dans le Sous /The sources of customary law in the Sous/, 1948, pp. 81 sq. In

/363 cont./

794 /footnote 2 continued/ theory, however, the
423 woman's right to inherit is absolute. It is
428 exercised not only in the margin. /this foot-
562 note is continued on the following page in
the original source/ lh'âchit, that the "agnatic
sequestration" lets exist, but it is a constant
[432] procedural theme. The women's share often
being forgotten in the acts of sales, this will
later bring about their annulment for all that
concerns the women's share, and without pre-
[184] scription intervening. On the other hand, in
neighboring societies, the Aghbar for example,
if one is to believe the in. /unpublished/ mon-
ograph by Lepage, the woman cannot possess
landed property in the Imsifern leff (a. Gasa,
a. Tkssit, Amismatert). She may, on the
contrary, in the Inghertit leff (a. Gâir,
Imelwan, Iwensenkten).

794 From these habous, pious devolution, even distant, /364/ is for-
428 mally absent. That then is the extreme case of what has been
562 observed nearly everywhere in North Africa under the name of
[171] "private habous," and where the exegesis has correctly seen a
procedure of disinheritance of the women. Here the intention does not disguise itself by any stratagem, is crudely displayed. The founder specifies that, in case of extinction of the male branches, there will be a carry-over of the ensemble of the inheritance.

794 War, emigration have sometimes posed this case. This is the
428 so-called type of the inquirâd'. It is rather frequent. An inter-
esting fatwâ of 1220 Heg.: 1805, emanating from a jurisconsult
[175] of the Imt'ddan, concludes with the help of texts that the carry-over of the habous should benefit only indigent heirs and in order of decreasing necessity (ih'tiyâj). A second opinion, bracketed with the first one, is further supported by the judgment of the jurists of the Gezzula, utilized in his Ajwiba by ᶜAbd Allah b. Ibrâhîm at-Tamulîî. Ar-Rasmûkî would have likewise judged in this manner.

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794 428 In spite of these endeavors of the doctrine to reconcile the theory of pious affectation with a very different practice, the Seksawa habous is nothing other than an "agnatic sequestration." It does not even allege the intention of piety and sets itself up as pure testamentary modality. An incertitude has always marked it with respect to its effect upon inalienability: is the latter pleadable by the lessor himself or his beneficiaries? Can a convention of the latter at a given moment revoke it, in which case the woman's portions, originally ejected, would be claimed again on the mass? Seksawa jurisprudence is not closed on all 794 these points. It is even interesting to note that this incertitude 428 anciently provoked a legislating initiative.

671 An undated document of the I. Geryun subordinates the inalienability of the habous to the absence of a contrary stipulation of the constituent. In 1287 Heg.: 1832 seven elders of the Bas /Lower/ Seksawa ordained that the consistence of the margin, lh'âchit, left for the benefit of the daughters will be one half of the fruits of the foundation, the other half returning to the habous. In this fruit is also included the product of sales, pledged loans, etc. "Such is the custom of the Deren and of the Dir," they solemnly added. But from all evidence such legislation aggravated the incertitude of this habous, which seems, to /365/ speak truthfully, not to have properly any content, except to open a recourse for the male heir against the woman, and especially for the descendant against the foreign acquirer. The right is identified here with the action, and it is probable that it is necessary to rank this habous and the chchfâa that threatens it among these procedural resources with an effect based upon surprise and feint, and whose role is so important in the unfolding of the litigation.

794 428 634 The statistics of the habous in the mountain tribes would be quite interesting. Some twenty years ago, one of our officers noted that in three Idaw Mh'mud cantons (1),

1. Lieutenant Combe, in Les Habous de famille en Ida ou Mahmoud /The family habous in Ida ou Mahmoud/, 1932. He distinguishes two groups:

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/footnote 1 continued/ on the one side, a. Tunert, I. i-yzimmer, Irohalen; on the other, Ichkajjen, a. Dris.

against which the Seksawa are directly backed (a. Tunert, I. i-yzimmer, Irohalen), it is the totality of goods that is obligatorily "haboused": hence inalienability and disinheritance of women extending to the ensemble of the ground. Elsewhere it is a matter of a simple faculty, but so laid under contribution in the mountains of Imintanout that at the same period the proportion of habous was evaluated at two fifths of the tillable land. Twenty-five years ago the judiciary jemâa of the Demsira even expressed the wish that one half of all contested landed-property should be considered habous. This practice has not been retained. But it prevails in Haut /Upper/ Gedmiwa under the name of taûqît (2). [671]

2. But nothing may be concluded with certainty, the customary law of the Aghbar seeming to have undergone recent evolutions of an administrative order that have accentuated its imprecision. It appears to us today, much more than the Seksawa law, to be a "patoisant" /speaking with a provincial accent/ law, whether this character be ancient or acquired.

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On the other hand, scarcely any habous in Bas /Lower/ Seksawa, downstream from the confluence of the asif n-a. Lh'sen. A [691] foundation of the protégé of Brives, Ah'med ou Bihi, at Tuz'z'umt, was regarded as an anomaly and gave rise to a long lawsuit: it is true that the wife of the founder was a foreigner from the Mtugga. [177] Even lower, in the plain, permeable to outside influences, this form concerns, as in Arab countries, only a minority of "great families." It doubtlessly then finds the alibi of its pious intention. On the contrary, it is so frequent in the mountains that it is presumed of all land. But the customary judge opposes to this

794 /365 cont./ But the customary judge opposes to this
428 exception /plea/ the necessity of establishing by "inventory,"
jrīda, the initial consistence of the properties on which the foun-
[695] dation bears. He opposes to it also — but since when? — the
argument of peaceable possession exercised by the defendant, if
nevertheless the claimant or his creators were present in the coun-
try. Obviously no conclusion can be drawn from these /366/
[177] practices. There are mixed together here preoccupations of equity
inspired by the French advisor, a concept of decennial prescription
[178] borrowed from the fiqh, and a general tendency toward the con-
solidation of acquired rights. So many recent evolutions.

121 This geographic distribution perhaps marks different stages of
794 the institution. In this hypothesis, the "purest" one would be
found upstream, and especially in these three I. Mh'mud cantons
where the land is entirely immobilized. It is possible that that
would be the original stage. But if it is, it is necessary to recog-
nize that the parties' freedom, by a curious paradox, went further
in the matter than the fiqh wished. At least among the Seksawa
an express convention of the devolutionaries can free the landed
property. Is that a matter of an eventuality more theoretical than
effective? This is impossible to specify. In fact, as is known, the
settlement of landed-property affairs took place "under the sign"
of the fiqh and in any case in a climate completely different
from that of the conflict. Therefore no jurisprudence that was not
[173] suspect of transposition at the very least. As for the oral tradition,
today very much impaired by the progressive disappearance of the
old people, and the influence of recent organizations, it becomes
very subject to caution as soon as the problem becomes nuanced.
It is too stuttering for one to be able to base anything precise on it.

794 One thing is sure, however. These foundations are subordi-
428 nated to the stipulation of a "reserve" or "margin," lh'achit, to
which the habous does not apply. This portion of the landed
671 property remains subject to the common law. The women benefit
[562] from it, either by having it available as property or by only enjoy-
[184] ing the usufruct. On these points the variety is very great between
taqbilt-s and expresses complex evolutions. Nevertheless, and in
all cases, the absence of lh'achit is a nullity. In a milieu as
bereft of precision concerning the notarial practice, one weighs
what this formalist rule will bring in the way of surprises in the
course of proceedings. Quite often this unforseen new thing will

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794 decide the litigation from a point on the whole secondary, like a
428 feint in a joust.

671 That is a new chance opened up to the adversaries of the
habous, a new possibility of play, anything but negligible in the
spirit of the system. But what accumulated risks! The landed-
[423] property procedure of the Seksawa recalls the shows in which a
player must guide his ball through a multitude of snares and traps
to a very chancy issue. This issue, in the case at hand, is the
alienation of the land. And although it results from possibilities
opened up by the orthodox law, which one professes /367/ to
follow, and by the very form of juridical expression, one divines
at what point it remains improbable, and doubtful even in success.

General View of the Familial and Landed-Property Law

121 If one now groups the most striking aspects of the system, one will realize that it is the triumph of *Homo oeconomicus*. Of the rite and the tool, to return to the two antithetical notions from which, for a Moroccan society moreover very different, Azemmour, the late Ch. Le Coeur drew his inspiration, it is by far the second that occupies the foreground here. One might even say the *tool* in the proper sense: namely, the peasant's hoe, this *agelzim* that sculpts the tiers, distributes the water, inscribes, in gains of a few square meters, the patient work of generations, fashions this rural landscape, which is the most *made* that North Africa knows. Workman's landscape...

121 But this impression is modified somewhat if one leaves the
671 domain of the law that is conscious, avowed, marked by its suc-
cessoral schematism, its litigious tricks concerning goods, its
ratiocinations concerning household life, in order to examine its
relations with the agrarian order. At this level a ceremonial
commentary, a sentimental context envelop words and gestures.
Agnatic solidarity appears as one of the active bases of the life
121 of the canton. But what remains of this structure once past the
671 threshold of judiciary debate, which is also the threshold of the
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121 writing? Truthfully, few things. An entire gentilitial culture
671 seems to have been jeopardized here. The writing has gone that
212 way. Writing of another language, minority, professional, tending
to be secret. It carried with it a sentimental pedantry, a doctrinal
propaganda, and a notarial technique. It did not remain a
121 means, but became a master. The whole matter of successoral
671 law was profoundly transformed by it. Matrimonial law resisted
212 better. It in fact kept, thoroughly colored by rite, a stronger
178 originality than the former, which imperious acquisitive instincts
dominate. The intensity of emotion, moreover, was not the same in the two domains. Paroxysm of the moment in the one, continuity in the other. Resistance had to be unequal. Festivity on the one side, duration on the other. The notarial language, powerless to deform the festivity, tyrannously lent itself to long peasant perseverances. It governed the secular courses of them.

121 But on this side of the stage of expression, the communal
671 peace was strongly maintained, or re-established underneath, in
the order /368/ of irrigation, the parcellary orchestration. One
[423] thus arrives at the paradox that the land economy, controlled
above all by prelaw survivals, unconscious imperatives, but perhaps also by deliberate initiative of the group, is expressed only indirectly in the contentious multiplicity of the title. The essential of this life: agonistic vehemence, tension with alternating re-establishments, patrimonial continuity, sentiment of the legitimacy, passes through the acts rather than being expressed by them. Juridical subterfuge, procedural stratagems, an element of surprise and something like a certain cult of the absurd menace the constructions of the writing. And that indeed provokes disturbances, arouses many scruples. But they remain in profundity. The notarial language has covered everything. Its mysterious prestige and its malices have beguiled both the coolness and the duplicity of this peasant. For this peasant has found his boon there. More and more he will find it there, as by a sort of compensation, and to the extent that the judicial debate casts off its antique character. The reaction of the group will not always succeed in winning out over the forces of breakup. Then it will all be over for the montagnard institution.

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IV. Communal Law

121 Under this austere title, we are going to study an aspect of the "republics of the Atlas" that has already given rise to engaging descriptions (1).

121 127 But although certain of these descriptions go far in depth, the analysis will not engage in useless repetition with them. It will be concerned moreover with the ancient state as it stands out from the local documents. The latter give an image of the public law that is disinterested because exclusive of proselytism. Here the act is only an official report. One can make use of it without distrust. Not that it does not reflect any assimilatory view. But it is without an underlying design of rallying to the orthodox Salente. Its writer is aware of the cantonal autonomy. He is the agent of it. His conceit of the scholar gives way before the preoccupations of loyalism and probably a municipal warmth, suitable for rendering the verity of ambiance. Hence the documentary value of these [666] penal tariffications, enacted after each election of chief, and which fortunately abound in the Seksawa archives, notably in those of the very high valley.

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1. R. Montagne, "L'Aghbar et les hautes Vallées du Haut-Atlas /The Aghbar and the high Valleys of the High Atlas/," Hesp., 1927, pp. 15 sq, and especially Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc /The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco/, 1930, pp. 217 sq. One must turn to the same researcher for the first investigations of public archives in this part of Morocco, "Le régime juridique des tribus du S. marocain /The juridical regime of the tribes of the Moroccan South/," Hesp., 1924, pp. 313 sq., and especially R. Montagne and M. Ben Daoud, "Documents pour servir à l'étude du droit coutumier du S. marocain /Documents for use in the study of the customary law of the Moroccan South/," Hesp. ": 1927, pp. 401 sq., with regard to which our debt is great.

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Pecuniary Composition and Penal Law

613 Is the group resolved in the ensemble of the ikhs-s? Traits
619 of discordance in the modern evolution of these two notions lead
634 one to pose this difficult problem. And the evolution, which is
121 above all expressed in an unequal reaction to the Arabic writing,
has doubtlessly only accentuated more ancient discordances about
which one is reduced to hypotheses. Very certainly, however, the
Chleuh /Shluh/ taqbilt is adult before these influences exert themselves.
What are the relations between the group and its agnatic
681 subdivisions here? Especially in the matter of repressive law,
what is the part of the private pecuniary compensation: and of the
/370/ sanction of public order? All that we can say, if we wish
to avoid appealing to a suspect scheme of evolution: retaliation,
then compensation, then fine, -- is that at the period to which
the first written sources go back there are both decreed punishment
and tariffed composition.

613 But another verification can put us on the track. The ancient
178 state did not disclose any elements of the problem other than those
of today. The debate already dealt with the interaction of the
commune on the one hand, persons on the other. An acquisitive
individualism, the constant rupture of the "patriarchal" society into
irascible co-operators, indeed into foyers hiving off or into
economic rivals, undoubtedly tempers from this time the gentilitial
primacy. From the contentious plane they suppress it in the
penumbra of old solidarities, tenacious undoubtedly, but which no
longer crop out in disputes. Moreover, the phases of personal
power, of which the twentieth century offered a perfectly observable
cycle, certainly had to be adjusted, and not without collisions
and uneasiness, to the former structure. If it is noteworthy that
592 the distribution of the habitat by villages, lmud'ā, does not cor-
[621] respond to anything in the communal institution, and that the unit
[634] is always the taqbilt, without prejudice to the sometimes quite
mixed distribution of the ikhs-s into villages, it may be noted in
[613] an inverse sense that no authority of ancestors comes to restrict the
citizenship of the head of foyer. It is indeed the "foyer," takat

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592 /conjugal family/, that constitutes the basis of the distributions as of all the tumultuary or accountable manifestations essential to this life.

613 182 The role of the ikhs stands out at the very least from its present functions: primary distributor of water and, if I may venture to say it, of baraka; member of a hierarchy of qualifications reserving for such-and-such a lineage the right to undertake important actions with common value, which involve the collectivity, its soil, its past and its future. Its function exists primarily in all that the course of the group respects in the way of necessities, more or less clearly felt, in accord with nature, in connivance with the kosmos and its unwritten laws. Therefore war, politics, the agrarian order, and in a certain measure holiness, justice, or poetry are a gentilitial affair. These attributes are well mixed. We do not know which among them go back to the past or result from restorations or adjustments. One of course would be tempted to consider the magico-religious functions as belonging to the oldest substratum (1).

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1. P. Huvelin, "Magie et droit individuel /Magic and individual law/," Ann. Soc., X, p. 12, shows that the repression of misdemeanors in a society dominated by familial representations /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ still remains religious in accent and commonly assumes the form of the ordeal. The mad exuberance of the sworn law in the old Maghrebi societies certainly evokes the existence of ensembles that, in this case, are agnatic ensembles. One has the explanation that, in Marcy's eyes, this aspect constituted a criterion of archaism, that is, according to him, Berbère /Berber/ authenticity. According to this view, the public law would then consist in organizing relations between

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/footnote 1 continued/ familial groups within the political society. The fact is that the oath often has this aspect. And that is so true that, the group growing larger into the taqbilt, for example, it would be other tariffs that then function in the cojuratio. But one is also struck by the traits of decline or retreat of a familial law thus profiled, or, what amounts to the same thing, by its unequal resistance to the legalistic Mussulman influences, from which, in short, the public law in the strict sense of the term has much better extricated itself. Of the two, it is the latter that has had the major influence, to the point, undoubtedly, of reacting upon the other.

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/371/ But on this same plane there are two recoils, unless they are original lacunae. First of all, let us repeat, this society with ancestors has never reflected in its hagiology what is reflected in other systems similarly organized. Another negative remark: in this penal law, so well attested to during the four centuries that one can study it, sanction is always of public order, without the notion of private vengeance or of responsibility of the ikhs ever cropping out in it. This is important: One of the best studies of Berbère /Berber/ law, that of Hanoteau and Letourneux, has given much space to completely contrary aspects. A sharp difference with the western Haut Atlas stands out from what these authors say proceeds from a law of the family as opposed to that of the village: all these juridico-sentimental motive forces that the reqba, the ᶜanāya are, all this code of virile honor that occupies such an important place among the Kabyles (1).

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1. M. Daumas and M. Fabar, La grande Kabylie /Great Kabylia/, 1847, already contrast the vendetta to the dîâ, as signs of two radically different systems, p. 35. These

/371 cont./

627 /footnote 1 continued/ observations and those
681 of C. Devaux, Les Kebaïles du Djerdjera /The
(171) Kabyles of the Djurdjura/, 1859, have certainly inspired Hanoteau and Letourneux, La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles /Kabylia and Kabyle customs/, 1873, t. III, pp. 77 sq.

The dīâ is not Kabyle. Now the milieu that we are studying is
dominated by the pecuniary compensation, which comparativism
has regarded for a long time as of a stage and character contrast-
627 ing with those of a purely familial law. But what is there that is
681 historical in these distinctions, and should we give them a value
121 other than a didactic one?

Certainly, the question of concrete relations that, in such-and-such a society, could be manifested between retaliation, compensation, composition fixed in advance, vengeance, punishment, and judgment is obscure. Perhaps in analogous milieus there were fundamentally opposed attitudes and options. In order to make a comparison with an ancient law, a comparison that has sometimes inspired adventurous theories, let us recall, but only as a landmark, that the old Germanic law /372/ simultaneously knew composition, an attenuated phase of familial vengeance, compatible moreover with an arbitral or judiciary organization, and proscription, which is of ritual character.

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627 In old Seksawa law the fine, which is a trait of highly "advanced" public law, and tariffed composition are known simultaneously. But as far as one can go back through the written sources, nothing but that is known; never retaliation. The contrary opinion has nevertheless been supported, but, it seems, without serious sources. We do not have the right to infer from pre-Islamic or Biblical Arab comparisons the existence of a stage in which personal vengeance could have legally been exercised here. One can, certainly, ask whether proscription after the crime is not also indeed a ritual evasion, favored by the institution of places of asylum, such as Z'init', and in the course of which intercessions, either familial or religious (intervention

/372 cont./

627 of the "marabouts"). are solicited. The term of azwag signifies
681 both the "banished" and the "suppliant," double aspect, passive and active, of the notion.

682 /The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ Some twenty years ago one of our officers wrote: "To-day, when a murder has been committed, the tribe orders some of its members to go to burn the gutters and other pieces of wood that project from the dwelling of the murderer. This act signifies to the guilty one that he must immediately leave the territory of the tribe. It is later announced: "There is no God but Allah, and Moh'ammed is his Prophet. Hear, O people of the tribe, so-and-so must leave as azwag, and if he is seen among us he must not be pardoned." "In Seksawa, pecuniary reparation is accomplished during the time of exile, whereas elsewhere it is paid on the day of return. This day the murderer, accompanied by the jemâa, presents himself to the parents of the victim, must be the first to greet them deferentially and turn out of their way, while lowering his head."

This notation undoubtedly is in large part the interpretations of an informant. But even as such, how instructive it is that the "supplication" aspect and magical procedures of exclusion come to complicate an operation of public law! We shall not resolve this disparity; it is not the only one that the milieu manifests.

However that may be, the dīâ then paid to the parents was 100 reals and a bovine. In addition, the jemâa collected the provisions for a meal: one sheep, semolina, salted butter, sugar. Let us recognize, moreover, that the old acts almost never anticipated a case of murder, doubtlessly out of fear of bad augury. They were satisfied to decree the punishment incurred by the gesture, that /373/ is, by the intention: two degrees, as will be seen, depending on whether the weapon was brandished or utilized. This is a relatively refined technique. What has left traces, outside of codifications, a veritable literary genre and so abundant that it is surprising that a theory of retaliation has been able to exist in the modern exegesis, are veritable legal papers.

/373 cont./

682 And they express a climate completely different from private vengeance. And here are some examples:

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683 /The following seven paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ Ammern, 1232 Heg.: 1817. A specialist in the examination of wounds (we would say that he evaluates "incapacities") sets the idemnity, leqçaç, corresponding to the loss of an eye. It is a sum of money, it is not the eye of the guilty one!

Ammern, 1167 Heg.: 1754. A father, afflicted by a prodigal and quarrelsome son, settles 80 o. for his account and henceforth disengages himself, min jamî^{c} umur as-sufahâ' wa jamî^{c} il-achrâr, if henceforth the young man should occasion: youthful follies, wounds and bruises inflicted upon others, and for which the old man indemnifies a series of victims for the past, by contract in a way.

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681 Ammern, 1166 Heg.: 1753. A divorced woman has been sentenced to a heavy fine, 30 o. A third party pays it for her, not without acquiring, it seems, certain rights over the guilty one. In any case, from then on, he relieves her of all responsibility, "as the jackal is relieved of that for the blood of Joseph," picturesque Biblical reminder.

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683 Tasa, 1242 Heg.: 1827. An expert evaluates the wound, the result of an "act of destiny" inflicted by Lh'sen Ubaha (a euphemism to designate the guilty one), "concerning the head of the old Sâid Wakrim." Valuation.

Fatwa of the son of sidi Lh'sen u Tiqqi (1147 Heg.: 1735). The rate applicable to a facial wound is evaluated at 1/12 of the dîa, in other words 72 mithqâl-s; in coin, ^{c}abbâsîya. This by reference to Khalîl!

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[628] An agreement of 1274 Heg.: 1858 between the jemâa-s of the villages of Tamt'ddit, Tagunit, Tinwalin, Tamezgurt (the Imt'ddan tetrapolis). The piece is written by the hand of the marabout of Assttif, sidi Abdallah b. Ah'med. It is agreed that the dîa for voluntary or involuntary homicide is 100 mithqâl-s.

175 /*373 cont.*/

685 683 [634] "Note," *taqyîd*, of the fine imposed by the *moqaddem* of the Idma on an individual who stole some almonds, and whose brothers cursed the one robbed, *yal^{c}anû bi-kathrat il-qabîh'*: 10 m. for the thief and for each insulter. Without date.

175 671 Therefore, to be content with what can be restored by the existing documentary sources, and even taking into account transpositions inherent in the writing, one is struck by the publicist and regulatory character of this penal law. To what extent this character has prevailed over familial autonomy will be shown by the following texts.

175 685 [619] [634] /*374*/ /The following three paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ In 1267 Heg.: 1851 the Idaw Geryun decreed that an insolvent thief must be executed by his agnates. The latter must put him to death. If they do not resolve to do this, they must release him from his fine at their own expense. The *jemâa* frees the agents of this execution from any payment of *dîâ*!

In 1276 Heg.: 1860 the a. Tasa condemned one among them to death for robbery. He was therefore executed. "But not at all by the hand of one alone, but by that of all, and without *dîâ*, fine or exile, being incumbent on anyone."

[613] [634] [619] There still exist in Haut Seksawa old men who remember deaths of this sort. The executioner is sometimes the agnatic group, sometimes the *taqbilt*, or rather a subdivision of the latter, the "third," *thelth*.

671 681 [613] In these cases at hand, the primacy of the group and of the justice that it renders is curiously reconciled with an archaic concern for immunity. Penalty of public order, certainly, but one that takes precautions on the side of private vengeance and the pernicious influences of spilled blood. The *ikhs*, or the "close ones," here become ministers of a repression that is indeed that of the state. And not only must they thus kill one of theirs, whom their "duty" would have been to protect or avenge, but it is the state that finally absolves them of the responsibility for this murder.

/374 cont./

The Public Law of the "Taqbilt"

671 634 The old acts of penal tariffication most often begin with the formula: "ittafaqû jamâ^{c}a..., "in agreement is the jemâa." The latter term has become the leit motiv of our North African political sociology. Let us remember its initial ambiguity, due to the etymology. The jemâa can only be a "meeting," as the [779] ^{c}orf can only be a "presumption." A vein of the fiqh is mixed here with the old communal notions. In many acts and in the conception of a purist writer the word evokes only publicity. This publicity, highly important for example in the matter of marriage, is confounded, it is true, with the auctoritas of the group. The camouflage, at least linguistic, of the montagnard institution has made out of a reality so essential something a bit ephemeral, and which can give rise to reassuring and evasive assimilations. Formidable reality when it is fully deployed, in an insurrectionary convention, for example, as the history of Morocco is full of them (1). Mawkish reality when prudence or false shame or /375/ grammatical reserve induce it to express itself only through words with double meaning. The initial formula of the inçâf-s can be interpreted in two senses: communal deliberation or accidental agreement.

634 554 After this preamble comes the name of the chief, the "preposed" one, moqaddem. Again an Arabic word, with an aspect of central power; it is the one that in the present makhzanian system designates the village chief. But here it is quite another thing. This personage is sometimes surrounded by a little senate whose members bear the unexplained name of ait Arbâin, "the

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[171] 1. Also in Algeria. Cf. the organization of the chert'iya in L. Rinn, Histoire de l'insurrection de 1871 en Algérie /History of the insurrection of 1871 in Algeria/, 1891, pp. 91 sq.

/375 cont./
634 Forty," and sometimes more simply that of "auxiliaries," *a^{c}wân*.
554 On a very old document the *moqaddem* bears the name, fallen
into disuse here, of *anflus*. There is incontestably designation by
the group. Election by all or co-optation by the *ikhs* chiefs? It
is probable that circumstances of fact and of persons decided be-
tween these two formulas. Certain groups practice special mo-
dalities. Thus the Idma meet each year on the expansion of
Inraren Z'dinin above Anchkrir. A rotation was observed between
[613] *ikhs*-s concerning the choice of the one elected. In fact, phases
of personal power seem, at least for the Idma, to have constantly
interfered with the democratic organization, to the point that it
might be asked if the latter was not an ideal rather than reality.
175 There remains, from these Idma, a very old testimony: 915
634 Heg.: 1510. This is the period of Portuguese incursions in the
554 Dir and at least once along the route from the Sous. The Idma
[648] were then reduced to three villages: Ad'erd'ur, Usikis, Anchkrir.
The occupation of the middle valley had not yet been made. The
latter was still held by the a. Gasa. The act, doubtlessly the
official report of one of these assemblies of Inraren Z'dinin, after
a solemn preamble in the Koranic form, begins according to the
ritual formula: *ittafaqû jamâ^{c}a*. The elected chief bears no
title, except the circumlocution that "he will speak in their
name"... "God make us conform to his wishes! May he make
peace (*al-^{c}âfiya*) repose in 6 delegates from each village." The
expression of a ritual role is scarçely accoutered with monotheism
here. This is the oldest document of this type that we have. It is
nearly contemporaneous with the "edicts" of Yah'yâ u Tâfuft (the
ally of the Portuguese), which are of the same genre. The area of
expansion of the formula therefore seems to have been consider-
634 able. The *moqaddem* represents the *jemâa* in all of its multiple
554 interventions. It naturally mixes with this role the growing
prerogatives of the executive. On the internal plane, he is
charged with calling upon the citizens by bans for all the presta-
tions of /376/ agrarian order that a village life both intense and
poorly treated by an unfruitful milieu involves. Corvées of mu-
tual assistance, *fiqh* retribution, struggle against grasshoppers,

/376 cont./

634 repairs of the *séquias*, periodic cleanings of the basins, hospitality
554 offered to the traveler. An act from the a. H'adduyws of 1166
Heg.: 1755 gives some savory details on that. One finds there
a phrase member characteristic of this public order, whose pre-
[681] valence over private legitimacy was pointed out above: "Whoever issues a plausible revendication (upon a piece of land), but resists (the tillage of the adversary) without consultation with the *moqaddem*": so much fine, *man* *idda*^{o}*a* *bichibha* *wa* *ta*^{c}*arrad'a* *illâ* *bi-muchawarat* *il-muqaddam*. This petty magistrate is thus the guardian of the order of the group here under its agrarian, economic, municipal but also judiciary aspect. His role is important. Also numerous documents specify on his behalf sanctions of fines imposed automatically upon anyone who does not obey him. One sees where such an evolution can go. In the late stage that our first officers were able to observe, such a tendency is fully affirmed.

For example, here is a document of the Idaw Geryun of 1292 Heg.: 1875. In proper terms the *moqaddem* is defined as "having to administer the declarants according to equity, issuing his opinion in all their affairs." This avowed evolution towards personal power is accompanied by new penal arrangements for the repression of falsehood or impiety. A beginning of moralization of the power is glimpsed here. It is a reaction against the old order when the chief anticipates drawing upon a force that is not merely weapons. The attempt is instructive. To speak truthfully, such tendencies arouse opposition, permanent control of the ait Arbâin, rule of unanimity that the *moqaddem* can uphold only as long as he does not set himself up through violence, and which thus forces him into an incessant demagogy. This consultation with the *jemâa* is even sometimes expressly imposed upon him. It is thus that the Idaw Geryun in 1218 Heg.: 1803 specify that "the *moqaddem* or his assistants can do nothing without consultation with the *jemâa*, *illa* *bi-muchâwarat* *il-jamâ*^{c}*a*".

It cannot be said that evolution toward personal power, whose contemporaneous phase we have recorded and consolidated, has dried up this aptitude for codification. Perhaps it consequently worked in

634 /376 cont./
554 a void, or out of a sort of revenge against the event — so considerable
is the role of the fiction in these societies. The fact is
634 that this genre of writings is manifested up to our arrival. Who
671 knows whether the multiplicity of clauses was not sought after as
a guarantee against an invading arbitrariness? Certainly, the
guarantee is /377/ more or less efficacious. Not only can tyrannical
power henceforth infringe upon these deliberations, but there
is something even more serious. The new magistery is based on a
new political morality. The automatism that the commune
looked for in the application of punishment gives way to a discretionary
valuation, which it would be false to say is constantly
iniquitous. It would not be maintained in such a milieu without
the support of legitimacy. But another legitimacy. Codification
henceforth collides against the nuances and contingency of a
praetorian jurisdiction, which undoubtedly does not fail to invoke
religion, reason, and good sense against its rival. The transition is accompanied,
among many justiciables, by a feeling of liberation
with respect to old constraints of the group, of immediate and
pitiless effect. A new faculty of instance, of remise for cause, of
individual proceedings and recourse opens where hitherto only the
strict communal mechanism tried to govern. Such authentic instincts
of the milieu doubtlessly obtain satisfaction. In one sense
the amghar carries with him a faculty of deliverance: it is the
very one of anarchical destruction, but also, in a sense, that of
enlightenment and individualism. One is poorly equipped to describe
with precision the play of factors whose alternating victories
have undoubtedly filled several centuries, and not only the nineteenth.
It will suffice here to have extricated the character of it.

175 In 1132 Heg.: 1720 a fqih originally from the Arghen, the
634 tribe of Ibn Toumert, rises to interesting distinctions, which show
554 to what work of the intellect, and critical intellect, the institution
could give rise. "Among these rural people," he says, "the
[212] jemâ^{c}a and the moqaddem play the role of sultan in regulatory
(794) affairs (ah'kâm). The moqaddem is the imâm. If they agree to
[681] compose (sâmah'a) or levy a fine (inçâf), they divide the fine,
and the portion of the one and the other is evident. If they

175 /377 cont./
634 compose, there is no longer any recourse against it. If they do
554 not come to an agreement, their imâm shall have the power to
681 increase or diminish (the rate of the composition)." The act
coupled to this consultation, and which is contemporaneous,
mentions the division of an inçâf between the anflus (sic) of
Tinwalin and Tamt'ddit and their jemâa-s.

681 In fact, this penal law is matched by a fiscal organization,
which sustains it. According to a principle that has not yet
[693] been entirely abandoned in modern finance, the magistrate, and
more frequently the "verbalisateur" /verbalizer, one who draws
up an official report/, as we would say, benefits from the fine
624 imposed, or seizes the object of the offense. Such is also, as
has been seen, the retribution of the guardians of agricultural
ban or imchchurd'a, whose name, formed from the Arabic root
expressing the convention with /378/ clauses, clearly marks its
character. But there is a great difference between this conduct
[689] and that of the moqaddem. The collectivity imposes interdiction
on such-and-such a pasturage or such-and-such an orchard. Transgression
authorizes, on the part of the communal agent, immediate
capture: automatic application of a "prelaw," that being
mixed with elements of noxal surrender. Such is the amchchard'o,
the ancestor of the gamekeeper and village policeman. Much
634 more complex is the role of the moqaddem. If in certain cases
451 he too seems to reward himself from the flagrante delicto or
[554] "good take," most often he collects and keeps accounts of regulatory
[651] payments, only a portion of which comes back to him.
Periodically he must give an accounting. Here is a typical
document on this subject. It is, let us say, the end-of-year
report of a manager of communal funds. Although drawn up
in inadequate form, it can be summed up in columns of figures
(1).

[436] [104] 1. Abbreviations: m, mithqâl; o, uqiyya; mu, mûzûna; uj, wajh; f, fals. These are nominal moneys.

/378 cont./

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Credit	Nature of the operation	Debit	Nature of the operation
	A) *In cash*		
12 m 4 o	Remitted by the *taqbilt*.	60 o, 1/2 mu	Gift to the Ulad Sidi Ah'med u Musa (Asif Leh'lu).
14 o	Amount of the present of condolences made by the *jemâa* of the Idaw Mçat't'og and the Idaw Kais.	3 uj	Gift to the Ulad Sidi Ah'med u Musa (Asif Leh'lu).
		57 o	"Bled Lebda," Idaw Mçat't'og and Idaw Kais.
9 o	Amount of a present of condolences.	45 o	Price of sheep remitted to Lah'sen b. Ah'med and Moh'ammed b. Messâud of Tamarwut, that is, 30 o + 15 o.
9 o	Price of a sheep slaughtered for the *jemâa* and reimbursed to the *moqaddem*.		
9 o 1 mu	Amount of the condolences of the Mentaga.	4 uj	Partial reimbursement to Lah'sen u Ah'med. This sum represents part of the debts that the *taqbilt* owes.
		3 o, 1/2 mu	Help for the granddaughter of the a. Buzid of Asif Leh'lu.
		3 o, 1/2 mu	Help for the daughter of Sidi Ah'med b. Sidi Moh'ammed of Agersif at the time of his return to the mosque of Asif Leh'lu.
Total: 16 m, 5 o, 1 mu.		Total: 16 m, 8 o, 1.5 mu, 7 uj.	

/379/

B) Fiduciary operations

451	4 o	Price of a sheep.
634	3 o	—
652	7 o	—
	5 uj	Loan to an old man.
	5 uj	Loan to an old man.
	11 mu. 2 fl	Price of sheepskins.
	10 o	Loan to Âbdallah u Març
	Total: 24 o, 10 uj, 11 mu, 2 fl	

20 o	Price of sheep of dhbîh'a and sum remitted to the women.
60 o, 1 mu	Gift given to Sidi H'asan, one of the sons of the a. Ben Nâçer.
6 o, 1/2 mu	Gift given to the Ulad Sidi Muh'.
3 o	Sum spent by the moqaddem (?).
9 o	Sum remitted to Moh'ammed b. Brahim Lachger, that is, the price of three sheep.
6 o	Sum remitted to Lah'sen Kâbûs as reimbursement.
30 o	Gift to the marabout Sidi H'ammo n-ait ^{c}Ayâd of the Sous.
4 o, 1/2 mu	Sum remitted by Âbdellah b. Ah'med u Març to Sidi Ah'med u Nâçer.
Total: 138 o, 2 mu	

Recapitulation of the credit: 18 m, 9 o, etc.
Recapitulation of the debit : 30 m, 6 o, etc.
Balance: — 11 m, 7 o, etc.

/379 cont./

634 We are in Idaw Geryun around 1836. The *moqaddem* ex-
451 presses himself as a delegated administrator. And he finishes
[652] with a negative balance: the sums advanced by himself!

Such documents reveal a singular advancement of the administrations in certain of these mountain groups. An account-
[554] ancy implying the use of writing is demanded from the com-
munal magistrate, without the slightest abuse being allowed him. Undoubtedly, as has been said, parallel to this vein runs another vein: that of the pressures of personal power. The remarkable thing is that the former was never abolished and continued to represent, in the worst adventures, an aspiration never discouraged.

634 The attributions of the city are not only internal, but also of international law. Here again the *moqaddem* and the ait Arbâin represent the interests of their group. Among the most frequent pacific acts in which they could take part, and which have left us written traces, let us cite:

175 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the orig-
619 inal source./ In 1136 Heg.: 1724 an agreement between the
675 Idaw Geryun and the people of Uzaga (upper ait H'adduyws) on
634 the subject of a limit of forest use, *maçâlih' al-ghâba*. Guar-
antors are furnished respectively — old men for the /380/ most part, *ifqiren* — as security against trespass or robberies occurring on the confines; also as respect for the acorn grove's being put in defense. The agreement carries a penal clause, a considerable one of 1,000 onces to one who breaks it.

Agreements concerning pasturage and water rights on the Tabgurt (acts of 1114 Heg.: 1702 and 1115 Heg.: 1703) of the Idma and a. H'adduyws jemâas. Elsewhere I have published and analyzed these acts. Here again we find the principle characters
[613] noted up to here: presence of the *ikhs* delegates, of the *moqad-
dem*-s, climate of detailed discussion mixed with an archaic communitarian ardor.

/380 cont./

The Wording of the Rule

000 Made from harsh internal competitions, from inexpiable vendettas, the group nonetheless presents to the exterior a cohesion which is that of a fagot of thorns, inextricable and untouchable. And is it not significant that this image of a fagot was inspired in the Middle Ages by our first communes?

671 171 This thorny cohesion is sealed by a juridical act. It is these penal codifications called qânûn in Kabylia and inçaf among our Chleuhs /Shluh/, veritable commonplace of the Berbère /Berber/ institution. Revealed by Hanoteau and Letourneux, found, with what profusion! in the Moroccan South, producing in Algeria around 1930 a scandal of surprise of an indeed sympathetic naïveté, their history is already long (1).

1. L. Milliot, "Les institutions kabyles /Kabyle institutions/," R. E. I., 1932, pp. 138 sq., and "Les qânouns kabyles /The Kabyle qânouns/," in the work by Hanoteau and Letourneux, pp. 1 sq., 26 sq., ibid., 1933, remarkable historical critique of the documents provided by these two authors.

One can follow the chain from the edict, already mentioned, of Yah'yâ u Tâfûft (1510) up to the deliberation submitted to the prefect, in the cadre of our municipal law, by a Kabyle village in 1945.

671 212 It is probable that they represent one of the first uses of Arabic writing in the Sous. The synonymy of chl. /Shluh/ ikchchuden, ar. /Arabic/ alwâh', "tablets," "tables of the Law" (2).

2. The jurists of the Sous often speak of these "tables," alwâh', which corresponds to chl. /Shluh/ ikchchuden, "bits of wood,"

/380 cont./

671 /footnote 2 continued/ to which the cus-
212 tomary codifications are consigned. The
latter come to be designated under the
name of "tables," without further allusion
to the material of the instrument. Never-
theless this institution must be compared
[764] with the practice of the tabulae defixionis,
[789] in rites of spells in which the planchette,
often covered with characters and wrapped
in a shroud, is slipped into an old tomb.

The society that we are describing here knows only paper for what concerns the juridical acts.

[824] The geographical area of the acts on wood (probably pistachio wood, igg) seems to have for its center the tribe of the Ilalen. In the Ilalen of the East approximately half of the acts are drawn up on wood, the other half being drawn up on paper. In the tribe of the Ilalen of the West the proportion of the acts on wood /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ seems to be a little smaller. In the limitrophe tribes one finds a variable proportion of acts on wood, but still very strong in the region of Timgilcht (Tafrawt) and Idaw Kensus (Igherm). In the Ammeln, for example, few acts on wood. They are no longer found, to my knowledge, at Anzi, Ifran, Bu Izakam, or in the Haut Atlas, where paper has been generalized since the sixteenth century. The proportion of acts on wood seems hardly to have varied since an ancient period and to have remained fairly constant up to the establishment of the Tribunaux coutumiers.

is /381/ attested by all the old jurists of the South, who devote

/381 cont./

671 212 m[illegible] dissertations to it (1).

1. For example, as-Suktânî, Ajwiba, ms. Ud ᶜAbd al-Mawlâ, pp. 139 b and 140 b (Deren).

It was undoubtedly under this aspect that the problem of the native law, outside the fiqh, was posed for them. One can thus suppose at the beginning of the sixteenth century, at the probable epoch of the generalization of the notariate in our mountains, a parallel generalization of these codifications. The very name of these elaborations — even if they replaced something older and of which we shall never have any idea, save for the chance of a lucky find — is strictly Arabic. It is the very word, designating this "equity," that our jurists sometimes oppose to the norms
671 properly speaking among the sources of the judgment. Inçaf is a
212 religious word, with moral sonority. If a semantic extension
779 makes it mean "fine," then "penal tariffication," the fiction of
an arbitration of the viri prudentes authorizes the transition from one notion to the other. A continuity without rupture is thus established from the orthodox thought and from its paradoxical particulars to the illicitness of purely laic legislations and certain of which, horrors! deal with personal status.

This is what the writers indeed felt, this is what they have always held. Even if one makes allowances for the professional scruples of the scribes, pious men with devout affectation, with sanctimonious words, this characteristic is found even in the con-
175 tent of these charters. Effort at attachment to orthodoxy! A text
685 of 1142 Heg.: 1730 assimilates the compensatory tariff for rob-
671 bery, practiced in Seksawa, with the canonical penalty of ampu-
tation of the hand: in fact, says our doctor, 33 onces were the
779 value of a hand during the period of the Companions! Every time
that it can be done, erudite qutoations come to legitimate the
175 foreign communal law. A similar act of 1147 Heg.: 1735,
683 emanating from the "cadi" sidi Moh'ammed, son of the saint of
671 Assttif, strangely joins a quotation from Khalîl to some
779

175 /381 cont./
683 considerations upon the tariff for facial wounds, evaluated at
671 1/20 of the dîâ, that is, 72 Abbassian mithqâls-s. An opinion
779 by a fqih from Arghen already mentioned (act of Tinwalin of
175 1198 Heg.: 1784) is based conjointly on the Tuh'fa and on
681 "what rules in the matter of ^{c}orf and of ^{c}âda in the country of
671 Sous, from Fès /Fez/ to the Sous, in the matter /382/ of fines
779 and of inçâf: and this is licit for these countrymen."

This pedantic contamination between the statute and the
671 native law is not alone in revealing the true nature of these
codifications. From what one is going to see now, even though
it is only a matter of indications or traces, will doubtless stand
out traits probably more authentic. The preamble of all these
texts has already been noted. It is an agreement recording the
unanimity of a group on its maçâlih', on its property. One
knows indeed what use Malékite /Maliki/ empiricism can make
671 of this latter notion. But enough allowance has been made for
779 the religious impregnations of the system for one also to seek to
disclose there another inspiration, that of a collective pragmatism, making sure of its legitimacy by the pursuit of its material
671 and moral interests. This legitimacy manifests itself by social
634 contract. This is not an accident. The contractual aspect is in
fact quite striking in these testimonies. This is a mutual com-
675 mitment among them on the one hand, with the promoted
moqaddem on the other, to which the ikhs chiefs subscribe. It
obligates them as it obligates the moqaddem, and if the latter,
curiously enough, does not figure in the act it is because the
consensus of the patres is deemed to entail his conditioned adherence on the basic points stipulated by the document. A contract
thus becomes the law of the group.

The clauses most often constitute a veritable tariffed charter.
It is rare to read, as in this document of 961 Heg.: 1583 (Idaw
Geryun), that the moqaddem and his assistants "will take" what
they please. Such a tone is isolated. In the totality of the cases
[126] it is a matter of a minute tariffication. A large number of these
documents has been collected by us in the high valley.

/382 cont./

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The Community As Organ of Juridical Creation

"Public law," we would say. To what extent is such an appellation legitimate? In fact, despite the development of the contract in this society, the statutory aspect of many individual relations on the one hand, their implication with collective factors on the other, finally the omnipresence of a communitarian life whose adjuvant force and the feeling of well-being and normalcy that it inspires have for ransom a very extended gamut of sanctions, continually entail the interference of the private and of the public, of the civil and of the penal.

Such an interference will go by itself into an "archaic" law, and the fact that one sets up here a question that elsewhere would be pure scruple, and in addition anachronistic, indicates to what extent the present investigation has believed it necessary to turn aside, apropos the /383/ Seksawa system, and Chleuh /Shluh/ system in general, from such commonly accepted ideas, those of the late Marcy, for example. The distinction of public law and private law is related moreover, especially perhaps in Seksawa, to aspects of expression and elaboration rather than to the nature of things. But aspects how strongly contrasted! [692] Up to the contemporaneous period the jemâa has remained the penal judge. On the other hand, we see from the oldest period that an external magistery is called upon in order to recognize goods and persons. But, in addition, and on this very matter, the legislator is none other than the group.

671 779 This account has sufficiently marked all the traits of indivision, confusion, or junction between this communal law, as it is expressed or is conceived itself, and the fiqh. As in several departments of private law, it is in a sort of contractual excess that a surpassing of the model, thus a useful alibi, seems to have been sought. This law has outbid a law of citizens and merchants by the meticulous extreme of the cheap-Jack. With its being so close to magico-religious bases, to the communitarian vehemence of the group, it is not by an oath that, like our good towns of the

/383 cont./
671 thirteenth century, it creates the communal convention. It is by
[779] a contract.

One thing nevertheless remained inassimilable even though it tried to absorb it into the accommodating Malékite /Maliki/ opportunism of the maçlah'a. This is the faculty of legislating (1).

Laic faculty in its foundation, democratic in its exercise, un-
[421] limited in its applications. Two examples of it have already
been cited: a procedural deliberation over property, and another
[586] over the status of the wife and her right to autorepudiation. Two
671 other deliberations, quite recent, have governed the distribution
794 of the offerings of Lalla Aziza and of Sidi Mh'and of Ammern.
In both cases the jemâa of the Seksawa had to be aware of the finances of its saints. And although these deliberations have been provoked in our day by a foreign initiative, on grounds a little experimental, they nonetheless include a lesson. It was only to observe the naturalness, the gravity with which the assembly took hold of matters so exorbitant of everyday life — at least to our eyes — in order to understand that to its people its competence extended not only /384/ to the temporal administration, not only to the status of persons and goods, to the whole matter of the

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1. De Ligniville, "La coutume privée des ait ᶜAt't'a du Sahara /The private custom of the ait ᶜAt't'a of the Sahara/," in CHEAM, 1937, gives interesting details on some important legislative modifications decided by means of ekklêsia: right to inherit granted to the woman, the suppression of the character, executory with respect to marriage, that was given to the application of henna to the conjoints, the husband's designation of ten men prohibited to the repudiated wife, alleviation of the levirate, the introduction of the waly, etc.

/384 cont./

671 [794] private and public law, but further to the administration of the sacred.

Let us remember the constant intervention of the group that is revealed at all levels in the religious, economic, juridical institutions of these societies. Let one judge what its initiative could have been in the periods of expansion.

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Group Reaction
Individual Ethics

Attempt at Reconstitution

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Thus, in this life, two elements confront each other. The one, patrimonial; the other, movable and acquisitive. One establishes an equilibrium on the structure of the group, itself linked to an agrarian order; the other provokes incessant competition fed by full monetary play and the expansion of contracts.

On the one hand, law of the soil and of origins; on the other, law of money and convention, in other words, also a law of individual work and adventure. Between the one and the other, a tension, which further results from certain aspects of the judiciary joust, but formerly must have been expressed more fully. For four centuries a least a contentious genre ruled, where the law is expressed by action and has writing at its disposal. But the group, let us take heed, maintains this justice outside its walls. It may conspire, indeed in spite of itself, with the montagnard order. It is too far removed from it in its spirit as well as in its methods. In the end, it will destroy it.

There was undoubtedly a time when states, or, better, juridical attitudes, counted more, linked to the structure of the city and guaranteed by immediate safeguards, some traces of which still remain. It is not that their relations excluded movement or the unforeseen, or froze the person in an immovable communitarian equilibrium. On the contrary, one might imagine that the economic modes did not often depend upon what we call equity. Temporary success by violence, seizure of pledges very broadly

/385 cont./

000 understood, feint, surprise, violence temporarily broke up a legitimacy that adequate means, brought into play by the other party, came to re-establish in the end. Emigration, which one may consider as going back to a very ancient practice, had an important function: that of creating voids. Individual absences, ritual flights, military dispossessions unbalanced the local group. Today we see the return of the exiled child, who is not "prodigal," /386/ but miserly, take place in feast and scandal, because the one exiled brings back his savings, and because he is immediately going to attack sedentary capital. Formerly the role of these movements of individuals or of groups seems to have been preponderant. At the same time that it reconstituted the substance of the groups, it formed the bond between the two contrary elements whose tension we are observing even at present. Right of the soil and of origins against right of money and convention, on the one hand; right of the absent one against right of the one present, on the other hand: the antiquity of the system probably resided in the play of these four terms.

177 The contemporary stage expresses the organization that is built between these basic data and the oriental contribution. But when and how does this contribution intervene, and from which foyers of diffusion? Insoluble question for the moment. What is sure is that the amalgamation took place on levels of unequal depth according to the sectors of the institution. An important thing, because the oriental norms seem to have sometimes been accepted or submitted to in such a way that the practice contrived to palliate them, sometimes voluntarily elected, indeed systematically exaggerated, or diverted toward other ends. The hypothesis of phases of deliberate adoption or of authoritarian imposition, Almohadism, for example, is not excluded. With less gigantic, less legendary proportions, there were perhaps other cases in which adjustment was attempted by the indigenous legislative genius between the ancestral ideas and the universal
776 alphabet that Islam brought. Whence the importance of so many
177 founding heros, today submerged under a dull or rude hagiology, but in which one has a presentiment of appurtenance to an old

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776 177 Mediterranean foundation. Thus perhaps here this Amer u H'addô, magician-king according to the Arab chronicle, eponym of the highest valley. The agellid-s of the fourteenth century were perhaps the first great adapters. But they are buried in an indiscernable past.

The Age of the System

671 779 182 It is thus better to hold fast to a patent fact: that the Seksawa system realizes a transactional equilibrium with Islam, and undoubtedly in large part conscious.

Great sections of fiqh exist intact here and can easily be recognized: use of Arabic writing and orthodox notarial forms. Clear conviction of the user that he is drawing inspiration from the one and the other norm, the indigenous and the oriental, the former gaining through local conditionings, the latter in the /387/ ethical choice. So many traits that would make one think of a profound adulteration of the system. And although composite is not the synonym of backward, the impression would be that one is dealing, in the Chleuh /Shluh/ law, with a bastard and derived phenomenon. But here is the opposite side.

Invasion by the fiqh, certainly. But delimited, elaborated [212] in a personal ensemble. Adoption of writing, certainly, but with the benefit of local prestiges. Assimilation, certainly, but balanced, circumscribed, desired, and sometimes even, one would say, simulated. Would this law then be a very old system able to safeguard, under wise adaptations, its original legacy? Similarly, what is to be concluded concerning its morcellation? It presents itself today divided into minuscule personalities of cantons and ravines according to a compartmentalization that, remarkably enough, does not always coincide with that of the ways of speaking. But does that imply youth or decadence? At the very least the existence of a Chleuh /Shluh/ juridical koīnè, entirely coherent and thoughtful, although broken up into a thousand varieties, postulates a maturity favorable to the

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671 779 182 formation of large ensembles and broad styles, rather than the spontaneity of youth.

Among its traits, there are some archaic ones. And not only on the plane where one ordinarily looks for -- and finds -- the one of magic or of folklore, but on the plane of the law itself, a matter indeed more irrecusable. First of all, the notion of an agrarian order with ritual sanctions, with magico-religious defenses, survives in some techniques of immediate settlement, some attitudes generative of powers, of movements, or of juridical states. It is probably thus for what touches on the oldest economic foundations: relations for irrigation or pasturing, landowner equilibrium of the ikhs-s, exchanges with the communal sacred. More on the surface, an agonistic reality is expressed in the judicial joust (1) and in the very details of the procedural play. But only its expression is individual. It stems in fact from the same archaism upon which are founded the pacts of mystic patronage, seasonal feasts, and the ritual disputes for which they furnish the occasion: thus the auction for the sacrificial meats, still very recognizable under a cloak of notarial law.

But it is this elaboration that leads. A vigorous synthesis takes place at the communal echelon. It suppresses all the rest into incoherence and discontinuity. Collective tension has become /388/ dialectic of litigants. Relations with the sacred take the contractual path. The agrarian order is maintained only by resorting to contentious debate. Islamic schemas dominate the successoral material so much that the indigenous law no longer deviates from the fiqh, apparently at least, except in the quantity of subterfuges, ar. /Arabic/ h'iyal. All this law, which guarantees, through the duration, the permanence of the milieu, has

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1. J. Berque, "Documents anciens sur la coutume immobilière des Seksawa /Ancient documents on the landed-property customs of the Seksawa/," R. afr., 1948, pp. 399 sq.

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671 779 182 passed over in a block to the principles of importation, to the point that it is necessary to look very attentively and very far in order to find what it dissembles. More intact, marriage combines, to the exclusion of any liturgical aspect, old practices marking the communitarian intensity and a very acute contractual character. In this genre the institution, which comes to a sort of co-operative ratiocination, outbids Islam. Under this strong notion of individual acquests, under the adjacent ideas on which depend the parsimony of the emigrant serving for the resiliation of sales, or the peasant parsimony serving for their consolidation, or the bitter dispute between the familial inheritance and the avarice of each one, are glimpsed a play of investments and almost of agio, a permanent inflation brought by the abundance of importations of cash and the scarcity of land: so many traits that one cannot consider as recent.

671 675 421 182 Quite on the inverse, here is its very modern cachet. The mobility of civil rights attains an almost citylike rhythm here. The personal value of the obligation, the element of intuitus personae inherent in the contract disappear before a great latitude of negotiation and interchangeability. Thus in the twuliya, "transfer of the rights of the taker, "in the istidkâl, "transfer of successoral rights," and in the unconditional capacity to constitute "mandatory," lukil. The formularies are applied to render by redundances the substitution thus realized. One reads, for example, in a twuliya of the a. Umgan, 906 Heg.: 1654, the following expression: tawlîya çah'îh'a wa'starkaba-hu fî sarîjati-hi wa nazzala-hu fî mah'alli-hi, "valid transfer: he had it get up on his saddle (cf. chl. /Shluh/ tarikt, name given to the substitution), and put it (lit. "got down," cf. chl. /Shluh/ verb zuggez, in the same sense) in its proper place." Transmissibility of contractual obligations, infinite play of credit, freedom in representation: all that constitutes a sort of rejoinder to the unwritten laws of the equilibrium between ikhs-s and of patrimonial permanence. This agility of the mobilizations and substitutions extends even to the most unexpected objects, and which one would believe most bound to the identity, truly mystic,

/388 cont./
671 of the person: shares of benefice of a saint, tisura (trans. of the
675 Arabic futûh'ât), of the right to mutual assistance, tiwizi, of
421 "protection," etc. There one /389/ is at the very antipode of
182 what one imagines of an "ancient" law.

What is to be said about this division of labor that not only
671 qualifies, in the landed-property procedure, judges outside the
182 group, but jealously denies competence to the temporal chief?
[692] These careful delimitations, although undoubtedly from the most authentic foundation of the Chleuh /Shluh/ society, appear irreducible to archaism. Nevertheless the splitting of the judiciary instance obeys exigencies of recourse to the outside, of pause in the course of the joust, and, in short, of rejection of responsibility by the group, which express obscure traditional sentiments. This gives rise nonetheless to a procedure of scholarly type, written and aspiring to cityness. Traits undeniably "advanced": condemnation by default that the codifications anticipate, fine for nonexecution of the sentence or for failure to answer a summons, this last motif recurring constantly.

681 The penal law, up to a very recent period, has been admin-
182 istered by the jemâa. The latter has never really given it up. It is even for this purpose that it deploys the most initiatives and
[634] most willingly exercises its legislative function. But let us note that this penal law, based on pecuniary composition, a composition duly tariffed, evinces a singular institutional maturity. While the gentilitial structure inspires the agrarian order, it is effaced, in the penal one, before something that is clearly of the public law, and felt as such.

695 The plural oath has retained its role. It concludes all litiga-
182 tions that the writing does not determine. But this restriction is
[691] already quite important. And moreover, even where it keeps all its value, the oath has been driven into a reduced position: no longer of sworn law -- but of a second element of a procedure begun on an intellectual and profane plane. The richness of the elements of magico-religious order that one finds here and there in this part of the system cannot efface the contrary aspects, which are also striking. Certainly it is possible to suppose that

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695 182 the role of the jusjurandum was formerly more extensive in the system before the introduction of the Arab notarial art came to disturb its economy. But one has no reason to eliminate as "recent" the character of laicity that the course presents and which is attested to for several centuries. The disconnection, in a way, of the function of the oath, which, an immediate technique of settlement, has become, in the heart of a procedure, the competitor of the writing, denotes in the present stage the trace of a profound and ancient regression of the sacred.

/390/ Divergences Between the Evolution of the Religion and That of the Law

121 [776] But would we not observe a regression of this genre in hagiology? Between the historic heroine who rules the Seksawa and the anonymity of the local sanctuaries, no intermediary stage. To what is the fact to be attributed? To an original character or to an acquired evolution? And, in this second hypothesis, to the progress of a community in love with classifications, to the decadence of the creative faculties, or to the logical expansion of monotheism? We know nothing about it. However that may be, it indeed seems that at a certain period there took place a simplification of this society, a lopping of the autochthonous spontaneities, and that that is to be put in relation with such a trait, still to be discovered, of the reception of Islam in the Haut Atlas.

[613] It is undoubtedly the agnatic group, as ritual person as well as juridical person, that bore the cost of the transformation, or of the decadence. Whence the discordant and anomalistic character that its survivals or its reappearances assume today. But the void thus created has been diversely filled by law and religion.

776 795 At the base exists a swarming of observances most often exclusive of personal support, and we have even recognized there a sacred of strictly communal foundation. The religious and social here go so far as to become identified. On a superior stage two or three figures of saints, common to all or part of the Seksawa,

/390 cont./
776 assume a "national" role, and benefit from an organized cult,
795 with great gatherings and financial arrangements. Still higher
reign the ties subscribed to by such-and-such a village or, less
frequently, such-and-such a taqbilt or such-and-such a family,
with regard to saints from the outside. Individual depassments
then enter into play. But confreric affiliation is scarcely represented in Seksawa, or rather is confounded there, under certain
of these aspects, with the particular devotions to such-and-such
a "marabout": here and there in the mountains one finds the
faithful of sidi Ah'med u Musa, who attend his end-of-summer
musem. Purely individual matter, matter of "conscience" and
also of mode, hence the growth and decadence of a brotherhood
like the Nâçiriyya for example, quite decayed from what it was
a century ago. Matter of craze also, indeed of vertigo, as was
seen at the time of the push of Mâ' l-^{c}Aynîn in 1912. And there
one touches upon the richness, the unforeseeability of a spirituality
whose movements of course largely surpass the cadre of the Seksawa or even of the Atlas.

771 /391/ The liaison to the ground and the hagiological creation are formed diversely according to these stages, at each of
which their power is affirmed, one might say, in inverse proportion to each other. At the base, a collective allegiance sustained by an agrarian order. At the intermediary stage, rudiments
of cantonal, indeed federal, cult. Then contracts between groups
and patron saints. Finally purely personal devotion. So many
social modes, orders of ideas and sentiments that are echeloned
on these different levels, but not, it is true, without interferences
[779] of one with the other. And Islam reacts, constantly although unequally, on everything.

671 In the law, on the contrary, there has not only been transfor-
178 mation, but reconstruction. Borrowed norms have operated on a
layer less deep than the old institutions that they tended to sup-
177 plant. This discordance has brought adjustment. Consequently,
a strong denivellation today separates the spirit of this law from
its procedure, and even from the mores through which it attempts
to safeguard, in spite of this procedure, what is essential for it. Thus

/391 cont./
671 the system was dedicated to complication, subtlety, feint. The
178 contribution from the outside became the avowed principle,
177 whereas the indigenous foundation fell back on secrecy and
chicanery. Nevertheless, the ensemble held. It held by the
671 conspiracy of the economy, of a collective psychology, and of
182 the event. It held above all because this society set the com-
munal institution against the external threats and internal dislo-
cation. The commune rebuilt everything that collapsed. This
permanent reconstruction alone rendered possible the maintaining
of the ensemble in spite of so many incongruities.

182 Only the commune fashioned the synthesis. And it is precisely in its most conscious form, most modern to our eyes, the most striking by its democratic and laic character, in these deliberations by the group on its law and its saints, that so many heterogeneous elements were best expressed: the old shy particularity, reference to Islam, and, above all, the desire to adapt, to innovate in order to preserve, to innovate in order to survive.

A Suppressed Culture

121 This course is the very one of history. In fact, we found history, among the Seksawa, not only in the obscure testimony of medieval chronicles, but in the structure of the groups, the adventure of individuals, and the /392/ very hierarchy of the sacred. Perhaps it is also to be recognized in the style of their culture and of their life.

177 The evolution and the secular action of the capitals, Marra-
kech /Marrakesh/, Taroudant, which are in some respects two
cities of God, came less to modify the local genius, or to precip-
itate its rhythm, than to add to its complexity. As far as one goes
181 back, it is found imbued with this aptitude for heterogeneity,
177 which, if it is not original, certainly goes back to a stage still
anterior to our oldest archives. Although this stage remains to be
specified, one divines there a singular propensity to accept the
thing of others. Introduction of foreign norms, acceptance of
master words, in this case the language of a legal fraternity
somewhat sorcerer, culture of defensive strategems, use of mask
elements and refuge elements: all that creates a composite,
artificial genre, both welcoming and resistant, servile and inex-
pugnable. For the Chleuh /Shluh/, his very nature.

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181 The outside contribution clashes more with the local authen-
177 ticity, and it more willingly, one might say, accepts it. From
day to day the system increases its amplitude, magnifies its
virtuosity to welcome. The Mussulman exclusion of usury is
going to be fashioned in it with an immemorial practice of credit
with interest. The preferences of the fiqh for the contract, which
[779] it substitutes every time it can for the rite or the statute, are
[675] adopted with enthusiasm by this communitarian society, which
goes further. In that the fiqh will not only be accepted, but surpassed, caricatured. The milieu has brought into play its prodigious agility of means, its dangerous munificence of gifts. Acrobatic conciliation with its profound, and in a sense parodic, options.

121 One is not sure in fact that a certain play, some incertitude,
indeed even this vagueness that so opportunely authorizes bilingualism, are not contrived as evasion. Game aspect, ruse aspect, surprise aspect, absurdity aspect: so many, if I may venture to say it, relief escapements left to the ennui of the honest Chleuh /Shluh/ man, which mortify both his own ideal and the adventure of the times.

The system of the Seksawa, or of another such of these populations, naturally does not present itself as a body of doctrine, even though the preceding analyses have, perhaps to excess, indicated the part of the deliberate. It is especially a technical ensemble corresponding to an ensemble of emotions, to a certain
121 awareness of the just and the unjust. This feeling, it is history
that has created it. Now this is a history of retreats and defeats.
175 The *decrescendo* of hope undoubtedly began among the Seksawa
with the construction of the citadel of al-Qāhira, which pushed them back toward the mountains. Elsewhere, with other events, standing out from a general failure: /393/ the one that sanctioned in the last third of the thirteenth century the installation of the Mérinides at Marrakech, among the last jumps of Almohadism. For our Seksawa, these jumps lasted throughout the fourteenth century.

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175 121 Now, it is in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that in the S.-W. of Morocco the Arab notarial practice became general, with all its consequences in the local genius: imitation, wagers, travesties, outbidding.

One can suppose that it was also during this period that the "Tables of the Law," *ikchchuden* or *alwāh'*, material form assumed by the native codifications, multiplied. These communal archetypes seem to have formed the counterpart of the generalization of the individual writing, evident even at this time. A deliberate and collective effort of juridical expression could very well have been launched by this invasion from the exterior: both resistance and compromise, a mixed sentiment from which was to proceed, four centuries later, such Kabyle tariffications. A technique of proof, or, better, a technique of the judiciary memory, armed with a convenient instrument, paper, and a prestigious language, because secret, the Arabic notarial one, laid siege to the country. It awakened there a juridical spontaneity whose previous creations escape us. The Chleuh /Shluh/ law of the plain and even of the mountains was then undoubtedly driven to the necessity of adaptation and renovation from which its present characteristics resulted (1).

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1. It was perhaps also in this period that the charters of granary-citadels were drafted. Mme Jacques Meunié connects this drafting with the primacy of the Igezzulen at the time, and the "kingdom" of Tazerŵalt, *Greniers-citadelles...* /Granary-citadels.../, 1951, p. 232. The hypothesis is quite interesting, but too limited, it would seem. The invasion of all of North Africa by the "marabouts" of the Moroccan S.W. likewise took place at the same time. There is an ensemble of facts there, about whose connection one has a presentiment, without, however, being able to explain it up to now.

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175 121 Intellectual, technical, and linguistic shock. Simultaneously a phenomenon better understood agitated all of Morocco. This was the reaction of the masses before the Christian enterprises of the littoral. New burst of hagiology. The "tireurs" /marksmen, drawers/ pursued in the most remote cantons their confreric training. Saints swarmed. Their high-colored figure formed the synthesis between the Islamic universals and the ritual forces of the canton. Thus, the great South "pole," sidi Ah'med u Musa. Although, since the Mérinides, the Seksawa mountains remained in a fierce isolation, one cannot grant that they remained completely apart. There, as undoubtedly elsewhere in the Sous, the man of God and the warrior, with the rural notary, henceforth made up a /394/ triptych by which this society expected to resolve its contrasts.

[137] [177] At the same time there arrived in the depths of lost valleys, in the form of new plants, or new money, some of the great movements that were then shaking the world: plant revolution of maize, attraction of the great colonial exploitation with sugar cane, appeal of the factories of the littoral, latest triumphs of the importation of Sudanese gold. All this created a conjuncture of a singular power, which corresponds in the chronicles to the rise of these petty marabouts of the bend of the Drâ, the Saâdians. Node of economy, of institution, of spirituality, of event. Can one go back farther? This is what, too hypothetically without doubt, one has attempted to do.

Ideals and Comportments

577 [128] [184] Let us now jump four or five centuries to carry ourselves to the beginning of the twentieth. Let us abandon the historical reconstitution and the analysis of the actual institution in order to perceive the morality. Is it already too late? Here is what we can observe in any one of the Seksawa taqbilt-s.

[571] All personal existence here is enclosed in the confused ensemble of affective relations. Wasps' nest of comportments, all having their moral qualification, as well as their economic

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foundation. The result is this judiciary tension in which the person has his place, which defines him. This stage is not that of the old group solidarities. Nevertheless it stems from it. In certain respects, it expresses it, in rejuvenating it. Proceedings here have, even more than a role of extinguishing trouble, a role of maintainer of the trouble. Its essential function is to reveal and to keep watch of the individual and collective lives. This is the very function of the rite in other societies. This one, harsh, rational, polemical, has a more juridical than religious bent. It finds its privileged moments in judicial tension rather than in religion. It is a society -- own genius or historical factors -- at the stage of dialectic and moral indignation.

This moral coloration is very important. It produces antagonisms in a very much constructed communal milieu. It also produces the heated asides of individual resentment.

Partisanship, vengeance, what people will say become the motive forces of an existence that perpetually oscillates between the two faces of the oppression: submit or make submit. There is scarcely any intermediary plane. That certainly not from the lack of a sense of imminent justice, but from a keen appetite for reparation. An /395/ unfathomable heredity imposes in all its rigor the persecutor-persecuted alternation, revealing the hazards of a milieu nevertheless profoundly egalitarian.

The enormity of the legacy of oppression governs the reactions of the passions to the extent that any success obtained in the revendication appears out of proportion with the immense failure of the past. Sterile tumults, repression in an economy where the forces of the man are untiringly wasted impose a heavy heritage of vengeance.

Whence it comes that, over against modern law, where the matter judged guarantees social stability, it would be to the protection of an indefinite possibility of instance, of a perpetual deferment of trial, that the Seksawa aspire. That is related not only to the structure of such a milieu, but also to an unconscious calculation of the probabilities. The civil life being defined for each one by insertion into the inextricable web of the disputes and

/395 cont./
577 competitions of the group, the number of affairs where a good ob-
571 jective law could have made victory anticipated before a juris-
diction likewise objective -- but is it? -- is ludicrously small compared to that of the mad instances that hatred, appetite, fidelity impose. An instinctive realism thus governs the indefinite reconduction of litigations rather than a decision that would close debate, and dry up life.

Nevertheless, out of this confusion of passions and interests, of subtleties and angers, finally rises a sort of equilibrium. It is formed from the constancy that opposes indefinitely, that is to say, maintains in their respective positions, the rival factions. Tension becomes safeguard. Vengeance, the momentary possession of power, the success of a judicial stratagem compensate for, for a few moments, a few years, a few generations, the phases of persecution, poverty, or exile. The justice of this society thus governs the free exercise of each of the two terms of the alternative.

An appeal to outside intervention, which would consolidate one or the other, is properly inexpiable treason. Whence the rigorous penalties that the canton codifications devote to it:
[634] heavy fines, banishment, death. But let us not exaggerate. To
[628] enter into understandings with the neighbor, against the communal
adversary, is a constant solicitation between these homogeneous cantons, bound by obscure solidarities. Neither would peace offer here the security that this word arouses in a modern mind, nor war the unconditional violence and leap into the unknown that it is for
[721] us. Here war is but an infraction of the rules of the game. But it
is also the recourse to a larger game. Rapine and vengeance /396/ are practiced in the one case as well as in the other one. More than individuals, it is families who are the protagonists. Exactly like the *Fabia* gens, certain ones carry on alliances and rivalries by themselves. War is the prolongation of municipal
121 tensions. Unless, inversely, they result from larger disputes. To
what therefore does the notion of *taqbilt* correspond, on both sides of which are disposed the one and the other tension, thus similar and interdependent, and to what extent does it constitute a

121 /396 cont./
threshold: here is one of the primary objectives of Maghrebi sociology.

This threshold is in any case perceptible by the heart. Serious circumstances, a shifting of emotions or passions are necessary in order for one to transgress it. It is then a leap to another plane. Here the communal order reigns, with its warmth and intimacy, its lively ceremonies, its choruses, its dances. It rests upon a formidable instinct of duration, and of what it contributes in compensations in the long run.

The need for revenge, the hope of distant restorations, of showy returns, confidence in antagonisms propitious to the maneuver, offering each one his chance, and which excite the man, in victory as in defeat, to his full measure of vehemence and beauty -- that is what guides the group. Precariousness at the moment, but safeguard in time, indefinite quarrel, but reversals that guarantee perpetual movement: such are also and down to the details the moral correspondences of the law in this part of the Atlas.

Now this system is not isolated. It adheres to a great monotheism. It is interested in the wonders of the towns and of the plain, anxious to appropriate for itself, while neutralizing them, innovations and progress, or simply singularities. All this has imbued it with enthusiasms, distrusts, equivocations, and, above all, uneasiness. It feels besieged. Its culture has become transactional. Its sense of justice, although violent and original, did not escape the reach of such a phenomenon. The Seksawa order, this order of compression and explosion, is also an order that disguises itself, for it judges itself, and judges itself for the worse.

Only contemporary psychology could attempt to explain how this society has expressed its resistances and its defeats by all sorts of traits of ambiguity perceptible in its dialect, its ideas, its mores, its law. It would account for, by a felt culpability, this comportment that sometimes reserves for itself, sometimes transfers to others, the terrible judgment of history. Both these attitudes are fashioned diversely, according to the object or the epoch. This is the origin, not only /397/ of so many contrasts

/397 cont./

121 literarily exploited apropos the "Berbère," but more precisely of this incertitude that is at the bottom of it, formed by intimate transactions, relinquishments, and circumscribed resistances. To give and to retain: such is his law. Culture of contractions and circumvolutions, I should venture to say.

How, in the apprehension of a justice for which this man violently thirsts, can such a state of affairs be reconciled with a vitality with tension and alternations, so equipped to be patient and to endure? The just, for the Seksawa, risks being both the thing of importation, or at least expected from the exterior, and the thing that one hides within oneself without ever discovering it. Evasion on the one hand: through emigration, apprenticeship in Arabic or French letters, sometimes such an ostentatious treachery, almost romantic, such profanation: then the individual rushes forth, casting all behind him.

But also inaccessible flame in the depths of the heart, in the depths of history, in the depths of the grimoires, and which a rhythm of communal dancing, an inspiration from the saints of the Tichka or of Z'init' alone come to revive from time to time. /Page 398 is blank./

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Fourth Part
Attempt at Interpretation

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/401/

I. Limits and Range of the Seksawa Type

Position of the Seksawa in the Ensemble of the North African Sedentary Peoples

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121 The method of parallels is obsolete. Even to stop at criteria as provisional as sedentariness or Berbérophony, the present knowledge of North Africa does not permit a precise enough comparison between sectors. The latter, however, are ordered by geographical masses. Once the Rif, because insufficiently studied, the Moyen /Middle/ Atlas, because governed by economic and

/401 cont./

17 social movements too different from those that concern us, and
12 finally the Touareg /Tuareg/, because eccentric to the Maghreb, are eliminated, attention can be concentrated on a few domains that offer analogies to ours and at the very least the practical advantage of being quite well known (1).

17 Analogy? In the case of the Sous, let us say identity. The Seksawa are part of the Sous, even though more geographical space is integrated with this convenient appellation than present usage would concede to it. It is still infinitely less than it included in Arab authors. To wit: not only the plain but its mountainous reverses, the whole forming the essential of the linguistic and cultural domain of the tachelh'it /Tashelhit/. The southern counterfort of this Chleuh /Shluh/ country, the Anti-Atlas, homologous to our milieu with respect to the bisector that the river of the Sous describes, offers engaging correspondences with it. Economic resemblances, symmetries of peopling, action of the same saints, reign of the same theological and juridical genre. No need to insist here upon /402/ the multiple traits of

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(114) 1. Since, of course, here it is not a matter of monographs on Kabylia, the Aurès or the Mzâb, one will abstain from general bibliography, although an excellent comparative description of the various sedentary milieus of North Africa is to be found in J. Despois, L'Afrique du Nord, 1949. The documentation for the following pages comes mainly from investigation on the spot and also cross-checking carried on with experts. Notably, MM. R. Montagne, Ancel, Laburthe, Miralles, Rahmani, Ibnou Zekri, G.-H. Bousquet, Larnaude for Kabylia; Faublée, Cazebonne, for the Aurès; J. Schacht and the late P. Giacobetti for the Mzâb; Lieutenant Berthé for the Touareg /Tuareg/. My thanks to all.

/402 cont./

171 what seems to the inhabitant himself to express a veritable community. The Seksawa are the pole of rude and refractory archaism, as the Idaw Semlal are the one of moral expansion, of breaking up, of perpetual rejuvenation. Under the nuances due to the differences of cadre and of way of life, but especially to the capacity for local variations of the system, one will undoubtedly be able to understand the whole Chleuh /Shluh/ world which, in the preceding analysis, did not stay too close to the so-accented personality of the Seksawa.

The comparison with Kabylia will be infinitely more delicate. In what measure can it even be instructive, and does it not correspond to a simple clause of style? One can in fact pose this question. Each time that the account has recourse to Kabyle facts, especially in the law, it has been to set them against Chleuh /Shluh/ facts. Certainly, these two societies invite comparison by language, political mores, village habitat. But the differences are even more striking than the analogies.

[241] Here, valley crops, by irrigation and tiers, disposition of the orchard by masses; there, on the contrary, dry tillage, dispersion [342] of trees on slopes infinitely cut up. Here the house with terrace /flat roof/; there the roof of red tiles with double slope: these two styles express an opposition that E.-F. Gautier correctly perceived, although whimsically labeled as "Botr and Branés architectures" (1).

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1. E.-F. Gautier, Le passé de l'Afrique du Nord /The Past of North Africa/, 1942, p. 243.

000 Kabyle agriculture, although favored by the pluviometry, remains precarious. This is due not only to the insufficiency of landowner bases which the parceling destroys, but to the indolence of the techniques. The love for the tree has undoubtedly acted on the landscape. The slope is dotted with olive trees. More disciplined, the fig tree is arranged in gardens. The two species complete the natural contribution of the carob tree, the ash, the oak with acorns. But this country of powerful declivities does not know, with a few

/402 cont./

000 exceptions, the art of retaining the soils and the rain. Neither tiers nor basins. The plantation does not stop the rushing downward; it retains only too little of the water that runs down. The Kabyle, too, even more than the Chleuh /Shluh/, must have recourse to a veritable worker-nomadism in order to balance his resources.

This society (2), held by a summary energy, a /403/ lively and brutal sensuality, settles its conficts according to a code of honor with exigencies often deadly. In the comportments, the acquisitive lust, an avarice raised to the epic are made up for by the vehemence of fidelities and the generosity of passions. The woman, although victim of a system of rigorous masculinity, is indeed the worthy daughter, sister, and wife of these montagnards: victim, certainly, but participant, and sometimes gratified. Her future will perhaps be a revendicating one. It is said that already an association of girls, from Algiers it is true, has toppled the stone of Djemâa Çahâridj, symbol of a historic resolution: the one that in 1748 disinherited women. The stone has since been set up again.

Around the central theme of the solidarity of thakharrubt (1),

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2. This atmosphere has already been described well by M. Daumas and M. Fabar, La grande Kabylie /Great Kabylia/, 1847, pp. 19 sq. The famous explanation of the takharrubt by analogy with the fruit of the carob tree (p. 48) perhaps goes back to these authors. Let us note that it is only a matter of an analogy: the term perhaps signifies only "turn for participation." It is in this sense that one finds it, for example, in the hydraulic customs of Figuig, that is, quite far from the Kabyle carob tree!

1. Well before Hanoteau and Letourneux, and more ingeniously than they did it,

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/footnote 1 continued/ G. Devaux drew a picture of Kabyle institutions, Les Kabaïles du Djerdjera /The Kabyle of the Djurdjura/, pp. 3 sq.

"agnatic group," run wild a miserly egalitarianism and a mad complexity of initiatives of all types and degrees: of the person, of the family, of the village, of the party. The interferences are made up of unstable balances, fed by the crisis itself. Underneath is divined an obscure ponderation by confrontation of two general leagues, the one "above" and the one "below." But at any moment the league breaks up into more strictly local, more unstable çoff-s. And the system has to readjust in some fashion. The whole within the exuberance of jousts, feints, machinations, and prowesses of egoism or of sacrifice.

This strife invincibly arouses among us the communal idea. To which many other aspects are attributed: the village habitat, thaddert, and its evident conjunctions; a rudimentary, but permanent municipal organism; finally this exception to the Islamic Law that has to be seen in the practice of assembly codifications. But let us keep it in mind that these traits may be those of the state as well as of the commune in the strict sense. They are better so if one considers that, poetically compared by our informants to the seeds that one and the same carob-tree pod unites, the takharrubt balances and counterbalances its equals rather than being integrated with them in a united ensemble. It finds in the thaddert community nothing that reforms it, surpasses it, or inspires it: a mechanical composition of rival forces rather than the creation of a new basic entity. As proof, a penal law dominated by the vendetta, and still remaining on this side of tariffed composition. "The dīā," we are told, "is rejected by the Kabyles" (2).

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2. The formula is from Hanoteau and Letourneux, op. laud., t. III, p. 61. The analysis of the penal law is one of the good

000 /*403 cont.*/

/footnote 2 continued/ parts of this book. M. Daumas /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ and M. Fabar, *op. laud.*, p. 35, already set the vendetta opposite to the practice of the *dīâ*; cf. J. Berque, remarks on Kabylia, in "Quelques documents sur le droit répressif ancien du Haut Atlas /Some documents on the ancient repressive law of the High Atlas/," *R. al.*, 1953, pp. 1 sq.

/*404*/ Gentilitial honor turns up its nose at it. In the familial system, nothing comes to temper, in favor of the wife or of the child, the violence or the avarice of the male. In political life, unanimity is practically necessary; for want of it, open or clandestine secession. Therefore it has a chance of being realized only at the ultimate echelon of habitat, the hamlet. That is why so paltry a cadre finally won out over the French institution of the "douar-commune." All these traits have their visual expression. In most of the Kabyle villages, there is the "common house," the *thadjemâit* — and we immediately think of a town hall! But the plan of operation of the Sénatus Consulte cast a fertile doubt upon this: one finds there not one, but often several of these houses. This is because each *takharrubt* has its own: what better sign of separate political existence?

In fact, the *thaddert* and, with more reason, the *tūfiq*, which sometimes groups several hamlets, come closer to a federation than to a unit of internal law. And the fragility of superior examples, *^{c}arch* or even *taqbilt*, evanescent, circumstantial, and sometimes so theoretical that the observer fails to define them all the more because their sole constancy, their sole substance are those of names, can only fortify the same idea. The large conjunctions no longer have the tangible seat of the village: their role will be consequently reduced to resistance or competition. It

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000 will barely survive the event that roused them (1).

1. Daumas and Fabar, op. laud., pp. 45 sq.; C. Devaux, op. laud., defines the çoff-s as "a hostile state of observation that the various parties maintain between them" (p. 41), and he describes many fluctuations, pp. 241 and 242; Hanoteau and Letourneux, op. laud., t. II, p. 67, show the evanescence of the "tribes." I find several examples of this in the Archives of the Sénatus Consulte of 1863 (G. G. of Algeria). After a war between the Beni bu Yusef and the Aqbil, two villages passed from the first to the second, with whom they henceforth became integrated. The Beni Ithuragh of the Tirurda constitute the federation of 18 villages operated after the submission of the rest of the country at Randon. Other examples could be found for the Turkish period in S.-A. Boulifa, Le Djurjura à travers l'histoire /The Djurdjura through history/, 1925, especially pp. 300, 311, 319, and passim.

More than entities, these are virtualities. Undoubtedly it would be somewhat paradoxical, on the other hand, to contest all that village life inspires for the Kabyle in rites, practices, sentiments: a community results from it, of course. It does not abolish, on the very plane of the public law and of the political course, the autonomy of the groups that it divides as much as it unites them. A deeper study of this society would be necessary in order to discern, under the contribution of a century of /405/ proceeding in the French fashion, the anterior base: and we would find it itself well "second," well elaborated.

171 The contrast nonetheless blazes out, in relation to the Chleuh /Shluh/ world, for this economy, these mores, and especially this organization. Relation of political unity here communal, the

/405 cont./

171 taqbilt: there federal; the thaddert, with their subdivions on the one side, their multiples on the other side. Treatment of the natural milieu, attachment to institutions or to transcendent values finally: all seems differently arranged on the two sides. Although the materials are perhaps identical, it is this diversity of arrangement that determines the general judgment.

Here, on the contrary, is the Aurès (1).

1. G. Marcy, "Cadre géographique et genres de vie en pays chaouia /Geographical cadre and ways of life in Chaouia country/," L'éducation algérienne, 1942, pp. 28 sq.

The analogy of the physical milieu, of the economy, of the ways of life directly suggests comparison with the Haut /High/ Atlas. The tribes, abstraction made from numerous personal varieties, and with a general hue of rusticity, strike the observer by their adaptation to the chances of a difficult country. Sedentary, doubtlessly, but in perpetual movement. This is a sedentariness with successive stages. These people play fully on the clavier that offers them four climatic formulas: valley horticulture, cereal crops on the heights, transhumance of animals, and recourse to the border resources of the Sahara. Whence a system of displacements far exceeding in complexity what Morocco can offer as analogy. An incessant "remue" /moving/ expresses in mobility of enterprises, in variety of techniques, a remarkable exploitation of the geography. Like the arrangement by valleys where the villages are echeloned, this utilization of the differences of level, this montagnard privilege of strewing herds or tillage in the plain recall, in a profusion of combinations without any doubt superior, traits observable in Morocco. The country's general allure itself, with its streets of greenery, it tilled slopes, its forested summits, the bareness of the high aretes, across the differences in morphology, presents the same elements of an economy peasant and pastoral at the same time: but the one of the Aurès owes to a position more concentrated between the Mediterranean and desert influences new vocations, a more acute nervousness.

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171 The resemblance is further accentuated in the habitat. Same joined villages, same houses with terraces, only driven more into the slope, and as if closer to troglodytism. Certainly, stories are much less widespread, the same as /406/ the loggia. Except for nuances, the texture of the masonry, the arrangement of the square of open air in the middle of the covered one, the tunnel streets: everything of the Chleuh /Shluh/ village is found in the Aurès *dechra*. Same techniques for retention of the soils and distribution of water. The irrigated *tammurt* of Menâa reminds one, as its very image, even though in a botanical variety pushed further, of such a southern Moroccan *tamazirt*. Here is the "ditch," *targa*. It flows from the "basin," *lmajen*, or from the "dam," *ssedd*, branches down to the last "platbands," *isura*, and to the "cuvettes," *th'ud'*, skillfully arranged at the foot of the apricot trees. "Murettes" /low walls/, *tirutin*, set off tiers of crops. On the neighboring slopes, in the dry, gentle epaulements break the declivity and set off long, unraveled fields, *ir^{c}aqay*. The intense manipulation of earth, of water, of animal manure gives a harvest destined for ensilage and for preserving. Terms all the more obligatory because this life, with continual displacements and subject to terrible hazards, demands reserves at a fixed point. Another analogy with the Morocco of the *igudar*. The "granary-citadel" (1) of certain Aurès tribes, *aqli^{c}t*, abound, for example, among the Beni bu Sliman, who store their grain there between two

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1. G. Marcy, "Un règlement coutumier de *guela^{c}a* chez les Chaouia de l'Aurès /A customary regulation of *guela^{c}a* among the Chaouia of the Aurès/," *L'éducation algérienne*, 1942, pp. 33 sq.; a substantial article by Mme Faublée, which was communicated to me in manuscript before appearing in the *Journal de la Société des Africanistes*, 1953.

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171 migrations towards Biskra, the Dikhla, or the high territories of Tafrent.

What is to be said about institutional resemblances that sometimes go as far as identity? Without speaking of these codifications, of granaries or other things, where a very general base is perceived, here is a society which organizes, as has been seen, the landed interlacings of "fractions," where the ubiquity of the family habous, the generality of sales under resolutory conditions protect the landowner patrimony and tend to maintain the seat of the group. Let us descend into the reddish fault where the village of Buzîna has been built conically. Let us make our way downstream from the springs amidst the murmuring waters, the rumbling of the hydraulic mills and the bustle of the gardeners. Let us speak with these Chaouia graybeards rich in origin legends and so faithful to the juridical tradition that, even in penal matters, their law is applied concurrently with the French law. We shall experience, in truth, the poignant sensations of Maghrebi, montagnard, and Berbère /Berber/ identity.

000 But here is in what the two societies diverge.

The precise organization of the granary-citadels is not at all the deed of the village grouping here, but of the agnatic subdivisions /407/ of the tribe, called nah X, nah Y, etc., which our territorial norms have effaced no more than the Arab entity of the ᶜarch has. In Beni bu Slimân, for example, they are about twenty, for about fifteen granaries, of which each agglomeration counts up to five: thus at Channâura. In principle, each subdivision possesses its own, or, if it has grown in number and prosperity, several of its own. But the original granary sometimes corresponds to an individualized gentilitial agricultural perimeter, a sort of flight base, which can be indicated to you. Thus at Bu Yighd, beneath the impressive cliff of the col of Ferqus, for the Nah ᶜAbderrezzâq who concentrate there a vast "habous" of plain and plateau, marvelously notched with ressauts, talus, and ledges for the conservation of water and lands. The assembling of Aurès families into the "tribe" has not been, at least in this, up to the synthesis that the agadir of the Moroccan South expresses.

/407 cont./

000 Correlatively, the status of the woman (1) evokes an "Iron Age" that no ethics of general or local inspiration, no regulations come to soften. Almost always disinherited, defrauded of the *ṣadāq* to which she can lay claim only after the death of the conjoint, deprived of the benefit of the very dispositions that the family habous stipulate for her use, she was in certain tribes given up to prostitution. The sexual liberty of the ^{c}*azriya*, "single woman," is inserted moreover in a system that one divines to be ancient, and where she plays her official role with compensatory revenue and traditional function.

The weekly markets are lacking. Monetarism has penetrated so little up to now that formerly, at Tkut for example, it was once a year, at the feast of sidi ^{c}Abdesslām, that the commodities [191] were tariffed and the amount of the fines fixed. Grave discordance with the Chleuh /Shluh/ world, formed so in the laws, in the play of money, maintained by speculative exportation, the hoarding, devastated by inflation, and where all the exchanges are equally stamped by communitarian values and by individual capitalism.

191 181 Above all a strong institutional inequality sets the Chaouia society, as well as, moreover, the Kabyle society, against that of the Sous. The privilege of the latter, in comparison to the two others, lies in a greater maturity of the state organization, more ample references of the social system to the external and transcendent. Perhaps this transcendence comes from /408/ Islamic universals, with which a balance was knowingly sought. Perhaps, on the contrary, from collective symbols linked to certain periods of the past. These are two plausible explanations of

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1. The essential work is that of Mathéa Gaudry, *La femme chaouïa de l'Aurès* /The Chaouia woman of the Aurès/, 1929. In what concerns the application of the *fiqh*, G.-H. Bousquet, *R. al.*, 1952, pp. 109 sq., *R. afr.*, 1952, pp. 449 sq.

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171 an essential fact. On the other hand, Chleuh /Shluh/ life does
181 not have the violent complexion of the other two. It does not know to the same degree the hyperboles of gentilitial honor, any more than it as spontaneously arouses the analogy--be it superficial with such Mediterranean images of not long ago: the Corsican bandit of honor, the Albanian highwayman. What characterizes it, besides the singularly mature level of organization, is a pious and regulated pace, of more patient virtues, of more complex sentiments, more in half-tints.

171 That way, and in spite of everything that might oppose a peasantry to the townsmen, military vigor to mercantilism, haughty orthodoxy to a no less devout heterodoxy, an airy and muscular existence to the shadow of the mosque and warehouse -- it is of the Mzâb that these latter traits make one think. The richness of historical, legendary, and doctrinal foundations, a double vocation that is spiritual and trade, the precision of the play of its subgroups, *qbâil*, within communities, a juridical organization balanced between corps, recorded by writing, rich in jurisprudences burst forth there (1).

1. L. Milliot, "Recueil de délibérations des *djemâ^{c} a*-s du Mzab /Collection of deliberations of the *djemâ^{c} a*-s of the Mzab/," *R. E. I.*, 1930, p. 193.

The Mzâb thus offers several of the aspects that have appeared to us both constitutive of the Chleuh /Shluh/ society and distinctive from it in comparison to other Berbère /Berber/ socieites. This time, however, institutional superiority is not on the Chleuh side.
000 What one can surmise, through too rare documents, of the functioning of the Mozabite *ittifâqât* proclaim a surprising success. The cities are governed by a consistory that is both senate, because of the meeting of the *qbîla* delegates, and moral magistery because of the presence of clerks. A jurisprudence as attentive in regulating the equilibrium of the families as in censoring the mores or in resolving the problems of the hour has left us its

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000 valuable testimony. Its sanctions are strangely archaic; ostracism, for example, of which it made great use (2).

2. Id., ibid. The text cited, p. 205, distinguishes five kinds of exile.

Because it knows how to maintain, in a constant effort of adaptation to modern life and of Islamic rigorism, inspirations more profound and older than any juridical or religious formulation: the idea of forces attached to the territory, for example. Its success resides there, the principle of which has not even suffered from the French laicity, for it was posed /409/ on another plane. And a solid proof of authenticity, a sign of juridical perfection to the Berbère /Berber/, is this h'awît'a of Ghardaya, with its ellipse of flagstones borrowed from tombs, and where the deliberation of the jurists, the cunning of politicians are ennobled by the mysterious complicity of the dead (1).

1. Characteristic jurisprudences in the article by G.-H. Bousquet, on a "Recueil de délibérations à la mosquée de Beni Isguen /Collection of deliberations at the mosque of Beni Isguen/," Ann. I. E. O., 1951, pp. 18 sq.

The Moroccan South offers nothing as advanced as the Mozabite constitution. But it surpasses this type with all its rural power. Here one is no longer shut up in the schism, the minority, 171 the more or less clandestine exception. The Chleuh /Shluh/ system extends over immense portions of the country and today has even invaded the large towns. One day this expansion will be able to bring about between agriculture and industry, with strong rural virtualities and the concentrated spirit of the cities, this synthesis which has as yet been lacking in the history of Morocco.

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Elements Offered By the Type To the Social Morphology of the Maghreb

121 Thus the Seksawa type, and more broadly the Chleuh /Shluh/
type, can be placed in the ensemble of the Berbèrophone societies
of the Maghreb. If the area considered here bears educational
value for the rest, this would be less a postulate than a research
hypothesis. It would be authorized by two considerations. These
175 high valleys are a historical refuge attested to for a thousand years
121 of Moroccan history. From the time of the Almohades they have
played the role of relay of the independence and of the continuity
of the Maçmûda. This remark, exact in a general sense, must,
however, be appropriately nuanced, indeed circumscribed. On
this one returns to the pages devoted to another, likewise essential
aspect of this milieu: the transactional equilibrium that it realizes
between rival cultures. Hinterland husbanded, but engaged in the
Almohade adventure, principality obstinately rebellious against
the central power, the Seksawa seem to have lost, from the end of
the fourteenth century, and because of being cut off from their
plain, any possibility of a constructive destiny. Since those remote
times they have kept a miserable independence. Cabinet of
antiques, archeological witness: they are certainly this, and would
have remained such up to our day if, within the enceinte so well
safeguarded, so many collapses, morcellations, had not occurred.

121 In that at least they always approached the general. From there a /410/ second concern. Surrounded by this permanent disaster, the eternal Maghrebi vitality perpetually revivifies the exhausted corps, irrigates this waste, repopulates the empty spaces. Everywhere the old unraveled, tattered tribal tissue recomposes itself. The immigration from the South comes to mend the tears, remake the life, perpetuate a tradition. Thus, refection opposes destruction; reform, the decadence.

The Seksawa offer even more than a privileged case of collective identity. Under a historical guarantee rarely equaled in other rural milieus of North Africa, they illustrate with richness and precision an entire charter of exchanges between the group

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121 and the country. In the explanation of these exchanges seem to reside both the principal contribution of this investigation and its most certain contribution to the generality. The relations stated here between different orders of reality, such as the structure of the community, its work techniques, the scansion of its duration, the division of its space, are valid beyond the sector.

It will therefore be legitimate to interpret. The application of the ideas thus extricated might be risky elsewhere. One will refrain, both from a lack of material and through scruples of principle, from asking of the Ṡeksawa, in comparing them with other "examples," the least lesson of comparativism. But one will attempt to apply the concrete results, the indications of method and the questions flowing from the present research to the principal problem of Maghrebi sociology: that of the strucure of the groups.

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II. Narrow Formations

Now this problem is obscured no less by its own difficulty then by almost a century of doctrinal debate. Observation of the lively small countries of the Haut-Atlas will nevertheless permit grasping it with concrete holds, on condition of pursuing, up to the ultimate ramifications, the examination of the exchanges between the group and its milieu.

Levels of the Agrarian Organization

000 The old Roman agronomy had two ways of considering a field. To see there the "land for wheat," the "land for the vine," according to characteristics melted into individualities, ingenia, says Virgil. Or else to appreciate it as a function of general data that it more or less shared, and whose influence won out over its particular vocation: "lands hot, heavy, cold," etc. One could in fact, like modern science, define a field by the combined play of physical and chemical factors. But, no less validly, one can see in it a whole defying analysis, an almost personal figure.

/411 cont./

311 182 423 Let us return to the Seksawa. The field is indeed an object: it is linked to a name, protected against expropriation by neighbors, that is, by other names. It persists for centuries in the same onomastic co-ordinates. It is indentified, on the affective and juridical plane, with its rightful claimants. Finally it is the practical and individualized sum of habitudes of production. If one embraces a cadre larger than that of the parcel, one finds that most of these characters are joined in small ensembles: quarters. The parcel is in fact too tiny to constitute a natural unit. From that, it is not an estate /Fr. fonds/, but the abstract submultiple of a patrimony. On the echelon of the quarter, on the contrary, a unit does come forth. It asserts itself as the point of convergence of several elements. Among them some are intelligible to the usager: the toponymy, the visual aspect, indeed the very ones that proceed from deliberate practices: irrigation and, sometimes, crop rotation.

/412/ Others come into play, obviously, of which the local consciousness is unaware, and which only the specialist begins to perceive. Thus for all sorts of agrologic components. These factors escape the Chleuh /Shluh/ peasant and are therefore, in the immediate, without direct social import. But they offer, with the first, the common character of beginning to play their determining role beyond divisions overly minuscule. A certain coefficient of mass is necessary for them to assert themselves.

423 182 They will affirm themselves more and more to the extent that the superficies are large. Their role will prevail all the more over that of the forces that preponderate on the humble echelon of the parcel. There, on a hundred square meters, and sometimes even less, man reigns by his abstract limitations, his juridical interdictions, his will. From the quarter, on the contrary, and even more on the echelon of the ground, the conjugation of the natural bases and of the technique ends in concrete syntheses. It is of them that the rural landscape is made. They strike the eye all the more as the cadre becomes larger.

[312] In the irrigated, the physical reality of the quarter, measuring, for example, half a hectare, is already revealed to the informed

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312 423 182 eye, who can follow the cutting up of the principal séguia by the successive trenches. In the dry, the notion of quarter is enlarged to that of ground. In fact, the use of water no longer intervenes to impose so extended a differentiation of the landscape and of work. Correlatively the toponymy, which, in the irrigated, would be confined, would refine divisions and subdivisions, describes in the dry no more than very broad meshes. This changing of rhythm, linked to the agricultural technique, constitutes an important sign. The comparison of structures collected from the upper cantons with the immense deployment of the Mez'ud'a or the Mtugga furnishes another one.

423 182 But let us leave the fertile avenue that is open here to research, in order to evoke -- if only for a moment, and only for the fine antagonism of the types -- the Latin *fundus*, with its individuality, its name, its mass: veritable syntheis of notions of patrimony, parcel, quarter, and ground. The economy of the high valleys permits one to observe the play separately. It thus permits analysis of it. The individual patrimony is dissolved into a sampling of parcels encased in the different quarters constituting the ground. The parcel is not a unit. It is a fraction. Several causes are undoubtedly responsible for its evanescence: want of economic consistency, lack of mass, excessive and exclusive liaison with human data. The parcel, if one wishes, is the atom of this rural world, but so /413/ paltry and so little charged with material that it is reduced almost to a purely social definition.

It is not the same for the quarter. It is a veritable collective object, for it consists of the assemblage of representative shares of the gentilitial elements of the group. To neglect such a character would be to abstract and mutilate a communitarian genius that alone explains and supports the institution. But the quarter is not only an object. It is above all the meeting place of the *object* aspect and the *factors* aspect. In it are conjugated the social forces and the natural conditions. It is at the junction of the group and the soils. In it a bundle of family names is compounded in order to be enclosed in a toponym based on a fragment of landscape and a concourse of agrologic elements. Thus, the Twuttyan

/413 cont./

423 182 of the a. Mh'and includes parcels accruing to six ikhs-s, at the same time that it constitutes a cultural unit and a precise visual motif.

103 182 On a higher echelon the names of quarters assemble in more general toponyms those of the grounds: thus for Tamgonsi, Agersili, Tassila, etc. But it happens that the toponym is lacking: then only the name of the group makes the link for the names of quarters: thus for the irrigated cuvette of the a. Mh'nd. This is only the tamazirt n-a. Mh'nd, without any other appellation. In this case, it is true, three notions tend to be confused: the agricultural one, of ground; the other one political, of bounds; the third geographical, of country. Such a meeting is rather rare. The more so as reality never lends itself to trenchant definitions. Forms react on one another, take one another's place. And it is not as far as the agglomeration of habitat -- whatever the mediocrity of its social signification may habitually be here -- which plays its role in the large classifications of the landscape. Thus one will hear a section of valley designated as "the land of Tannsmekht," for example, tamazirt n-Tnnsmekht. And nevertheless it is but a hamlet without veritable identity. It is absorbed, with others, in the personality of the Idma. Moreover, the expansion of the latter assembled a large number of countries not having any physical or onomastic unity among them: "Idma domain," tamazirt i-ydma.

101 103 On an even higher echelon the geographical cadre can exceed even extended applications of the name of the group. Then larger structural realities come into play. They make of the canton, and especially of the ramified system of a large valley, a unit surpassing the political order. History, however, is interested in organizing it in terms of this order, and finally in resolving it there. Thus, the name of Seksawa corresponds today above all to the cadre of a fluvial basin, a system obviously larger than /414/ that of any of the taqbilt-s crowded there. Further it is known that in the great epoch this cadre could express a vigorous political ensemble. But it is not the same everywhere. The name of the Gedmiwa, quite close, is far from

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101 covering the whole basin of the asif el-Mâl. In the case of the
103 neighboring valley, this marking by a great medieval name is not even possible any more. One knows no more, and for the mere convenience, it seems, than "people of the Nfis," *ait n-Nffis*. Unless one includes them, significantly, in the recent "Gund'afa"...

Levels of the Social Organization

619 The Chleuh /Shluh/ *taqbilt* is not a federation of families.
634 It exists in and of itself, is not in the least resolved -- as it may
613 be in other Maghrebi domains -- in a balance of *gentes*. The
182 study of its penal law does not leave any doubt in this regard. At
the same time as a striking maturity, it reveals the primacy of the public order over the familial defense: honor, vendetta, composition or retaliation. The luxuriant genre of the codifications indicates a stage which is that of the applied penalty, of decreed indemnification. Not only does the system circumscribe and suppress the gentilitial initiative, as may be the case in Kabylia, but it substitutes itself. Similarly, although the political course of the *taqbilt* does not entirely suppress the role of the *ikhs*-s, it is that of a democracy alternating with the tyrannical phenomenon, and not that of an assembly of "Roman senators." Even though the weight of age, of wealth, of alliances, quite like that of kinship or of the prestiges of familial order, compensate for its tumultuous propensity, it is not a "senate" that deliberates here, but a crowd. All the more, the meeting place is never a building, as in Kabylia, but an esplanade. Such signs count.

Certainly, external influences and internal evolutions were able to act on the system differently, according to the matter and the case at hand. Many dissimilarities are thus explained. Today we very likely only have access to a stage of unequal wear and tear according to the parts, but further and especially of alterings. Such as it is, among the Seksawa as in the rest of the Chleuh /Shluh/ region, the *taqbilt* stood out all the more as the function of the *ikhs* was reduced to -- or re-established in -- its

/414 cont./
619 present tasks. And that seems so ancient that it is this second
634 stage that prevailed in the cult. The village mosque espoused
613 distribution of the habitat: there are no mosques of ikhs, but
182 mosques of agglomeration; moreover, vestiges of a situation
[346] where intervillage sanctuaries also existed are discerned. This
776 is the case for these /415/ edifices, isolated and most often
778 secularized, that are found in the upper valleys: undoubtedly
346 taqbilt mosques. On the other hand, devotion to saints, if it is
of contractual accent, and hence dominated by a complete and
634 individual freedom of initiative, has as cadre the canton much
619 more frequently than the family. The existence of taqbilt saints, not to mention a national saint, finally characterizes the Seksawa. So many traits in which, certainly for the present, but also for a large slice of the past, are affirmed the conquests of the small montagnard state as political and even, in certain respects, cultural person. It has thus assumed a good part of the attributions that perhaps formerly fell to a patriarchal organization. It eliminated the others, or suppressed them in the magico-religious context of the most summary procedures. Its own evolution towards a conscious system, with transactions and demarcations, with judiciary techniques, with acknowledged profane character, reduced these procedures more and more. And if one considers that the taqbilt, adherent to a territorial entity, assumes there precise agrarian functions, one will think of its exceptional plenitude of definition.

182 Between the small montagnard state, the canton whose life is collected in the bottom of a ravine, and the major system, which embraces all the affluents of a valley, a threshold has been crossed. Threshold of dimensions, intelligibility. Here functions a social morphology that the clear liaisons with the space explain.
613 Let us attempt to state them precisely. On the synthesis of
182 landed and technical visual reality that the quarter constitutes depends a synthesis of parental, classificatory, religious and juridical reality: the ikhs.

It seems to be the great actor of the agrarian order. On it is arranged the distribution of land and water, thus the material and

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moral balance in which the group finds exercise and permanence. A good part of the ethics of these populations amounts to rules and sentiments that assure the persistence of this balance against the damage of time and the hazard of individuals. In a past that is not merely hypothetical -- since several modern traits postulate it -- the *ikhs* could have partaken of a hierarchy of qualifications that conferred upon such-and-such a lineage the charge of common actions involving the collectivity, its soil, its future (1).

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> 1. For example, at the stage described by al-^{c}Abdarī, who is witness at Ans, in other words, on the South reverse of the Tizi Umachcho, veritable jousts of quarters, where it is not risky to recognize a ritual manifestation of the tension between *ikhs*-s. Cf. tr. of this passage in Cherbonneau, *Journal asiatique*, V, 1854, pp. 144 sq. Only al-^{c}Abdarī wrote in the thirteenth century. That is a *terminus a quo* a bit distant!

/*416*/ Major role! For the existence of the group must bring about connivances with nature, with the unwritten laws of the *kosmos*. It would follow that war, politics, agriculture, justice, beauty, and even holiness were in certain respects and to different degrees gentilitial affairs. Now there is nothing of this today (1).

> 1. Let us not forget the *timezgida*, whose communal role has been described above in detail. Borrowing terms from Greek Antiquity, it is in certain respects a prytaneum, it is never a *leschè*!

This past, if it is necessary to place it, can only be within the four centuries that our archive documentation covers. What counts today is not the function of the *ikhs*, but the crisis that shakes it. Neither the juridical folklore, nor especially the

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000 hagiology, which could have been a rich repository, nor the popular poetry reflected by any development the equilibrium of the ikhs-s, so essential to the life of the canton, and the meaning of which is so necessary to one who wishes to comprehend it. One is also struck by the relative poverty of the hagiology in personal saints and ancestors. A zone of leveling or of annulation drives back into antiquity everything that one might conjecture about the constructions of an agnatic genius. And perhaps there has never been any of these constructions. Society of gentes, one might say, but whose heroic phase is lacking (2).

> 2. We are straying here, at least for the Chleuh /Shluh/ domain, from the nevertheless very suggestive ideas of Vidal de La Blache, this masterly exegetist of the Mediterranean, for whom the Berbère /Berber/ societies represent a stage in which there is not yet synoecism, and which by that especially differ from the classical societies, Principes de géographie humaine, 1922, pp. 186 sq.

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Either it had never been, or it ceased to live in the hearts of the descendants and no longer speaks to the imagination. Individualism reigns even in the bosom of the house. It restricts paternal authority, makes acquisitive aspects predominate in marriage, precisely delimits the feminine autonomy, resolves the union of the couple in punctilious co-operationalism. Victim of its conquests, and even more of its permanent menace, the ikhs has suffered, from the fact of the commune, even more serious defeats. If analysis discloses, confronting the familial conservatism and the symmetries of the agrarian order, an individuation of rights that finds obstacles neither in theory nor in practice, is it not that the tension between the two orders of forces serves the vitality of the group?

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A Third Element of the Analysis:
The Name (3)

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3. The toponyms: these "fossils of human geography," as was said by J. Brunhes, Géographie humaine de la France, 1920, t. I, p. 289.

System of place names and system of group names are entangled according to a gradation and correspondences still /417/ readable between the quarter, the ground, and the canton, on the one hand, the ikhs and the taqbilt on the other. On superposed levels, divisions and subdivisions correspond to each other from one order to the other. The human civil state and the civil state of the space intersect, so to speak, their effects, each prevailing according to the level.

At the base, the "parcel" has almost no local substance, but a reality almost purely anthroponymic. It is a fluvial system that prevails at the summit, to the point that great collective designations like our Seksawa are perhaps only geographical expressions. In any case, in the intermediary degrees, the "group" corresponds to the "ground." The "quarter" expresses an equilibrium that forms influences and reflects, between the collectivity and the land, a complex appropriation conferring upon it complete consistency. In this privileged case, local definition and social definition are conjugated, leaning on each other, so to speak.

Now this entire toponymy, and not only that of the named places, but more profoundly the one that intimate exchanges with the man push to the most extreme detail, is original. Singularly the names of quarters, for which an almost constant intelligibility has been noted, within larger and less clear meshes, are evidence of a direct linguistic authenticity. How valuable an indication (1)!

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1. Cf. L. Febvré, "Histoire et dialectologie," R. de synthèse historique, t. XII, p. 249.

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121 One will recall the imaginative inductions that suggested to
103 Renan, in his Histoire du peuple d'Israël, the genius of Semitic
182 languages and their alleged inaptitude for mythology. If today
such ideas are contradicted or obsolete, the value of interpretation and or of comparison of the philology has only grown. I need as proof of this only the very recent contributions to the study of societies by its latest discipline, phonology (2).

2. For example, in the Structures élementaires de la parenté /Elementary kinship structures/, by Cl. Levi-Strauss, 1949, p. 611, and all the work of L. Gernet.

103 In this sense, the agrarian toponymy of the Seksawa, with its
182 density, its implications with the communal organization, and
its Berbère /Berber/ integrity, can furnish its contribution to new investigations. Let us observe, for example, that in these two series of names corresponding to the structural echelons of the group on the one hand, of the landscape on the other, the value of the signifier /Fr. signifiant/ (3)

3. One apologizes for this technical term, recently spread by the tr. of the book by N. S. Troubetzkoy, Principes de Phonologie, tr. J. Cantineau, 1949, p. 2.

is not equal everywhere.

The anthroponymy in fact expresses precise contents whether it /418/ is a matter of the person, the foyer, the ikhs, the taqbilt. Beyond this, however, the connotation is more vague. It comes to not having any more than a variable value, one of the terms of this variation possibly tending toward what the linguists call "degree zero." Such is the case for forms whose wording often recurs in North African science: "tribe," "confederation,"

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coff, leff (1).

103 182 1. Cf. J. Berque, "Qu'est-ce qu'une 'tribu' nord-africaine? /What is a North African 'tribe'?/," Mélanges L. Febvre, 1954, t. 1, pp. 261 sq.

On the contrary, spatial denominations, founded basically on the prodigious richness of words designating the organs of the field, carry a precise meaning, up to the highest echelons. The name of Tamgonsi, of Tassila, of Ibuban arouses the clearest images. And also that of Seksawa, envisaged as that of a hydrographic basin. Hazy on the contrary, and irreducible to analysis, if one has it suggest a human ensemble which would be defined by something other than precisely the name and the habitat. Nothing else in fact, on this level, that explains, for the Seksawa, the exact nature of this formation.

The Taqbilt of the Haut Atlas: A Pole of Explication

[634] [619] In the taqbilt, on the contrary, a group structure is organized with a country structure. The names are both the sign and the agent of this organization. Would it be to strain the expression to say at what point the originality of such a form resides in the combination that takes place there between linguistics and geography? If the synthesis is meticulous here and full of orders of things for which the North African societies never offer discovery of the same genre, at least of the same degree, the study of these societies will have available a useful criterion merely to measure in them the presence or absence, the incoherence or connection of these various elements.

171 103 An example: the ideas of bounds, of ground, of quarter are found more or less in all the countrysides of the Maghreb. I pass by the idea of named place, in which one confuses them, often wrongly. But nowhere up to here, other than in the Haut-Atlas,

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171 103 has one been able to observe the astonishing adjustment that they can reach. Thus, in the plains and on the hills of the Gharb, a toponymic network covers the whole countryside. Its meaning is all the more obscure since it does not usually correspond to a visual division. The landscape is homogeneous and diffuse. Whence the unintelligibility of facts for which the Chleuh /Shluh/ country offers an immediate explication. Remainder that, were it in the grounds with profound /419/ landed-property disaggregation, like the Gharb, the study of laws which govern situations and landowner ambitions between rival units, and of the figure that they assume on the soil thus disputed, would be fruitful. This study has never been attempted. It would undoubtedly cause one to plunge very deeply into the knowledge of "Arab" groups, manifestly imported into the country -- the Sofyân and the Beni Mâlek --, but whose comportment nonetheless corresponds, we believe, to such characteristics as we have tended to attribute a bit too exclusively to the "Berbères." Certainly the populations of the Gharb were neither very anciently nor very well established. Their struggle for identity is not the one observed in the Haut-Atlas: a dialogue between group names and place names. It is that of a genealogical interpretation. And our sociology grasped it as such already more than half a century ago. Calling in question what the indigenous explanation obstinately attributes -- at least so one believed -- to the community of origin, it has shown the major part of the successive additions that ended by forming, in spite of, but around an ancestor fiction, the very material of the group. This system bears, since E.-F. Gautier, who largely brought it out, the name of "biological" system. It is thus conveniently opposed to the European system, above all topographical, and with which it can maintain many eloquent antitheses. It is no less opposed to the system of the Haut-Atlas.

182 In fact, from the ikhs to the taqbilt, the interpretation by common ancestry touches only a minority of cases here. What counts is the connection between elements from all horizons. It is evident to the member of the group, and in practice is expressed by an agrarian order. This is a phenomenon quite different

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182 from a successoral distribution. Here the jemâa begins, one might say, where there is no longer natural or conventional kinship. Or rather -- since the preceding formula arouses the idea of a composition starting from the family -- the specific attribute of the group is that it is divided into heterogeneous subgroups, that this heterogeneity results from a diversity of origins or from [171] other variations. One could say as much of the Kabyle thaddert, or of the Mozabite city.

000 Let us set in opposition the Arab tribe, which we are going to observe in the Orient, so as to eliminate from the type the influences and the evolutions peculiar to the Maghreb (1).

The veritable unit there is what /420/ P. Jaussen improperly calls the "clan," united by consanguinity or adoption. It is the h'amûleh or ᶜachîreh. Everyone is supposed to have descended from an eponymous ancestor. Several clans form the "tribe," qabîleh, indeed the "confederation," bedîdeh, loose and unstable groupings. "The clan serves as model for any community whatever it may be. The tribe also claims identity of name and blood, by the derivation from a single ancestor." The cult of this ancestor appears even characteristic of the Bédouins, governed by the agnatic formula, whereas that of the saints, with territorial basis, reigns almost exclusively among the sedentary peoples. Such a form is naturally no longer to be seen in the pure state in North Africa. For all that, it reigned there at certain periods or in certain zones -- and one thinks of the Bédouin organizations that the Hilalians were able to propagate -- no doubt it was opposed, trait for trait, to the type of the Haut-Atlas.

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1. P.-A. Jaussen, Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab /Customs of the Arabs in the country of Moab/, 1908, pp. 107 sq., and the masterly account by Hertz, Ann. Soc., t. XI, pp. 323 sq. Cf., more recently H. R. P. Dickson, The Arab of the desert, London, 1951, pp. 108 sq.; G. W. Murray, Sons of Ishmael, London, 1935, pp. 35 sq.

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000 But let us keep in mind that the antithesis remains quite theoretical. Geometry is neither about the life of peoples nor about the courses of history. Such an opposition moreover does not recover either that of the sedentary peoples and nomads or that of the Arabs and Berbères. There has undoubtedly never been in the Maghreb a group so independent of its seats that its structures were able to escape any territorial concept, were it only in the form of terrains of routes, sectors of influence, or pastoral itineraries. The example of the Touareg /Tuareg/ themselves leaves no doubt in this respect. Reciprocally, among the sedentary Chleuh /Shluh/ the fiction of the ancestor has also acted more or less (1).

> 1. And nevertheless a nuance, which only the linguists could fathom, exists between the ar. /Arabic/ *Awlâd*, "The sons of ...," and the chl. /Shluh/ *Ait*. "the people at ..."

This is in fact a convenient explanation. The first centuries of Islamization, and even more perhaps the contact with the Hilalians, must have given him great vogue. This period appears to have supported a vast enterprise of assimilatory heraldry. The origin of the Berbères /Berbers/ was taken back to the Philistines or to H'imyâr (2).

> 2. The most complete account of the question by M. Simon, "Le judaïsme berbère dans l'Afrique ancienne /Berber Judaism in ancient Africa/," *R. d'histoire et de philosophie religieuse*, 1946.

In both cases the same process is affirmed as in the Trojan legend of Rome: an attempt at lateral attachment to classical history. It is known what minuteness of detail these myths of ennoblement end up with in the works of Ibn Khaldûn, and through him in the works of modern exegetes who are still imbued with it. Just as

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000 the notion of "Bédouin" embraces in his eyes the peasants of the Atlas, he interprets their cohesion as a trait of agnatic solidarity, ^{c}açâbiyya. But this hypothesis, although venerable, is nonetheless a hypothesis.

/421/ What is sure is that there was collaboration, mutual reaction, exchanges between the two types. Reality most often offers only intermediary or worn forms of it. In the Haut-Atlas, these are economic structures that, with the complicity of the event, permitted not only the survival of one of the two formulas, but its systematic expression. Inversely, the relations between a certain organization and certain features of the landscape are undoubtedly responsible for the manifestations, more or less pure, of the other formula. The tribe with ancestor, nonchalantly posed, by its way of life, on a country propitious for wide variations, on the one hand (1); the montagnard community, firm in its techniques, clamped to its vales, on the other hand: these two types equal each other as poles of explication. Between the two are ordered the rural morphologies of the Maghreb.

Local Breakup of the Type

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634 The taqbilt-s of the upper valleys present the second of these types to a degree of synthesis and under historical guarantees unhoped for. Whence, among other things, the interest of the Seksawa. But this is nevertheless an extreme case, subordinated to certain protections and to certain conditions.

[333] Scarcely at the approaches of the plain, the masonry becomes more dilapidated, collapsing by large sections. Such is the case for the Mtugga, whose haughty conservatism, however, has often,

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1. The best type of this in the Maghreb is perhaps the Tripolitan "tribe." The remarkable in. /unpublished/ account by Cauneille shows the fluidity of this grouping.

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619 better than the puny mountain republics, known how to make it-
634 self respected. But even in the steepest cantons in Seksawa the
system does not survive the problems of vaster bounds, of more
complex political circuits. As soon as there is passage to a new
[613] order of size, there is passage to another rhythm. The clarity of
the relations between the ikhs-s and the taqbilt is effaced. Cor-
relatively instructive phenomena appear.

For example, here are the a. H'adduyws, a vast ensemble
composed of at least three taqbilt-s. The argument of a epony-
mous ancestor -- this is also the only case of this genre that we
found in Seksawa -- covers an avowed heterogeneity of origins as
well as of vocations. Here are the Mez'ud'a with their ten
"centuries," myawat, expressing a recent and deliberate division,
and their magnificent ritual and hydraulic order. They give an
idea of the /422/ maximal dimension that can affect this genre of
society without causing it to lose certain characteristics. And
613 nevertheless what changes are to be discerned there! In Mez'ud'a
619 as in a. H'adduyws the distribution of lands is no longer gentilitial
634 for the ensemble. It remains so only within the subgroups, them-
[423] selves divided into ikhs-s. The connection of the ikhs-s within the
subgroup, of subgroups of different stage within the tribe is ob-
scured. The habitat has an influence on the denomination of the
inferior subdivisions. The ancient solidarities, expressed by an
agrarian order, are effaced. There is, one might say, recourse to
compensatory themes of identification or of qualification. That
stands out from the name of the groups in Mtugga. Appeal is made
simultaneously, or by turns, to the place, to the sobriquet, to
consanguinity. A veritable disarray, a disorder which is not of the
Chleuh /Shluh/ genius are distinguished, for example, in the
heteroclite denominations of the inferior units in a khoms such as
the Idaw Nifi. One in fact also sees simple numerical divisions
intervene: a H'adduyws "third," Mez'ud'a "centuries," Mtugga
[177] "fifths." In the second of these cases, the borrowing of a
makhzanian form -- flattering analogy with the guich /gish/
tribes -- is obvious. But in the others, too, any artificial char-
acter is not excluded from the division.

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619 The title of *taqbilt* is then indistinctly borne by the ensemble
or its fractions. This is what, in certain respects, makes our own
634 administrative nomenclature lean toward the term of "confederation"
for the major group. At the base, same incertitude. Within
[613] the "third" or the "fifth," a whole layering of forms is interposed
between the *ikhs*, as we have restrictively defined it, and
subgroups whose solidarity becomes more and more indiscernable,
less and less plausible, invoked less and less.

To that is added the fact that the topographical breadth thus
increased brings about, because of exigencies of social measure
that are still obscure to us, but which we see by their work, the
separate cantonment of the subgroups. New persons then appear.
A relaxation of a chief's force, of the solidarity of a *jemâa*, the
success of intrigue, and a "fraction" will affirm itself as independent.
[631] It was in this way that the *khoms* of the Idaw Merzug
was sometimes distinct from the Mtugga and had its own caids, or
that the three oriental *myawat* of the Mez'ud'a, the Intelzifit, for
a time constituted a "tribe" (1).

(1). The enumerations of the Baydhâq, E. Lévi-Provençal, *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade* /Unpublished documents of Almohade history/, 1928, pp. 62 sq., are interesting not only because of the /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ survivals of group names up to the present time that they permit marking, but also, and perhaps especially, because of the changes that have taken place in the hierarchy and the comprehension of these names.
[616] It has justly been noted that the names of the two famous *leff*-s, Imsifern and Inghertit, figure, as names of "fractions," in the list of Gedmiwa subgroups of the Almohade period. Let us observe also that one notes Farûga among the present Çawda or Mez'ud'a, quite different from the Frûga. And, moreover, this is

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/footnote 1 continued/ not the only anomaly of these names, of which a philological study -- perhaps impossible, it is true -- has not yet been done.

/423/ This coming and going between expansions and particularizations is observed even in our day. To each change of dimension corresponds a change of register. More profoundly than the debate between the jemâa and the caid, democracy and personal power, a debate that often accompanies it, this variation of social rhythms connected to the geographical dimensions of the group is revelatory of the life of these societies. The political game here is only superficial. Or rather the politics of the great chiefs of the Atlas succeeded only by a constant adaptation to these differences of level. It is thus that in his khoms of origin, the Idaw Talilt, the great Âbdelmalek Mtuggi is only an amghar, the first among his peers. At the echelon of the Mtugga, he is a patriarchal centralizer. At the echelon of the ensemble of dependent tribes, a cunning and authoritarian exploiter. His appetites must nevertheless reckon with the local transactional necessities of the minor amghar-s, his vassals at the echelon of the Moroccan South, and almost the entire country, courtier or rebel, he even rises to international intrigue. But the political weight that he throws about in a word amounts to the fidelity of his own jemâa.

A life like that of Âbdelmalek has run over the clavier of Maghrebi morphologies from top to bottom. It infinitely goes beyond our cadre. Only the attentive examination of the cases at hand would be able, for such and such a political unit, to cast the accent on one or the other of these movements as having the most influence upon its contexture. For there has been movement, and, throughout the course of history, dilation or contraction of the local cadres. The essential perhaps consequently lies in the correspondences exceeding the narrow limits. And if the present chapter has attempted to set up, in all its value as explicative criterion, the cantonal taqbilt, the precariousness and, on the

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619 whole, the exceptional character of this type, as rich in methodo-
634 logical import as it is vulnerable to circumstances, lead the analysis to envisage, by a new advance, the body of broader relations.

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III. Broad Formations

The "Leff" Solidarity: Related and Concurrent Forms

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121 The theory of the leff-s, the general expression of which dates back some twenty years (1).

121 1. R. Montagne, Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans
171 le Sud du Maroc /The Berbers and the Makhzan in
616 the South of Morocco/, 1930. Previously, partial
114 observations or rough outlines of the theory in C. Devaux, Les Kebaïles du Djerjera /The Kabyle of the Djurdjura/, 1859, who gives, p. 40, a map of the çoff-s, where the famous "chessboard" is recognized. Hanoteau and Letourneux, op. laud., t. II, pp. 11 sq. In the Constantine S., the opposition of the Bu^{c}okkâz çoff to the Bengana is figured in the Aurès by a reciprocal exchange noted by the Commissaire of the Sénatus Consulte (Schaeffer Report, arch. of Aris, 20-4-1890: significant map). Masqueray, Formation des cités chez les populations sédentaires de l'Algérie /Formation of cities among the sedentary populations of Algeria/, 1882, p. 167, recognizes these divisions, but gives a simplistic explanation for them. In Morocco, de Foucauld, Reconnaissance, 1888, pp. 318 sq., describes, apropos Sektana and Gezzula, what is quite precisely the balance of these two leff-s, less, however, the name. This last is stated by Ed. Doutté in his very rich article on "L'organisation sociale et domestique

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/footnote 1 continued/ chez les H'âh'a /The social and domestic organization among the H'âh'a/," Afr. fr., Rens. col., 1905, p. 15. The author saw that this institution is an element of makhzanian politics. De Segonzac, Au coeur de l'Atlas /In the heart of the Atlas/, 1910, mentions the play of the leff-s in Chyâd'ma, p. 421, ᶜAbda, p. 453, etc. Aug. Bernard, quoting Doutté, shows this play being exercised in oriental Morocco, Les Confins algéro-marocains /The Algero-Moroccan Confines/, 1911, pp. 104 sq. But it was the privilege of R. Montagne to revive the question by plunging the study of these dualisms within the economic, juridical, and political context of the Moroccan S. and of the ensemble of Berbérie /Barbary/. His thesis is affirmed little by little in a series of monographs beginning in 1924. After Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc, the only essential contribution is that of Col. Justinard apropos the Tagizzult and the Tah'oggʷat of the Anti-Atlas and the Sous: "Notes sur l'histoire du Sous au XVIᵉ siècle /Notes on the history of the Sous in the sixteenth century/," Arch. mar., 1933, pp. 59 sq. 76 sq.; above all he translated an important text of the eighteenth century, La Rihla du marabout de Tasaft /The Rihla of the marabout of Tasaft/, 1940; he takes up his thesis, pp. 173 sq. Cf. c. r. /report/ by R. Montagne, "Les leff-s berbères au début du XVIIIᵉ siècle chez les Masmouda /The Berber leff among the Masmouda at the beginning of the eighteenth century/," Hesp., 1941, pp. 92, 93 sq., where the theory is greatly enlarged. Since that time, the principal contributions have been the cartography of J. Dresch, 1941; the monograph by Tuder, "Anciennes divisions et alliances en pays Imerhan /Ancient divisions and alliances in Imerhan country/," in CHEAM, 1946; an account by--

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121 171 616 114 /footnote 1 continued/ Marcy, taking up an interesting Aurès legend, "La tribu berbère: structure, leffs," in CHEAM, 1941; the application of the theory by Mme Dj. Jacques-Meunié, Greniers-citadelles du Maroc /Granary-citadels of Morocco/, 1951, pp. 218 sq.; and especially, in a region little known up to now, a monograph by Cauneille, "Les ligues du S. tripolitain /The leagues of the Tripolitan S./," in CHEAM.

616 121 resolves the Berbère /Berber/ structure of the Maghreb into balanced dualisms, with corresponding broad zones. Would it be to make system out of necessity to emphasize the extent to which the value of these dualisms rests in the confrontation of names, rather than in their content? This last has merit above all, if I may venture to say it, because of its very indecision. R. Montagne extends the thesis to /425/ the entire sedentary Berbère world. He shows that its applications are susceptible to variable rigor, to modalities unequally full or decadent according to the sectors. The criterion would be the density of the content, still perceptible particularly in the Anti-Atlas where the Tagizzult-Tah'ogg^{W}at opposition would recover that of two layers of peopling (1).

[114] 1. R. Montagne, Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc, p. 214. This interpretation, toward which R. Montagne as well as Colonel Justinard seem to lean more and more, has not up to now been compared, I believe, with the one that Moroccan Judaism gives of its own division into "natives" and "immigrants." The comparison nevertheless should be made.

[171] In fact, these dualisms arise from a general theme. R. Montagne has pointed out examples of it in Arabia, Kurdistan, and elsewhere. In a form more or less balanced and complete, more or less alive or degraded, being inscribed in the geography, unless it

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616 is transposed to a wholly moral plane, the "law" is observed in
121 most of the societies (2).

> 2. Cl. Lévi-Strauss, "La politique étrangère d'une société primitive /The foreign policy of a primitive society/," Politique étrangère, 1949, p. 151; "Histoire et ethnologie," Revue de métaphysique et de morale, 1949, pp. 373 sq.

It assuredly accounts for multiple Maghrebi facts, but, let us keep in mind, less in their specificity than in that they obey an almost universal dialectic. Now, what will interest us here is in what and how these formations are Maghrebi.

616 One could argue that the Arabic word leff belongs to the local
[192] vocabulary (3),

> 3. Les Textes arabes du Sous, by Destaing, mention the word in the index, but it does not figure in any text. Cf., however, Sources in., Port., first series, t. III, p. 199 (apropos a confederation of tribes).

if it were not found again in an incontestable document, a letter from the amghar Umulid, in the sense of "party," of "coalition," this itself from the Chleuh /Shluh/ word amqqun, from the root
[571] qq.n, "to bind." But amqqun is understood here as the military
[701] alliance, either a lasting coalition or an episodic combination in view of an expedition. The more general group-to-group relations are rendered rather by the qualification of aitma, "brothers."
571 These are "fraternities," creating or verifying an imprecise, but
616 bilateral obligation. Their force, diminishing in proportion as its
[695] field of application is extended, is locally connected with that of collective solidarities that are exercised on the occasion of plural oaths. The latter, it is true, involve in the first place the agnates.

/425 cont./

616 121 They scarcely go any further today. But formerly their exercise was vaster (4).

616 121 114 4. The essential written source is the text of the Rih'la translated by Col. Justinard. A patient semantic study would also be necessary in order to discern from the context which nuance is in question: permanent "league," or incidental "coalition." I confess that the reports on the text of the ms. of the Rih'la that I /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ possess have not entirely convinced me. The translator sometimes adds the word when it is not given in the original (tr. p. 49, ms. p. 39. Doubtful case, tr. p. 31, ms. p. 17. Id., tr. p. 118, ms. p. 92). In other cases one may doubt the interpretation (tr. pp. 76, 87, 92, ms. pp. 59, 67, 72). If one is to believe the translator, the term leff is also found in the Nafh'ât ach-Chabâb, Justinard tr., "Notes d'histoire et de littérature berbères /Notes from Berber history and literature/," Hesp., 1949, p. 331, next-to-last §. Finally, we have translated and reproduced the letter from the amghar Umulid in which this word is used, "Poésie et vérité sur les Seksawa /Poetry and Verity from the Seksawa/," R. afr., 1953, p. 145.

616 121 and /426/ we know by a text from the Haut Seksawa (1)

1. Cf. p.

that a convention between groups could enlarge it further.

Parental, procedural, or international solidarity: these three notions, unequally used, unequally clear in the native

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consciousness, present there some confusion of contour. It would therefore be inexact to label them under signs that are too precise: consanguinity -- pacts subscribed to -- existence of affinities; or else ancestral community -- convention -- statute. This would be to attempt to define them for the European. What observation suggests, on the contrary, is their indistinction. At the very least the continuity that prevails from one to the other. This continuity goes quite far. It can go so far as to modify the situation of the group, to form or break up what we today, groping a little, call confederations or tribes. Local tradition has recorded several of these morphological variations (2).

2. It is in this fashion that in a. Abdella, the *ikhs* of the a. Si Mh'and was attached to that of the a. Lkhil through a promise of sacramental assistance, and thus was able to settle in the village. The a. u Gord', of the a. Wageryan (Dwiran), not being supported by their "brothers" in a criminal affair, emigrated and came to live on the border of the plain, attaching themselves to another group. For all that, they have not lost their ritual capacity in the former habitat. During the annual feast of the saints of Aduz, it is they who inaugurate the round of visits that the whole tribe makes there. In Mez'ud'a, the a. Lh'at'ib (a. Gh'id'), for an analogous reason, seceded from their original group, the a. H'sayn, and settled in the village of Tamazirt. The a. Uchellad' left the a. Werdas and was admitted at Taz'arin. They left in their original habitat only a colony of crops. But here is a wider movement. An entire *taqbilt*, that of the a. Khtab, was accused of murder. Its I. Buzia brothers refusing to swear for it, it was admitted into the Mtugga.

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616 121 Still it seems less rich on this point than in other regions. The procedures brought into play on these occasions: berru or tberrit, "denunciation" of the original group; tighersi, "sacrifice of accession" to the new group -- have left here only a very rough souvenir. The forms are worn. But the institution has lost nothing of its affective or practical suggestions.

And the synthesis that is detected between notions such as judiciary rites, plural oaths, alliance, segregation or extension of collectivities undoubtedly restores the true atmosphere of the leff.

/427/ The Leff in Seksawa

616 It is true that the Seksawa do not offer a very rich contribution to this study (1).

> 1. R. Montagne, Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc /The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco/, p. 186, observes this asymmetry. He notes also that the Mtugga escape the leff-s, p. 193.

[178] [184] Among them today the notion of the leff is well obliterated, in any case stripped of the sentimental suggestions that it may maintain elsewhere, in the very close Gedmiwa, for example. Its theoretical role itself, that of a balanced dualism opposing piece by piece, as on a chessboard, the taqbilt-s of one and the same ensemble, remains unperceived.

616 619 634 Everyone in Seksawa may be considered as Eghōrti, plur. Ighertan, with the exception of the a. Lh'sen, rather vigorously Imsifem, and by this title maintaining ties with the homonymous fractions of the Mez'ud'a, their saint sidi Ah'med u Ali, and their brothers beyond Tichka, the Tigguga. But the qualification is not always clear. If the Idma are unhesitatingly of the first group, it is not the same for the a. Musa and the a. H'adduyws. The former, by general admission, have wavered between the two flags.

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616 Spurred on by so much aggression, they pass for having changed
619 their colors so often that they have lost their appurtenance. It is
634 true that this is an unfortunate taqbilt, and that this trait of decadence is combined in it with the effect of other disgraces. The Idma ascribe an indefinite status to the a. H'adduyws, and they impute it to a complexity of origin, so different from their own unity. But diversity of origin has never prevented political affirmation in the Atlas. As for those concerned, if one questions the a. Tasa, of the dominant group, they confess to being Ighertan, but not without feigned or sincere reticence. The question seems to arouse in them an old and obscure controversy which one touches on only cautiously: that is to say, the foreigner will never have the last word on it.

Is the history of the recent period more conclusive? These solidarities could be of different order: ritual (thus for the liaison between the a. Lh'sen, the Tigguga, and the Mez'ud'a around sidi Ah'med u Âli (2), juridical (as perhaps in Gedmiwa, where certain procedural rates changed according to the qualification, or in Mez'ud'a, among whom the matrimonial regime, for example, diverged between a. Gd'id' and a. Td'd'it); finally and above all, political and martial. But on this last plane, which is the clearest and which has struck /428/ our observers the most, serious reservations are to be formulated as to the value of the rule. The major political power of the region, that of the Mtugga, developed, like that of the Glawa elsewhere, outside of these appurtenances. It is true that it constituted a "party" in itself alone. On the other hand, in the upper valleys themselves, a traditional hostility set the Idma against their a. H'adduyws "brothers" -- allied against them with the Imsifern a. Lh'sen. On the other side of the Atlas arête, the H'adduyws relied upon the Idaw i-yzimmer, of the opposite sign. And

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2. In this sense, remarkable unpublished notes of G. Delaye concerning the Urika and the Gheghaya.

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616 against their Idaw Mçat't'og brothers, they succeeded in buying
619 the benevolent neutrality of the Tigguga. Lastly, gentilitial or
634 even individual variations came about, to which no discredit was
attached.

The leff affinity never prevents initiative in the opposite direction. Such a state of being unattached can be attributed to decadence. But it is necessary to state that, at the single stage that may be observable, rival ambitions of individuals and families confront one another inside the canton, in paltry dispositions, but also often lasting, and which may react on the general configuration. The two qualifications thus exist, but are neither always clear nor always imperative. Above all neither ponderation nor regularity reigns between them. An entire context of personal and collective initiative modifies them. One feels that indeed factors come here to disturb what we would suppose arises from a two-part rhythm. And, a more serious thing, these are factors of different level: if some appear to us to express old collective antagonisms, and thus to orient the explanation toward the hypothesis of an organic equilibrium, others evidently arise from fantasy, from the event, from machination or from chance. All this works in diverse directions and gives the impression of an extreme contingency.

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Are these anomalies peculiar to the Seksawa? And what should one think about the most considerable one among them: the absence of declared. Imsifern in the system, if it were not in the single a. Lh'sen canton, that is, among rather recent immigrants? Why this asymmetry, contrasting with the exact bipartism of all the groups that surround the Seksawa to the W., the E., and the S.? Is it necessary to suppose that this is a trait of rupture? The ancient expulsed populations, a. Gasa on one side, Demsira colonists on the other, or the even more ancient conquered ones: a. Sh'aq, a. Umgan, a. Châib, Ih'erdach, were they in their time arranged according to the classic figure of the chessboard? Mystery.

Another explanation that comes to mind would be that the extreme vigor of the tyrannical phenomenon in Seksawa during the twentieth century with /429/ its three great conquering amghar-s

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616 brought about a basic perturbation. It was thus that Umulid con-
121 stantly played against other Ighertan, by making common cause with the a. Lh'sen. The very chance of one of his letters shows us apropos of this, as has been seen, one use of the word leff: a valuable lexicographical cross-check, but basically a new difficulty. For either Umulid considers himself as having become Emsifôr, like the caid Mokhtar, or he uses this term in an extended sense of alliance, or of front: in a word, in a sense which vulgarizes the Algerian term çoff, which has become so essential to Franco-Mussulman life of small Algerian towns that the modern novel has made it famous.

If the dualism of the leff-s is above all a coexistence of virtualities, between which the collective, and sometimes even the individual, option is exercised, if each one these two terms themselves is exclusive neither of variety nor mutations, the problem then remains entirely one of learning why large zones are subject to it and why, on the other hand, such and such a sector escapes it. The distorting schemings of the chiefs, the degradation of the old order inherent in the rise of personal power during the twentieth century could not in any case account for the particular situation of the Seksawa. Everywhere and always in the Atlas, there has been alternation of the chefferie /military district/ and democracy. The historical and statistical inquiry, with graphic notations, that was desired in the case at hand by R. Montagne (1) would certainly be useful for knowlege of the past of these societies. It would not provide any explanation. It would reveal the play of initiatives, being applied to conjunctures. Perhaps the bicolor background of the leff-s would come out as endowed with constancy, with a constancy in restorations, and thus linked to a certain legitimacy: thrilling research, but one does not see that it could advance the definition of the content.

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1. In his c. r. /report/ of the thesis of J. Dresch, Hesp., 1943, p. 232.

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616 121 It seems then that the analysis must take other routes. Two data of observation are perhaps going to help here.

First of all, it is necessary to substitute the indigenous metaphor for the European metaphor. It is not as two opposing fronts of European nations that the man of the Atlas, with good reason, sees the leff-s. But as an option with two terms, whose most convenient ~~image~~ is for him that of the confrontation of two ranks of coswearers. Let us follow this indication. From the plural oath to the leff, a coefficient of spreading in space perhaps accounts for at least part of the differences between these two types of solidarity.

/430/ Secondly, if the attempts at definition of the leff-s by their content have been unfruitful up to now, and if it has been necessary, in order to explain this failure, to resort to the hypothesis of decadence, would it not be both more economical and more in keeping with objectivity to shift the emphasis from the problems of content in order to attach it to the form itself?

A Tension With Mutation of Signs

616 184 Not far from the Seksawa, toward the S.-W., another mountain group, the Idaw T'anan (1), has remained unacquainted with these alternations. Its ethnological tenor is strong. Its legend of founding saint, the vitality of the assemblies, the original functions falling to the imz'ran during their round of annual justice still affirm an institution plenitude, excluding any idea of caducity, not long ago. Now the leff is unknown here. 616 571 184 Its role is assumed here by a local organization, no longer binary, but ternary. All the public life of the Idaw T'anan rests upon a division into three equivalent groups. Each of them separately may enter into outside alliances. But a lively solidarity, made up in part by these very antagonism, in part by rites, maintains a community.

1. In. /unpublished/ Monographie by R. Montagne, 1927, and personal references.

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616 571 184 121 Would it be simple tautology to emphasize that if the Idaw T'anan thus escape the dualism of the leff-s, it is because of such an originality? The force of their internal rhythm, by three and not by two, has been able to keep alive among them a tension sufficient, it seems, to exclude the other formula. Let us note that in certain respects, the tripartition of the a. H'adduyws, for example, could account for analogous effects. But in this case it expresses something entirely different from an organic division. It arouses rather the idea of artificial fractionings, resulting from more or less official and deliberate simplifications, which other ensembles offer. The truth is that it is necessary to study at length the individuality of each case in order to extricate the meaning. The example of the Mtugga can be cited symmetrically to that of the Idaw T'anan. No leff-s among them either. But it this not because the course of Bwabbut' surpasses, by an adventure geographically, technically, and sentimentally superior, the mediocrity of the montagnard case? Among them, too, the system proper excludes external borrowing. The classificatory role of the leff-s is supplanted here by a broader obligation, as it was in Idaw T'anan /431/ by a shorter rhythm. It is therefore not impossible that the exception to the general bipartism that the Seksawa represent is moreover connected in their case to a certain specialty. Specialty of a history and of a tradition responsible for a very personal comportment.

Thus, when a group apparently forms an exception to the bipartism of the leff-s, it is perhaps because it is supported by a tension of another type, peculiar to it, and which may be different in each case. Such a viewpoint orients the research into the fruitful avenue of varieties of groups, so characteristic of the Chleuh /Shluh/ ensemble. It also agrees with two traits of observation. First, that the dualism of the leff-s would be above all onomastic; than, that it may be replaced by classifications of another genre.

616 171 Considered from this angle, the theory of the leff-s is going to come out of the montagnard and Berbère /Berber/ isolation where it was cantoned in spite of evident and embarrassing applications that have turned up here and there in Arab countries, in the Sahara

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616 or on the Hauts Plateaux /High Plateaus/. Truthfully speaking, it
17 is intelligible only in this broad, analogic context. Replaced in an area going from the Saharan socle to the littoral of the Maghreb, the facts of the Sous, of Kabylia, of the Rif are amenable to the same institutional ensemble as the relations of protection between nomads and gardeners of the oases (1),

1. Dj. Jacques-Meunié, "Les oasis des Lektaoua et des Meh'amid, institutions traditionnelles des Draoua /The Oases of the Lektaoua and of the Meh'amid, traditional institutions of the Draoua/," Hesp., 1947, p. 420.

as the herarchies between Mauretanian tribes (2),

2. In. /unpublished/ note by Ahmed Miske Ould Atiq, Hormas et Ghafers, Atar, 1935. Contribution au coutumier indigène /Contribution on native customary law/, Cercle de la Baie du Lévrier, 1931.

and as the still living dualism between Touareg /Tuareg/ "nobles" and "vassals" (3).

3. Besides the work of Foucauld, Duveyrier, H. Lhote, Les Touaregs du Hoggar /The Tuareg of the Ahaggar/, 1944, and oral references by Lieut. Berthé.

The relations between imochar and imghad have in vain affected the most precise modalities, in essence both chivalrous and fiscal; they are nonetheless irreducible to the analysis of origins, just like the Maghrebi dualisms (4).

4. The amzid is often richer, and as martial, as his suzerain, notes H. Duveyrier, Les Touaregs du Nord /The Tuareg of the North/, 1864, pp. 334 sq.

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/Footnote 4 continued./ The origin of the "dues," *tiussé*, is incomprehensible.

Even in the latter, any qualitative nuance is not excluded. In the Anti-Atlas, the Tah'ogg^{W}at is opposed to the Tagizzult, as what is less "chic" is to what is more so. If this already ancient notation is highly instructive, what will the comparison with the series, similarly, but more strongly dissimilated, of the Sahara be? In these last there prevails a plenitude of content, whose system seems little by little to be stripped away in proportion /432/ as it is applied to zones nearer the Mediterranean, and more signs of its dry, reasonable, and individual genius. Is not this impoverishment the ransom that must be paid, one might say, in order to be admitted into the classic culture? The antagonisms in it tend to preserve only the formal arête. At this stage the notion has little but nominal value. It is an antithesis without content. Such as we observe in the Haut Atlas, and even more in Kabylia, where it crops out in the most modern electoral debate.

A perpetual exchange appears to operate between configurations of consistency and breadth as discordant as these "balanced dualisms," the simple leagues, and the thousand regroupings of politics or of faith. Basic structures, tactics, tendency and fantasy are then inextricably mixed. Whence a constant reaction of each on the others. The morphological virtue of great style that the antithesis of the *leff*-s, or of the *çoff*-s, possesses, when it attains all its geographical breadth -- this is the case for the Haut and for the Anti-Atlas, in the same way as for the Sous; that of oriental Morocco; that of the Constantine South with the confrontation of two great familial parties -- is often broken, exploited, disguised. But it may also be revived in new kinds. The old dialectic then becomes that of electoral propagandas, and tends to be no more than that of a "right" and of a "left" to the French one (1).

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1. The matter is current in the elections in Kabylia. Cf. the interesting study by Laurette,

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616 171 /footnote 1 continued/ "Aspects de la vie sociale en petite Kabylie /Aspects of the social life in Little Kabylia/, "*ESNA*, 1951, pp. 21 sq.; Jean Menaut (Aug. Berque), "Circonscriptions arabes et kabyles aux Délégations financières /Arab and Kabyle circumscriptons to the finance Delegations/, " *Bulletin du Comité de l'Afrique française*, 1935, pp. 64 sq., with historical reminders. In Tunisia, two *çoff*-s are affirmed and defined in the long struggle of the bey Husayn and his nephew Ali pacha at the beginning of the eighteenth century. They are the Husaynîa and the Bachîa. The interference between the tribal antagonisms and a conjuncture of central politics from which they borrowed their names is significant, Cf. J. Despois, *La Tunisie orientale, Sahel et Basse-Steppe* /Eastern Tunisia, Sahel and Lower Steppe/, 1940, p. 208. The *çoff*, Europeanized, modernized, has become in Algeria a literary theme that runs, for example, through all the work of R. Randau.

In these movements, there is more than an evolution that destroys or restores, modifies or refreshes. There is their very possibility. It expresses a fluidity of terms, an aptitude for substitution, a facility and almost a gaiety in the exchange of territorial and moral forms, which seem characteristic of North Africa.

Examples of Variations

000 The theory of the *leff*-s, in its classic formulation, made much of evolutions of this genre. It noted that the name of such a great /433/ league is none other than that of a more limited assemblage found by a chance discovery in Almohade archeology. The inverse is also observable. Such great constellations or "races" of the Maghrebi Middle Ages have only left their name to puny tribes: thus Zenâta, Maçmûda, Ghomâra, etc.

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000 [648] Present-day Morocco presents a privileged example of these variations: not so from the Seksawa, since it is a matter of their old allies, the Sofyân (1).

1. Note that the name Sofyân is that of a *çoff* in the Gourara, cf. E.-F. Gautier, *La conquête du Sahara* /The Conquest of the Sahara/, 1910, p. 153.

They have been relegated, as is known, to the hills with heavy soils, ending in a swampy estuary, of the Gharb. They divide this territory with another Arab tribe, the Beni Mâlek. Madly tangled division! In the present terminology, no "fraction" that includes both the Sofyân and the Beni Mâlek. And the "douar" itself often makes up the two appurtenances (2).

2. Direct inquiry and Michaux-Bellaire, *Le Gharb* /The Rharb/, 1913, pp. 325 sq.

On the map, the posting of the latter in two hues figures a check pattern, something absolutely similar to what has elsewhere been called the "chessboard of the *leff*-s." Only here the genetic fiction has acted fully. One does not refer to parties or leagues, but to two tribes. There the difficulties begin. Only the Sofyân have a history (3).

3. Well known by G. Marçais, *Les Arabes en Berbérie* /The Arabs in Barbary/, 1913, cf. index.

Nothing tells us about Beni Mâlek before the maraboutic crisis of the sixteenth century. They were then courageous champions and knew, with al-^{c}Ayyâchî, their time of preponderance. But no one knows where they are from or where they come from (4),

4. Nevertheless ^{c}Abd ar-Rah'mân b. Zaydân, *Ith'âf*, 1929, t. I, p. 171, placed them already

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/footnote 4 continued/ in 1270 around Larache. Several saints of the sixteenth century bear the ethnic name of Malkî.

except that they are "brothers" of the Sofyân, which moreover postulates their close cohabitation with them.

Everything takes place as if, at a given point of the decadence of the Sofyân, having declined since the Mérinides, a scission took place in their midst. The tribe itself would have secreted "its" Beni Mâlek, perhaps like, a little more to the N., the Khlot' secreted "their" T'lîq. The matter becomes complicated by the fact that one finds among the present-day Beni Mâlek-Sofyân, side by side with names of old authenticity, such as that of al-H'ârth, others that are those of foreign Arab groups: Khlot', ᶜÂçim, Riyâh', Solaym, Çobayh', Châwîya, and ever Beni Hilâl! Some of these names may be the relics of former habitats, as is the case for the Khlot', or reflect late contributions, as is the case for the Châwîya. But others escape this /434/ sort of explanation. How can one not be disturbed by the disparity that joins together, under the present label of "douar," these ancient appellations of tribes, of peoples, and even of the Hilalian race in its ensemble? What is remarkable in this case is therefore not only the imbrication of two tribes, reproducing to the image what elsewhere would be interpreted as the interlacing of two leagues (1).

1. The remarkable study by V. Monteil on the Tekna, 1948, shows to what point these configurations are shifting, and the denominations of groups of diverse order interfere.

It is the play of classifications and declassifications between groups of such diverse scale.

A movement, which everything inclines one to believe constant, sometimes expands, sometimes diminishes the extension of of the group names. A whole reciprocal exchange of expansions

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000 and declines, ascensions and falls, is thus glimpsed in the past, merely from traces that it has left in the language. One discerns there a sort of semantic back-side of the history of events as the chroniclers retrace it. But considering the Maghrebi virtue of names, of their variations, of the classifications that they express, and whose entire consistency they can make by themselves alone, one wonders whether this back side has not been in many respects determinate.

Moreover, one has not only observed in the case at hand passages from one echelon to another, simple changes of order of size. More delicate phenomena, implying more complex hierarchies, also appear. Since social demarcations in the Maghreb willingly adopt spiritual criteria, it is not rare that one therefore registers the promotion of entire populations to a plane that opposes them to the humanity around. Unless this would be their disqualification.

A striking case, peculiar to Morocco, where it knew a veritable pullulation, is that of the Indrisite /Idrisid/ sherifism since the sixteenth century. It was expecially from this time that an explicative history of the Moroccan past was founded, referring completely to Mawlay Idrîs and, beyond him, to his ancestor, the Prophet. Perhaps collectivities that up to then had shared other prestige benefited from the saintly ancestry. The hypothesis has been set forth that among many Berbère *chorfa* /Berber shorfa/ crept native possessors of *baraka*, men of God or persons of good augury (2).

There would thus have been in the case at hand transposition of the sacred, or rather requalification. Individual sherifism, transmitted by successoral vocation, subject to the genealogical critique of the manuals of /435/ *nasab*, does not have the same morphological content as that demanded, by collective devolution, by compact layers of peopling. Taking up again the

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2. E. Laoust, *Mots et choses berbères* /Berber words and things/, 1920, p. 315.

/435 cont./

000 example of the Gharb, among the Beni Mâlek and the Sofyân, a mass of Ud Khalîfa spreads from the Ouergha to the Ocean. This phenomenon is common in the Moroccan South. The Ud Bessebâ^{c}, for example, all want to be chorfa, and their history is a long polemic of legitimacy.

Besides the nobility that is inherited, there is that which one assumes. On the one hand personal investiture, transmission by blood, initiatory aspect. On the other, segregation of communities, founded above all upon a collective attestation. The Chleuh /Shluh/ country offers an example of degrees in this profession. One does not find there, as in the Ahaggar, promotions of status based on the deliberate affirmation of a group (1).

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1. H. Lhote, Les Touaregs du Hoggar /The Tuareg of the Ahaggar/, 1944, p. 163, quoting Cauvet. This is but an extreme case of these autofabrications of status that one finds in the whole Berbère domain, from the asri of the Touareg to the ag^{w}mman of the Anti-Atlas.

But one does observe there instructive nuances between foqra, "ministers," ig^{w}rramen, "marabouts," and chchref, "descendants of the Prophet."

Besides the Prophetic ancestry, the most prestigious, it also happens that a similar course confers on ethnic names a meaning no longer of origin, but moral. One is no longer "son of ...," one is "adept." One is what French would signify by an ending in -iste. Thus the Regrâga. They were perhaps a people, but the memory of it has been lost. They have fabricated for themselves a genealogy connecting them to an ancestral baraka. But even more they are catechists of Islam, witnesses of a very ancient layer of hagiology, since it is made to stretch back farther than the Hegira. The same specialization seems to affect, in the thirteenth century, names like those of the H'âh'îyûn, the Hazmîrîyûn,

/435 cont./
000 the Çanhâjiyûn (2): they designate mystic companies without tribal acceptation: and this last was maintained parallelly. Evolution moreover was accomplished unequally according to the case. The present Gnâwa of North Africa were not Guineans in origin, but adepts of orgiastic rites and of mysteries. Similarly the Mlâyna, the Bdâwa, scattered in small occult groups. The Dghûghiyîn, although their name is still that of a local group, are above all a category of popular ecstatics. In another order of ideas, the Zekkâra, dear to Mouliéras, are both a tribe and a sect: there is identification of two orders of community there. And inversely the ait sidi Ah'med u Musa are acrobats who almost never have anything in common with /436/ the apostle of the Tazerwâlt. One can be Mlâyni by birth, by conviction, or by affiliation. One can be son of sidi Mh'med u Musa by origin, by convention, or by trade. This plurality of acceptations, with the variable sliding from one to the other that is brought about according to place and time, should give rise to a precise inventory. There would result from it valuable indications on the career of Maghrebi names. What more curious, for example, than the progress of meaning that causes that of a large medieval assemblage to survive in the divinatory proceedings called *lkhat't' z-znâti*? Or that of the Maçâmida in these *Mçâmda*, dervishes with wild manifestations that are released during certain feasts of the Aurès (1).

Nothing exists of such an inventory. If it were ever brought about, it would give the sociology of the groups in this country some material of facts, names, and acceptations that it lacks, and without which it has marked time for about twenty years. One, of course, can presume nothing about this research. But perhaps the

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2. Ibn al-Qunfudh, *Uns al-faqîr*, Rabat ms.

1. E. Dermenghem, *Sciences et voyages*, Sept., 1950.

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000 preceding notations will suffice to support a judgment, moreover above all critical. It is legitimate to conjecture a constant fluidity between denominations of groups habitually distinguished by the user as well as by the research worker. The surprising thing is not that interferences should be produced between agrarian or urban confraternities, corporations, territorial cadres and genealogical systems. It is that they should be so numerous. It is that they coexist with an evolution that belies them on many grounds.
[171] Between forms such as tribe, confederation, league, çoff, leff, party, even qualifications within the hierarchies of the profane and of the sacred, the exchange has been perpetual in North Africa, and still continues.

Morphological Thresholds

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[695] Let us return to the native interpretation. It brings together the fraternity of leff with that of blood or of the oath. This proximity may be attributed to the decadence of the types. But let us note that many of the traits that in our view distinguish these three notions amount to a morphological variation linked to the broadness of play. From the least broad cadre: this ground where, the patrimonies are organized, to the broadest: the whole section of the Moroccan South that covers the chessboard of the leagues, several thresholds are interposed. Each indicates a changing of social rhythm.

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[613] As has been seen, on this side of the first threshold, the small taqbilt of the Haut-Atlas prevails. It forms its agnatic subdivisions without anything /437/ being interposed between their strife and its order. This is not to say that this strife, in certain respects, does not go beyond internal law. But the ikhs indeed has the feeling of consanguinity, and many of the conflicts that it has with the other ikhs-s are amenable to sworn law. The cadre of the taqbilt, although it carries within itself an explosive force, moreover owes to its agrarian correspondences an exemplary distinctness. (Opposite to this, the genealogical tribe never offers in North Africa, we believe, as pure an example.)

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619 But this privilege ceases at the borders of the canton. In the
634 Atlas itself, everything that goes beyond the narrow law of the
taqbilt obeys a movement that distorts significations and contours.
This movement does not require centuries in order to act, although
obviously its most considerable effects appear to us today
only with the passage of time. A lifetime would be sufficient to
see these transformations come about. Moreover, it might be
said that any Maghrebi work, in order to be efficacious, must apply
to the groups a technique sui generis of the changings of definition
and contour. The "tribe" becomes league. Kinship,
[616] initiation. Correlatively the individual escapes. The doubling
of the procedural rate, which in the Atlas marks the passage from
the internal law to the external law, gives way to other relations
such as the leff. But one has entered the domain of incertitude
and play. The most shifting conjunctions reflect the event, the
tendency, the individual or collective desires. Studied from this
angle, what would the montagnard history of the Moroccan "great
caids" during the first quarter of the twentieth century not reveal?
000 But we shall be content with a more decanted /Fr. décanté/ example
that of the Kabylia of the maréchal Randon.

This is a nervous people, long in contact with imperialisms with broad perspectives: Spanish, Turkish. The archaism and almost permanence of the cadre contrast with the mobility of an economy dependent for much on external contributions, therefore on travel and adventure. The compartmentalization of the country is worsened by an almost urban density of the inhabitant. All of this creates an original comportment in which the heritage of old structures and the unforeseen of modern initiatives are united. Now two stable elements of the Kabyle country, those whose definition consequently thrust itself on our first observers, are the gentilitial group, takharrubt, and a primary composite, called here thaddert, because its content is absorbed, it seems, in the visual fact of the bourg contiguity. It is absorbed there with even more rigor than anything analogous in the Sous, where the social unit does not coincide with that of habitat. But beyond this, what indecision! What in Arab country corresponds to the

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000 "tribe," the *ᶜarch*, is formed and unformed /438/ according to the political event. With stronger reason, the episodic aggregate of the tribes in *taqbilt*. Let us note this term. It is employed more exactly in Kabylia than in the Atlas, for there it keeps its philological sense of primary subdivision of the "people." This is the sense in which Ibn Khaldûn spoke of Almohade "groupings," *qabâ'il*, such as the Genfisa. However that may be, the Kabyle *taqbilt* has only circumstantial existence. The present electoral struggles see it play its role, just like the *ᶜarch*, and pierce the centenary alluvion of a public life in the French manner, in the direction of insidious, but powerful apparitions. The *çoff*-s work more broadly than the *taqbilt*, but in more diffuse, more abstract fashion. In certain cases they are identified with a *ᶜarch*, covering an entire section of mountain, as appears to have been the case under the Turks. But sometimes too they oppose the *thaddert*-s in reciprocal movements. The whole polarizes sometimes in two terms: the "upper" and the "lower," whose constancy up to our day is conjugated paradoxically with an availability of individual evolutions much keener than anywhere else in North Africa.

These Kabyle illustrations of a general phenomenon of variation carry in the case at hand some other information on the
[619] terminology of the groups. The Chleuh /Shluh/ *taqbilt*, as an
[334] aggregate of families, does not correspond to the *taqbilt* of the Djurjura /Djurdjura/, a broader, but incidental form. In the Mzâb, yet other differences. The *qbîla* is above all onomastic. It is conceived as a unit that has had its history, before the founding of the five towns. Its concentration in the urban habitat has undoubtedly reacted on its form. But all of its own tensions has not been effaced in it. Other Saharan towns with characteristic divisions, and less refined civilization, would permit comprehending a whole gamut of relations between the vitality of these groups and that of the city.

171 Indeed far, therefore, from the fact that the passage from the
613 gentilitial order to that of the state presents itself everywhere with the privileged simplicity of the Haut-Atlas, the *ikhs* itself, or

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171 613 what corresponds to it in the rest of the Maghreb, is not always a clear notion. In the Sous, it is reduced by and large to consanguinity. The pacts to become united by fraternal ties that are observed in rich and varied fashion in the Moyen /Middle/ Atlas on the one hand, the influence of another system, that of uterine succession among the Touareg /Tuareg/, on the other, elsewhere introduce a great diversity. Sometimes, in the Gharb for example, or the lower Chaouia, disaggregation has acted so that the family is reduced to the conjugal couple and tends toward an extreme type: the adventurous bachelor, this ^{c}azri found in the shanty towns. But opposite them, within the Chleuh /Shluh/ ikhs [592] itself, the relations between foyers /439/ are not governed by any patriarchal indivision. All this, in the present phase, is, from one end of North Africa to the other, stirred up by a formidable evolution.

000 Depending on the milieus, it is such-and-such an aspect, such-and-such a principle, lacking or attenuated elsewhere, that predominates. On the importance of the pacts of protection in the Moyen Atlas depends, in Mauretania or in the Ahaggar, that of the hierarchies of groups. In Kabylia the most corroded organizations coexist with a political agility of modern type. A classification of the North African populations could thus be sketched. According to the geographical area, the unequal role played by such-and-such a theme, the degree of appurtenance to such-and-such a cycle, would undoubtedly furnish the bases for a division about which one can say unhesitatingly that it is for the moment premature.

But that will be not merely regative findings. At this point in our inquiry, the morphology of the Maghrebi groups already lets some of its traits be glimpsed. To its differentiation in space, and reacting on it, is added another: the variation of the signs that, according to the place or period, any formation of a certain size borrows. As the cadre becomes larger, a variability of names revives, all the more difficult to grasp because they evoke in turn diverse conjunctions of age, of extension, or of dignity. Hence all sorts of confusions become possible. And not only for the investigator, but for the native, for they open to the latter a fine

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000 availability of course, of feint, or of hope. We see these confusions begin on the terrain, at the stage where a small political cell of the Haut Atlas bursts over two or three valleys. And what will become of these broader forms, which any knowledge, any Maghrebi action will necessarily meet on their path!

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Conclusion

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Discordance of the Material and Social Aspects (1)

1. One will not be able to refrain, in this development, from value judgments. In spite of the economic analyses of our Second Part, on which it was believed one could support them, the undertaking is delicate. Cf. E. Durkheim, *Les règles de la méthode sociologique* /The rules of the sociological method/, 1895, and the distinction between the "normal" and the "anormal," pp. 74 sq., which it is proper, in my opinion, to pair with the recent attainments of "human ecology."

121 619 634 One might believe that the *taqbilt* of the Atlas, because of its clearness of foundations, its close liaison to a space, its logical rigor, finally its autonomy, arises directly from the ground, and that its structure owes nothing to the foreigner. But there is none so solitary, so defended by the country or the event that it does not reveal, in its form as well as in its substance, a sharing with the most distant Maghreb. Let us therefore carry forward the examination of any group of the Haut Seksawa. This little society is not determined by the milieu with the exactitude that would make one conjecture an immemorial peasant civilization.

182 Adaptation to the cadre is done by a perpetual mediocrity of the peopling and of the enterprises. Mediocrity indispensable to the weak equilibrium with a nature that, in the case of demographic

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182 advance, or extension of the herd, collapses. The decline of the soils, the flight of the trees sanction the momentary victories. Such a view, it is true, concerns above all the plain. But it also applies to the valleys of the Atlas, for all that, even there, the techniques of refection of the lands and of collection of water do not arise out of any fathoming of the hydraulic or arborical techniques. Among these great sedentary peoples of the Maghreb, the view of the livestock raiser remains sovereign. Now that is undoubtedly not at all a matter of traits of montagnard rusticity, of economic and cultural archaism. The livestock raiser doubles as a speculator, sometimes as a man of letters with a townsman's aims, and always as the most demanding of citizens. In the material as in the spiritual, people from here go far. But their success does not bear on utilizing the milieu. It bears on social constructions, for which the latter is only the pretext, and which contain a part of hyperbole.

/441/ The superiority of the social apparatus contrasts with the relative mediocrity of the techniques. Extraordinary sureness of the system of distribution! The division of the water, that of the soil between groups attain a disturbing perfection. Incomprehensible and inimitable perfection, not only to the European, were he a specialized engineer, but to the Moroccan of the plain. The social here knows a veritable hypertrophy. Its profusion exceeds on all sides the suggestions of the physical milieu. All allowances being made, it ends up being a cause of stagnation as decisive as the ritual superabundance is in other milieus. The analysis has made stand out in detail this disproportion between material techniques on the one hand, the social organizations on the other. It is the very one that a brillant page of the Genséric of E. F. Gautier pointed out in Roman and Mediterranean antiquity. For other reasons, it could also be qualified as "oriental": superficial assimilations! The disproportion that is verified here has without any doubt causes peculiar to this society.

It always disconcerts the observer. It forces him finally to judge severely a system in which he admires the civicism and laicity full of promise. His judgment is that of history. In the

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remarkable and, if one wishes, pathetic contrast which bursts out between the precariousness of the foundations and the exuberance of the masonry, one cannot see an advantage, but a factor of ultraconservatism and sterility. The force of the man is exhausted, one might say, by these communitarian refinements. It loses its impact upon the material of the country.

That is why these societies of exact genius, of untiring energy have up to now only been able to progress by denying themselves. In the order of the taqbilt they find their own consummation, something beyond which nothing remains, except to begin again upon other foundations. Therefore they defend themselves to absurdity. Everything acquired in the way of resources, experience and ideas that emigration sometimes goes so far to seek, they use to reanimate the old and imperfectible machine. The latter, in contact with the world, cannot evolve. It persists, or bursts.

That it may be less an original form than an effected form, less a beginning than an impasse, this is what the observation of its internal disparities would already suggest. There is without any doubt a connection between its morphological profusion and the meanness of the milieu. The republics of the Haut Seksawa, and their equals of the Moroccan South, are little monsters of social ingenuity. Their creative richness on this plane, contrasting so strongly with the minuteness of their cadre, arises less from spontaneity, from an immediate inspiration /442/ from the country, than from a reaction against the scarcity of space and the troubles of the past. It is a richness of substitutions and requitals. Although we poorly know the causes and modalities of it, there has been a forcing back of Berbère /Berber/ societies. But if we did not know this, we would be struck by the contrast between the milieu and what this humanity institutes there. Numerous traits lead one to believe that it has wanted to adapt itself there less than to be exalted there and, in certain respects, to be exaggerated there with a goal not so much of survival as of affirmation, of play.

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Recourse To the External and To the Transcendent

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182 The system of the taqbilt, far from being an immediate datum of analysis, appears, by this head, itself conditioned. As fiercely defended as it is, it never remains isolated. It is intelligible only as resultant. Not only has it been subjected to influences, but it is posed and is conceived of only in relation to exterior or superior entities (1).

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1. Cf. the views of Marc Block on "feudal" societies, Ann. hist. soc., 1939, p. 14.

[779] It adheres to a great monotheism, Islam. It is fond of the marvels of towns and of the plain, and avid to appropriate, while neutralizing them, innovations and progress, or simply singularities. This imbues it with enthusiasms, defiances, ambiguities, and above all unrest. It feels besieged. Its culture is transactional. Its sense of justice, although violent and original, has not escaped the touches of such a sentiment. The Seksawa order, this order with compression and explosion, is also an order that disguises itself, for it judges itself, and judges itself wrongly. The ritual life, from its external manifestations to its most intimate movements, is resolved into divisions compounding, unequally according to the levels, the local spontaneity with the external contribution.

182 In its topographical materiality, the Seksawa domain is inseparable from the Chleuh /Shluh/ ensemble. The same coefficient of painstaking, and almost systematic, variety that opposes customs from canton to canton, opposes the law of the Seksawa with that of this ensemble. Everything happens as if the personalities that we observe deep-rooted, and as though contracted, at the bottom of the valley grounds came from the rupture of a larger body. This perhaps explains a curious phenomenon: the fact that in this fragmentation, there has not been concordance between the law and the language. Their lines of variation do not

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182 coincide. An analysis /443/ that was more profound would uncover, I believe, other cases of discordance of the various series of facts between themselves on the one hand, with the cantonal cadre on the other. For if this last, which is connected to the geography, has acted to such an extent, through its physical consistency as well as through its limitations, upon everything that touches on the organizations, other orders of things, subjacent in a way to the group life, have remained independent of this cadre and are understood only by reference to a broader generality.

If it is indeed so, one sees why and how this canton so well protected seeks, on the side of a geographical, doctrinal, or political depassment, the ransom of a particularism submitted to rather than constructed. The humblest cell is connected, by a whole network of virtualities, to material or ethical systems that far surpass it. These virtualities, legacy of history, are roused under shocks, appearing in case of need. Wider and wider circles of solidarity can then be roused around minute centers. And the local genius, among all these configurations with shifting and ambiguous names: sect, tribe, party, finds a thousand occasions for games of guile and devotion. Every montagnard of adventurous instinct has at his disposal, merely in the depths of his valley, a clavier of correspondences, with which it depends only upon his audacity, his talent in knowing how to play, in order to make of him a prophet, or a conqueror, or, more modestly, a politician.

177 Let us leave the scene of the upper cantons for that of the
186 Sous in its ensemble. The Chleuhs /Shluh/ have fully suffered the impact of the oriental culture. Patient and scrupulous, at the same time that they adhered to it on the plane of faith, they sought there their own values. They find a balance in these syntheses, of which their law is the most successful. Adhesion to others, the necessity and the taste for compromise have maintained among them not only subtlety, but a personality of dependence. This fine construction is made and judged with respect to external ideals. It dares be itself only stealthily. Its identity, even more than its autonomy, suffers in this. It is marked by what a modern school would call a feeling of "altérité" /otherness/.

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This is not the place here to investigate the ethical consequences of the fact. Let us simply note the verification that it brings to bear, by the consciousness and the very avowal of the subject, on the dependencies disclosed by the analysis in the life of the most remote cantons. Now this genius does not give way for all that. There will therefore be controversy between adhesion to others and the nostalgia of oneself. Its determination by the outside becomes, according to the case, transcendence from the outside or rebellion from the inside.

It is naturally on the level of expression that /444/ compromise is realized most. Whence it happens that these people express themselves little and poorly. Whence it happens that all social or personal life feels the effects of a discord between different layers of psychology. Also, in many cases, the group as well as the individual will have the feeling of again seizing their identity only in excess, violence. Whence these impulsive fits of a patient and devout race: heresy, with which it peoples the "dark centuries," and, at all times, a millenarianism fertile in bursts. While waiting for other modes of expression...

The Maghreb, Continuous Tissue

177 Parallel to the Dir, in the region of Imintanout, runs the boundary between the Chleuh /Shluh/ and the Arab. It is also, at least today, a boundary between tribes and ways of life. It is not an ethnological boundary. A detailed analysis would show that there is no exact coincidence between the different orders of facts (1).

[197] 1. The patient inquiries of A. Basset reveal on this subject surprising reciprocal relations. The word asnus in the sense of "young ass" is employed in Morocco only in the zone not reached by Romanity. Lexicographical variants that go back to Moroccan events appear in the bend of

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/footnote 1 continued/ the Niger, cf. "La langue berbère au Sahara /The Berber language in the Sahara/," *Cahiers Ch. de Foucauld*, 1948. p. 12.

171 In the juridical matter itself -- and it is this that most obeys the group compartmentalization -- there exist throughout the Maghreb curious coincidences between a so-called "bédouine" /Bedouin/ practice and certain so-called "berbères" /Berber/ practices. Finally, various traits have led us to think, especially apropos matrimonial customs, that Fès /Fez/, capital of the *fiqh*, is such also, in certain respects, for a singularly tenacious customary law. These disconnected indications do not aspire to give proof, which one is not in a position to do for the moment. They simply seek to cast doubt upon simplistic classifications. Our knowledge of North Africa is not yet profound enough to reach basic elements: Arab, Berbère, or others. That is perhaps the ossature, and the ossature of the living being is not touched. We have not come to the study of a skeleton, or even to discerning a physiology whose functions for the most part still escape us, or are driven back by evolution into an inaccessible past. The only thing that is offered us is a living tissue. But this tissue is without break.

171 177 It would certainly be paradoxical to deny the personality of vast and strong zones such as this Chleuh /Shluh/ world, whose persistent originality everything attests to. But if, at the very center of this world, in the /445/ most rugged mountains, in a milieu whose particularism bursts forth, analysis encounters such a dependency upon the exterior, what will it be for milieus more accessible or more inviting! Still on this point, a lesson of geographical and historical continuity becomes clear from the Seksawa type. Allowance once made -- it must be great -- for the laws peculiar to the Chleuh /Shluh/ world: a certain sort of morcellation and of unity, the confused reference to external and internal symbols --, this lesson can be understood for the entire Maghreb. Homogeneous, for one sees the same themes circulate

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177 in it, the same problems posed, sometimes the same solutions in-
171 tervening from Fès to the Atlas and from the Gharb to the Djérid. At the same time heterogeneous, if one thinks of the no less important evidence of varieties of comportment going so far as violent affirmation, secession and insurrection. Most often, it is institutional denivellations, shifts in emphasis, themselves arising from local structures, that introduce variety, indeed discordance.

000 When the study of these phenomena is undertaken systematically for the ensemble of North Africa, the richness and the precision of relations that it will discover, their firmness of contour, the constancies that will stand out between the most modern evolutions and the oldest foundations will no doubt console the investigator who has found nothing here that calls to mind the Dogons and the Nambikwara.

177 Contemporary sociologists describe under the name of acculturation the transformation of a society in contact with another, expansive or superior. There results on the part of the more receptive one, the client or the conquered, an instinctive simulation of the most intimate realities, a search for arguments drawn from the model. A mass of ancient traits sinks into a system of survivals, of practices more or less clandestine or disdained. The same in the individual consciousness. Folklore on the one hand, psychological vestiges on the other. The reaction of the Maghrebi system, formerly in regard to the Crient, today in regard to France, points up in many respects this sort of phenomenon. Mixed and adulterated society, certainly, and from as far back as one goes. Society in which the problems of reinterpretation, of opposition or of transaction have outweighed all others. But in this eternal conflict it takes on such a strong personality that even its most protected cantons remain unintelligible to one who does not consider them from the dimensions of a whole space, a whole history.

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Original Characteristics of the Chleuh /Shluh/ System

181 Since it is necessary to begin with working hypotheses, some search in the Haut-Atlas, if not for the primitive, at least for the archaic and the spontaneous. But what have we found there? A mature society subjected to foreign influences, but re-establishing itself by a continual effort. A system with opinionated consciousness, in which comportments are organized, and are disguised even more than they are expressed. A construction contrasting with the mediocrity of the economic bases. This surpassing of the physical by the human, and almost this contrast between the one and the other, are characteristic. When one eliminates, as we have attempted to do, everything that this culture has in common with its North African neighbors, there justly remains to it in its own right a breadth going beyond the suggestions of the milieu, and an integration capable of putting one on the wrong scent concerning the variety of the constitutive elements.

The institutions of the Chleuh /Shluh/ rise by levels of depth, which imposes on the analysis its being diversified (1).

1. A Varagnac, "Cultures dissociées et cultures homogènes /Dissociated cultures and homogeneous cultures/," Ann. Histo. soc., 1945, t. II, pp. 94 sq., views that in certain respects join those of G. Gurvitch on the sociologie en profondeur /sociology in depth/.

Nevertheless, in North Africa such a structure has the peculiarity that, more or less manifest or hidden, according to the geographical province or the genre of phenomenon, it forms facts of different age, origin, character, and sometimes of a completely different tendency. It thus reveals a violent history whose contributions are irregularly arranged. The indications that it offers to knowledge, sentiment, or action are opposed to one another. The grasps of it are multiple and deceptive. This is why the Chleuhs /Shluh/, in whom this specious intelligibility is carried to its height, have been able, almost as justly, to be taken for ancient

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181 or modern, adepts of oriental universalism or obstinate champions of a custom, anarchic uprooted ones or believers in a patriarchal tradition.

The visage of this society is therefore often only falsehood or alibi. It is deciphered only by reference to the ensemble. But the ensemble is deeply disturbed or altered. Between its parts, the relations of origin, of connection, or of function are neither those that the user acknowledges nor those that the investigator expects. Thus, the repressive law maintains the communitarian vigor in which Durkheim sees an ancient trait (2).

2. E. Durkheim, De la division du travail social /Concerning the division of social labor/, 5th ed., 1926, p. 42.

But is it not this trait that is expressed and renewed in the /447/ montagnard codifications up to our day (1)?

[171] 1. The Kabyle qânûn-s, still alive around 1930, maintained at this time a debate of actuality. L. Milliot, "Nouveaux qânûn-s kabyles /New Kabyle qânûn/," Rens. Col., 1927, p. 113.

182 There is not archaism there, but desire for archaism, which opens completely different paths for the analysis. Restitutive law has found special ministers, often outside the commune, and, for more surety, imbued with a learned law. But this is only a façade. Rural life obeys something else. In the middle of the twentieth century, the distribution of water and of the soil expresses a harmony that everything has contradicted for a long time. An agile mobilization may act on the surface, it respects the rule. A gentilitial order remains in the landed property, whereas it has been effaced from the rites for centuries. But has it actually remained? Does it recall a former stage, or, on the contrary, does it not arise from historical initiatives? A co-operative system with harsh calculations is practiced in a communitarian

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182 climate. On the other hand, a powerful and artful social control governs a milieu of furious and perpetual discussion. Here again, which is the basic aspect, and which is the derived aspect? These "survivals" of an ancient stage, little by little drowned by the afflux of the modern, would they not instead be reconstructions?

121 128 Up to here we have reserved the answer, which involves our entire conception of these people and their history. It is now going ~~to be~~ necessary to choose between two possible explanations. Already the coexistence of such characteristics seemed to us to dismiss the hypothesis of a simple development, of a uniform construction. But there is more. Anachronism, ruptures in tone, contrasts are not only constant here, but regular, and almost systematic. Everything happens as if this society were seeking, by internal compensation, the re-establishment, of an equilibrium and the maintenance of an autonomy. Attraction to newness, submission to violence or to the seduction of others are compounded here with the safeguarding of the personality by excess in the opposite direction. The archaizing reaction depends on modernism.

What discordances in any case! This man is a citizen, devoted to universal values, advanced in the mobilization of rights, newcomer at legislative debate, at laicity. And the commune controls and penalizes comportments which, at this degree of individualism, should be free, and in fact believe they are. For example, it maintains the equilibrium of the patrimonies between agnatic groups. But the latter have lost most of their power even in domestic morality or economy. Same control /448/ over the play of saving, investment, revendication. These activities yield to a communitarian ethic, while everywhere else, and within themselves, the exacting initiative of the person reigns. The archaism of a penal law collectively administered exists in spite of all changes, indeeds draws a new rigor from it.

Can all this be considered the effect of chance, or even of unequal evolutions? We believe rather that unconscious regressions, compensatory or retrograde courses, invention of forms and modes, finally all these a posteriori movements reveal the elaboration and

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121 the interpretation of the group by itself. It is in this that the Chleuhs /Shluh/ are most opposed to the other Berbèrophones of 184 North Africa, Mozabites excepted. Internal cohesion, triumphing over disparities or utilizing them, thoughtful evolution, tactic with regard to the outside and reform from within: that places their system upon an entirely different level of personality than those of the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/ or of Kabylia (1).

1. And that provides us with a principle of classification of the various systems more sure, we believe, than the one that the late Marcy drew from a criterion of decreasing "primitivité."

I come now to an even more striking characteristic: the prodigious variety of the societies of the Atlas and of the Sous. [197] The speech changes from valley to valley, and not only the speech, but the words, each independently of the others. What is true of the language is true of the law, rites, folklore. From canton to canton the style of life, spirit, even the physiognomies change. As the space grows smaller, the nuance becomes aggravated. The exiguity of the groups, the minutiae of local subdivisions are compensated by the density of characters. This density acts upon the landscape itself. The ground is divided into quarters, just as the group is into ikhs-s. Techniques of work and toponymy conspire in extraordinary accords with a humanity of sampling. This is in- [171] deed far from the alleged undifferentiation, from the so-called "mechanical" juxtaposition between similar social segments that some have found in Kabylia (2).

2. R. Maunier, Essais sur les groupements sociaux /Essays on the social groupings/, 1929, p. 24. Mélanges de sociologie nord-africaine /Miscellaneous works on North African sociology/, 1930, pp. 64 sq. This part of the analyses by R. Maunier is very schematic.

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184 Among the Chleuhs /Shluh/ such segmentation implies the existence of vast areas. Linguistic or juridical facts, varying endlessly, belie in many respects the homogeneity of the country and ways of life. Sometimes they oppose it. At the very least they do not reflect it.

Many of these characteristics hence give the impression of the /449/ constructed and even of the factitious, of the desired and even of the exaggerated. The rural order with three terms that is found in the upper valleys clashes with so many other aspects of disorder or of evasion, of decline of the constraints of the group, that it is tempting to see there an issue, a precarious and threatened result, rather than an original legacy. The dispersion of this society in a body, and even more so in autonomous acts, reveals the work that it performs on itself rather than one knows not what congenital status. Diversification rather than diversity. Cantonal variety, social complexity, agrarian order would be only the three faces of the same historical effort (1).

If it is so, would not the dualist structures that one observes in several parts of the Haut-Atlas, of the Anti-Atlas, and of the Sous arise from the same law? In them the content is hidden; it is the sign that counts; their mode of classification is interchangeable with others: it is necessary to consider above all in them the function. Now this function may be assumed diversely, whether it be

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1. The debate between ethnology and history has been enriched, in the course of recent years, by the studies of L. Febvre, "Vers une autre histoire /Toward another history/," *R. de métaphysique et de morale*, 1949, p. 226, on the different historicity of the various civilizations; *ibid*., G. Davy, "L'explication sociologique et le retour à l'histoire /Sociological explanation and the return to history/"; *ibid*., Cl. Lévi-Strauss, "Histoire et ethnologie /History and ethnology/," especially pp. 369, 373.

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184 a question of political or spiritual, territorial or moral groupings, charged with concrete substance or fictive values. The ones and the others are only means. All strive to maintain, in the bosom of the ensemble, the tension that is life, the variety that is solidarity. In fact, this world remains one. Its cantonal morcellation is not dispersion. Recourse to a plurality of collective types, fashioned by the joust, war, ritual qualifications, has assisted rather than ruined the survival of an ensemble. This ensemble, if one may say so, divides in order not to be broken up. The explanation is that the dualism of leff-s intervenes above all where there does not act, or no longer acts, any other mechanism of differentiation. I mean to say of cohesion. It is that wherever this culture remains deep-rooted, forces of dissimilation struggle against the forces of bursting or of uniformity.

This does not happen without waste. The consumption of energy and ingenuity in such a system is formidable. Here is the negative side of these organisms with solid virtues. Many of these evolutions go beyond the goals. The invention of forms is such that it ends in sterility. The disproportion between the social and the economic makes the machine turn in a void. The conquests or the re-establishments of the communal consciousness have been up to here those of archaism. Balanced between imitation and the denial of others, /450/ impulsive revolt and feint, this genius ends by clinging to its evasions. No more than its magnificent democracies withstand extension beyond the col, its souls do not escape the terror that their own mysteries cause them. Therefore, in order to grow, the individual must escape. With respect to the natal group, he will then remain divided between hatred and nostalgia. Conformist or inconoclast: he will be so simultaneously or in turn. It is that the mechanism of the parties, of the factions, of the groups, all this dialectic of qualifications, of names and of signs, end by suffocating their man. The "optimum de diversité" /optimum of diversity/ (1)

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1. I am borrowing this expression from Cl. Lévi-Strauss, Race et histoire /Race and history/, 1952, p. 9.

/450 cont./

184 is madly surpassed. This learned variety of leagues of cantons, of quarters, is in short only a perverted division of labor.

181 177 Excess and precariousness are not free from connections with the events that have folded Chleuh /Shluh/ culture back into its mountain caisson of the Moroccan Southwest. This geographical suppression, a secular defensive have no doubt determined the work of this society upon itself. But to what extent was this to liberate in it the development of its own values or merely to exaggerate a general evolution? The answer depends on the manner in which one considers the country in relation to the rest of North Africa. Of that it is indeed an integral part. To limit ourselves to two extremes, we believe there is sociological continuity between Fès /Fez/ and the Seksawa. One could even say that the cantons of the Haut-Atlas offer the most authentic expression of Maghrebi society, owing to the persistence of the cadre, and the most animated, owing to their hyperbolic genius. But history could have acted differently on the part and on the whole.

Does not the deviated richness of the Chleuh /Shluh/ world arise from a general phenomenon? From the middle of the fourteenth century, peasant life collapsed on the Mediterranean periphery. The fifteenth century was par-excellence in Europe a period of epidemics, devastation, depopulation (2).

2. F. Braudel kindly pointed out to me in this connection the studies of Lütge and of Wilhelm Abel.

On this side of the ocean a classical tradition imputes to the Hilalians the responsibility for the same sort of adversity. However that may be, the two shores are once again dissociated. The former takes an economic and technical flight that the latter will not know for a long time. The Seksawa, these refractory ones, in vain isolated themselves, shrank in upon themselves, they, along with the other Chleuhs /Shluh/, were nonetheless carried along with the destinies of the South shore. But perhaps their personality asserted itslef even more against /451/ that which in general

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181 surrounds them and menaces them: Bédouin mobility, the decline
177 of the surrounding countryside, this universal culture itself, to which they have so profoundly adhered. Whence the excess, the feint...

Participation or resistance to North African history have doubtlessly both acted. But which more, and according to which variations in time, and in which context of facts: here a new investigation begins. /Page 452 is blank./

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Bibliography

128 This study is based above all upon direct investigation, visits,
judicial practice, research into local traditions and local archives.
It has attempted, as often as possible, to compare the Seksawa
128 facts with other facts from the Maghreb. But it would deform its
character to widen to such a domain a systematic bibliography.
113 The latter should be reduced to sources where it is directly a
question of the country and of the people. It has thus eliminated,
in spite of all that we owe them, a certain number of general
works. For analogous reasons, finally, it disregards sources that
are not contemporaneous or bear on a distant past; we have utilized them in an article on the "Antiquités Seksawa," Hesp.,
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I. -- Cartography

(114) The reconnaissance map at 1/100,000 is summary, and its toponymy defective. In 1950, however, the "aerial covering" of the region was carried out by the Institut géographique national at a scale of approximately 1/40,000. In addition, one has available the works of:

113 J. Dresch, "Croquis orographique du grand Atlas occidental /Orographic outline of the great western Atlas/," at 1/100,000, and "Croquis structural," at 1/200,000, in Documents sur les genres de vie de montagne dans le Massif Central Du grand Atlas /Documents on the ways of mountain life in the Central Massif of the great Atlas/, Tours, Arrault and Cie., 1941, 2 vol., in-4^{o}, 40 p., 12 mpas, publ. by the Institut des Hautes Études marocaines, t. XXXV.

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113 definition and classification/," Hesp., 2nd-3rd tr. 1938, pp. 109-180, 17 pl.

J. Dresch, Recherches sur l'évolution du relief dans le Massif Central du grand Atlas, le Haouz et le Sous /Research on the evolution of the relief in the Central Massif of the great Atlas, in-4°, xis-708 p., 40 inset pl. Essential on the physical bases of this society.

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/454/ III. -- Exploration

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113 Great Atlas and of the Dir of the Mtouggui/, Arch. in. Im., 1926.

Id., "Le grand Atlas du Mtouggui," fasc. I and II (III^{e} Partie), Arch. in. Im., 1926. Not only practical inventory, but scientific investigation of great value.

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113 L. Robine, "La transhumance dans les tribus d'Imintanout," Arch. in. Im., 1950.

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V. -- The Group and the Individual

a) Morphology

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Glossary of Local Terms (1)
Cited in the Text

1. The term is cited in the form of the singular, followed, if such should be the case, between parentheses, by the modification of the initial syllable in the constructed state. Then comes the form of the plural. /The entries in the double columns on pp: 457-461 in the original source have been put in a single column in the translation./

abadu(u) ibuda: furrow, sheltered bed.
abelhas(u) ibelhasen: juniper berry.
abuhu(u) ibuhuten: acorn.
açd'er(u) içd'ar: head of a ditch, sluice.
acheddir(u) ichedran: blackberry bush.
adaghas(u) idughas: shelter for the transhumant livestock.
ad'ar(u) id'aren: peduncle (of terrain).
ad'erras(u) id'ersan: wall of dry stones.
ad'erg: passage reserved for the animals.
adrar(u) idraren: mountain, high country.
adunkal(u) idunkalen: preliminary irrigation by spreading.
afghyus(u) ifghyas: superficial and very hard layer of sheep dung dried for at least a year.
afqir(u) ifqiren: old man, sober personage (and of the commune).
afraw(u) iferwan: basin not walled up.
afza(u): calcareous rock (cf. afur).
agadir(u) igudar: strong position or building, monumental construction or ruin.
agellay(u) igellayen: orchard, enclosed field.
agellid(u) igeldan: king.
agelzim(u) igelzam: hoe.
agenza(u) igenzaten or igenzwan: talus separating tiers.
aghu(u) ighuten: whey.
agh^{W}zzir(u) igh^{W}zran: mountain plant.
aglib(u) igliben: tillage preceding sowing (= leqlib iqliben).

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104 agrur(u) ig^{W}rar: stable, ground floor used as a stable.

agudi(u) igudiyen: pile: dim.: tagudit.

ag^{W}las(u): barley given to the animals green /Fr. en vert/.

ag^{W}rram(u) ig^{W}rramen: marabout.

ah'riq(u) ih'r[illegible]en: dam of resurgence.

ah'wach: communal dance with choruses.

aida(u): patrimony.

ajaffu(u) ijuffa: torch, bonfire; dim.: tajaffut(t) tijuffa: small torch.

akchchud'(u) ikchchud'en: wood, plank, and, by extension, table of codification.

ak^{W}erkur(u) ik^{W}erk^{W}ar: pile of stones.

akchchaw(w) akhchawn: preserved fruit or vegetables.

akheddam(u) ikheddamen: day laborer.

aknari(u) iknariyen: opuntia.

akuray(u) ikurayen: stick; dim.: takurayt(t) tikurayin: shepherd's crook.

amachchu(u) imuchcha: somber land.

amadagh(u) imadaghen: loose sheaf.

amater(u) imutar: species of genista.

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amchchard'u(u) imechchurd'a: communal agent charged with surveillance of the harvests.

amazir(u): manure.

amaz'uz'(u) imuz'az': late.

amazzal(u) imazzalen: communal agent charged with the distribution of the water.

am^{c}chur(u) l^{c}yud um^{c}chur: the feast of the ^{c}achûrâ'.

amddakk^{W}el(u) imddukk^{W}al: person who is in regular relations with another, partner.

amerwas(u) imerwasen: matrimonial gift.

amenzu(u) imenza: precocious.

amghar(u) imgharen: chief.

^{c}ammer: to exercise a legitimate usufruct.

amlal(u) imlalen: sand, sandy terrain.

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104 ^{c}am rruz', ^{c}am farina: year of famine when one nourishes oneself with rice or farina distributed by the administration.

amud ih'ellan: favorable period to till.

anflus(u) ineflas: bearer of good fortune, leader (understood, but unusual.

anrar(u) inraren: threshing floor.

anual(u): place where one does the cooking.

aqarid'(u) iqarid'en: sou, some sous (in the sense of money).

aqend'ar(u) iqend'aren: quintal.

aqerbus(u) iqerbas: stack of straw protected by a circular wall of dry stones.

aqeryan(u) iqeryanen: kind of impermeable soil.

arabbu(u) irubba: subgroup, in turn.

aruku(u) irukuten: dotal contribution of the bride.

aryal(u) and dim. taryalt: basket, basketful.

asais: place for municipal operations, choruses, dances, etc.

asarag (like asais).

asaru(u) isura: irrigation ditch.

asengar n-ddu tadla: maize cultivated immediately after barley.

asemlal(u) isemlalen: cherry tree.

asgh^{w}ert(u) isgh^{w}raten: prenuptial stage, feast of conclusion of the agreement for the marriage.

asegg^{w}en(u) isg^{w}an: night shelter (for livestock).

asqqif: loggia, story veranda.

astad'hara: to produce a written proof (= biyyn).

aswik(w) aswiken: walnut tree.

att'aç(w) at't'açen: receptacle used to wash the hands or to measure the time of irrigation.

aylini(w) anli: millet.

ayrni(u): tuberche of the arisarum /Araceae/ (food during scarcity).

aytmaten: brothers, agnatic relatives.

ayyaw(w) ayyawn: shoots, suckers (of the olive tree).

awuttu(u) iwutta: limits.

azegg^{w}ay(u) izegg^{w}ayen: beating /of fruit trees, etc./.

azemmur(u) izemran: oleasters.

azenbu(u) izenbas: grillade of barley in milk.

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104 az'lag: dependencies (of an estate).

azmu(u) izma: meadow for mowing, fodder.

az'z'allu(w) az'z'alluten, iz'z'ulla: area for collective prayer.

az'z'ayn(w): communal interdiction (of agricultural or pastoral order), fine (which sanctions it).

^{c}azzeb: to vocalize (on the occasion of certain ceremonies).

azzunti(w) izzunta: olive tree (name of unit: tazzuntit(ta) tizzuntiwin or tizzunta).

azwag(u) izwagen: exile, suppliant.

bab l-lkhir id-bab l-lkhir: bearer of good fortune.

baraka, barakat: benefic influx, magico-religious force.

bay^c us-salam: selling as fresh /Fr. vente en vert/.

berninch, lberninch: crop of rotation; plur. lebrannch, id-elberninch.

berrh': to publish.

berru: to release oneself (from a responsibility, from an appurtenance).

bu-zegg^{w}agh: the redness (disease of fruit trees and cereals).

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ççadaqa, ççadaqat: donation, feast of delivery of annual offerings to a saint.

chajara, chchjert: genealogical tree.

chchaif: smoothed relief, swelling.

chchard', chchrud': dower stipulated for the wife, cens paid to a saint, salary of the Koranic master.

chcheffa: lineage exception (opposable to any mutation of the patrimony) (= chchufu^{c}a).

chchrif chchurfa, lechref: descendant of the Prophet.

chutanbir: September.

ddabaran: period of Aldebaran (time of the agricultural year).

ddiyt, ddiya: pecuniary composition.

ddment: patrimonial portion (of a landed estate).

ddu^{c}a, ddu^{c}at: invocation, vow.

ddurt: feast of end of cycle.

dujambir: December.

erz' ut't'ib: to bring about the breaking of the clods (second irrigation).

/459 cont./
104 f^{w}bray: February.
ghucht: August.
h'ddit: foreign homily.
ibril: April.
ibrin: coarse semolina, first grinding.
ifid' ifyed': formula for expulsion of evil.
ifulki kh-tyuga: good for cultivating (period of the year, parcels).
igg(yi) aggiwn: terebinth.
ighin(yi) ighniwn: head of ditch (principal intake).
ighzer(y) ighezraten: ravine.
igmi(yi) igman, ugmi(w) ugman: defense /prohibition/.
ih'h'yalen: unlucky period of the year.
ikhs(i) ikhsan: agnatic subgroup.
ikri(i) akriwn: gravels, crops of the bottom of the bed.
imi: mouth, opening, clearance.
imiri(i) imaran: wall.
innayr(yennayr): January.
istidkhal: juridical substitution.
istir^{c}a: act of reservations.
istih'fâd': act of safeguard.
itqqi: clay.
izm(y) izma^{w}n: lion, in the plural: powers (of a saint).
jihâz, jjihaj, ljihaz: contribution of the bride's own goods in the community.
jjrit jjraydat, ljarida ljaridat: list of parcels, patrimonial inventory.
ktuber: October.
lah'bas: pious foundation, agnatic sequestration, ar. /Arabic/ h'ubûs.
l^{c}açr: hour of prayer (4:00 P.M.)
l^{c}arbûn: earnest /deposit/.
lbit, lbyut: individual residence (in the tigemmi).
leuh': pisé.
l^{c}inçert: seasonal feast of summer.
l^{c}orf: local law.
lfaqir lfuqara: minister of a saint.
lfiyd': cultivation by scattering (= angyun).

/459 cont./

104 lghimer lghwamer: dependency of an estate.
lh'achit: reserved part in the patrimony.
lh'awza, lh'awzat: at the seizure (taking possession).
lh'izb leh'zaib: section in the psalmody of the Koran.
lh'urum lh'urumat: place of refuge.
lid'ilab: ceremony of asking in marriage.
lifda (or tefdiyyt or liftida): resiliation.
linçaf: decreed penalty, penal codification.
liqâla, lqilult: clause of resiliation.
listighfâr: act of repentance.
lkhrif: period of the year that goes from the end of the threshing to the first cold weather.
lmaqam lmaqamat, id-lmaqam: sanctuary of a saint.
lma^{c}ruf lma^{c}rayf: ritual feasting.
lmekçur: nuts in a pulp.
lmeqqeddem lmeqqaddmin: officer in charge, petty chief inferior to the amghar.
lmirath: act of distribution of inheritance, genealogy.

/460/

lmord'i lmord'iyin: accepted coswearer.
lmuslem lemwaslem: patronal fair.
lmud'a^c lamwad'i^c: agglomeration.
lmunh'is lmunh'isin: period or people of bad augury.
lmulazim lmulazimin: one attached to a sanctuary.
lqaleb: a certain period of the year.
lqubbt lqubbat: cupola.
luçit luçiyat: testament.
lud'a: plain, flat country (cf. azaghar).
lulyuz: July.
lqendil lqnadil: oil lamp.
luqft luqfat: proceeding accompanied by gift.
luzi^{c}t luzi^{c}at: collective slaughtering.
mars: March.
mayyu: May.
mendeq, menteq: farina of roasted barley.
muchu^c, lmucha^c: collective land.

/460 cont./

nunyuh: June.

nuwanbir: November.

qqen: to close, to be closed, to harness, to attach, to be attached.

rd'a: to acquiesce to an act or a juridical state.

rra^{c}da: storm, summer rain.

rras l-mal: estate of a saint, capital.

rrhen larhinat: sale with power of redemption.

ssaqra (syn. of querri afella): to produce acts for application to the places of the litigation.

sslukt sslaki: feast of closure of the psalmody of the Koran.

ta^{c}addu(ta): transgression.

tafaska(t) tifaskiwin: sacrifice of the ^{c}îd al-Kabîr.

taferdit(t) tiferday: unit, fraction of a turn (of irrigation).

tagant(ta) tigina: forest.

taghamut(t) tighuma: intake of a secondary ditch.

tagellat(t) tigellatin: turnip.

tag^{w}lla(t) tig^{w}lliwin: porridge of maize or of barley.

takat(t) takatin: foyer, conjugal family.

takchchut'(t) tikchchud'in: piece of wood, stick of dry wood; hence, drawing lots.

takherrubt(t) tikherrubin: measure of grain.

tak^{w}mmart(t): cheese.

talekhcha(t) tilekhchiwin: porridge of beans or of other pulses.

taldrar(ta): good season.

talkast(ta) talkasin: earthen pot used to measure oil; measure.

tamakhirt(t) timakhirin: good season, rural summering of livestock in the mountains.

tameghra(t) timeghriwin: nuptial ceremony.

tamuzunt(t) timuzunin: obole constituting earnest for the repurchase of a piece of land.

tanuri(t) tinuriwin: inundated crop.

tanut(ta) tuna: small well, shallow basin fashioned at the foot of a tree.

taqbilt(t) tiqbilin: political unit, group.

taqwim(te), tiquwim: estimation.

tarad'i: mutual agreement.

/460 cont./

104 targa(te) tiregg^{w}in: channel, ditch.

tarrbi^{c}t(ta): trunk placed to collect the offerings.

tarrut': pile of stones or rocky area with ritual significance.

tarwa l-le^{c}mm: cousins, relatives.

taryalt(ta) tiryal: basket, hamper.

tarzzift(t) tirezzifin: processional leading of the bride to the bridegroom.

tasafut(t). diminutive of asafu: firebrand.

tasarut(t) tisura: key. In the plural: benefice (of a saint).

tatemnit(t) titamniyin: measure (equal to the talkast).

tauqit(t) tiwqiyn: once /ounce/, earnest.

tawz'ut(t) tiwz'a: corner, recess, quarter.

tazet'at'(t) tizet'at'in: contractual safeguard (of a traveler).

tifawt(ti) tifawin: light, proof.

tigellatin: turnips.

tigemmi(t) tigumma: house.

tighersi(t) tighersiwin: sacrifice to a saint, victim.

tigh^{w}mert(le) tigh^{w}mrin: corner, redan, salient in dry stones.

tiktit(le) tiktatin: limit.

tillirin(t): kind of river plant.

timezgida(t) timezgadiwin: mosque.

/461/

tinubga: feast at which two groups meet.

tisemt(t) tismawin: name

tisirit(t) tisariyn, tisaratin: planche /land between furrows/ of irrigation.

tiwilt(ti): agape accompanied by palaver between groups.

tizzla(ti): portion of acquests accruing to the wife or to any other of the familial society.

trama: to usurp (= ak^{w}i).

t't'aleb(ta) t'olba: clerk /learned person/.

tefrik: successive psalmody of sections of the Koran.

ttkerbil: second dressing /in agric./. Cf. ammend'al(u).

tummit(tu) tummatin: semolina of roasted barley seasoned with butter or oil.

/461 cont./

104 *tunya*, *thunyā*: sale with power of redemption (another name for the *rrehn*).
uggug(w) *uggugen*: diversion dam, collecting water.
uluf(w) *ulufen*: divorce, repudiation.
urti(w) *urtan*: orchard.
uzun(w) *uzunen*: square of irrigation.
z'i, *intens*. *ttz'i*: to dispute.
zuggez: to install, to put in place.

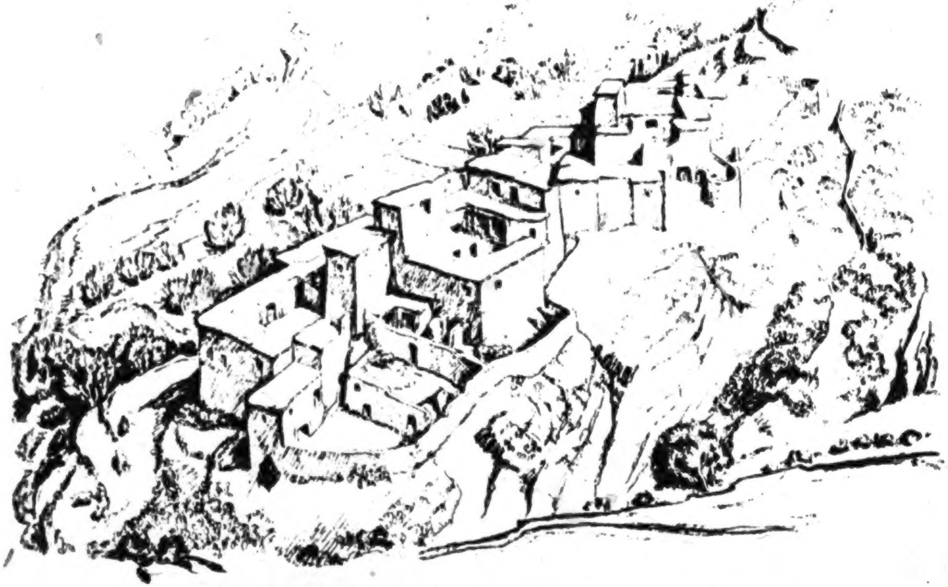
/Page 462 is blank; pp. 463-464 contain an index of the Maghrebi groups mentioned in the text. The index is followed by Plates I-XV./

1: Berque--644 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

[Ait Musa]

342
361

Pl. I



J. BERQUE

Tigemmiy-Iggiz (a. Musa), agglomerating seven foyers

Pl. II /Left side of plate./

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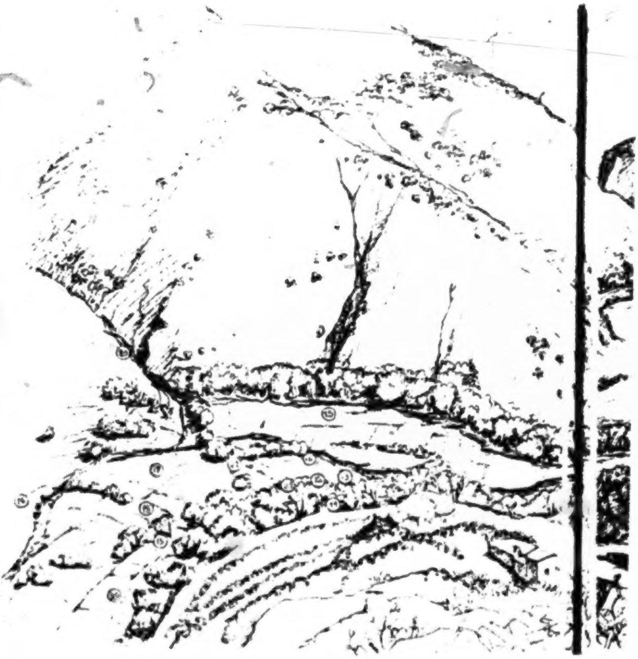

Z'init Panorama

The green-roofed sanctuary of Lalla Aziza (1) is surrounded by the tall houses of the foqra. On all sides, steep slopes rise toward the peak of the Tamjlocht (2) and the high brows of the Mzawt (3). On the right bank of the asif i-yseksawan a barred spur with the ruins of a citadel of the ait Gasa (4). It is the Agadir n-a. Hammu. /Continued on p. 646./

/Right side of plate./ Pl. II

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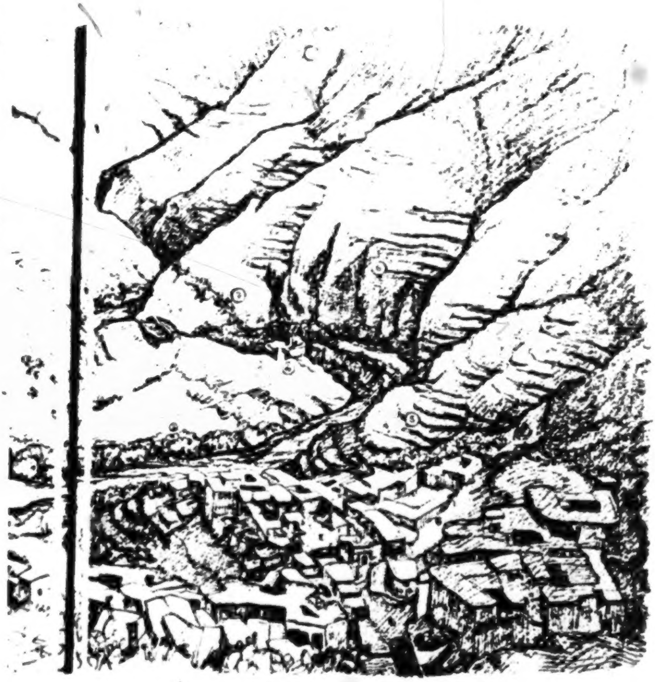

/Continued from p. 645./ -- Names of quarters: (5) Imdz'z'an; (6) Ighzer u Lh'h'yan; (7) Iunghasen; (8) Imi n-tssukt; (9) Ddu Tgumma; (10) Takriwin; (11) Amkuk; (12) Tighersiwin; (13) Tibh'irin; (14) Lfessat; (15) Imlalnan; (16) Tawunkht; (17) Ddu y-ikid'o; (18) Akhferga; (19) Ftchalacht; (20) Ddu Tizzirgi; (21) Ftelmechmacht; (22) Igad'iyin; (23) Talat i-ylâ (ravine). -- The bottom of the valley is about 1,100 meters in altitude.

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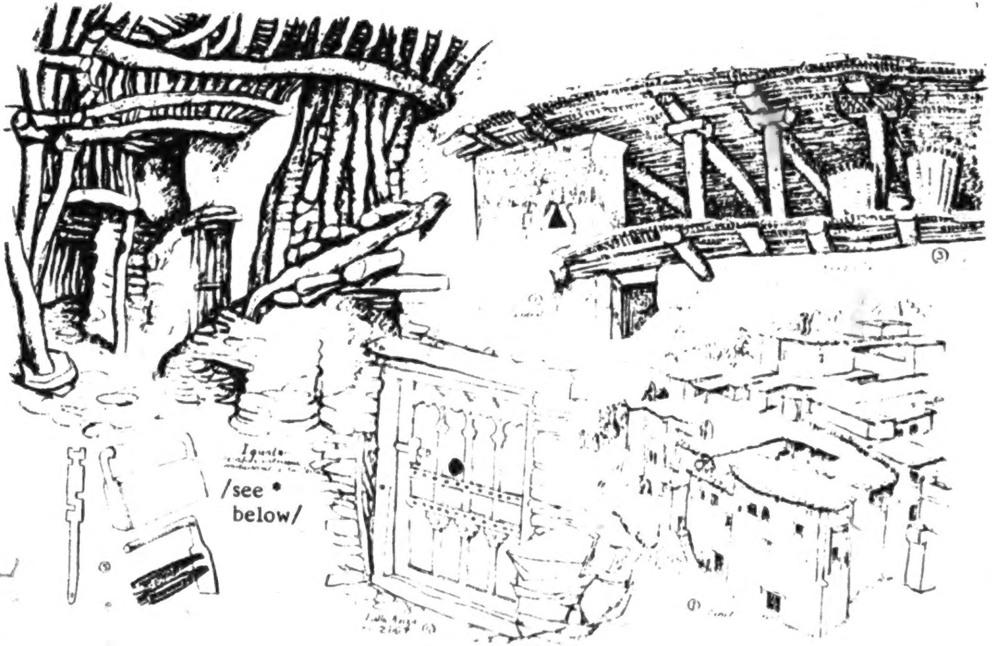
414

Pl. III


Iguntar
/see *
below/
③
①
②

/*Iguntar, interior stairway lead to the terrace/

The house

/The complete caption for Pl. III is given on p. 649./

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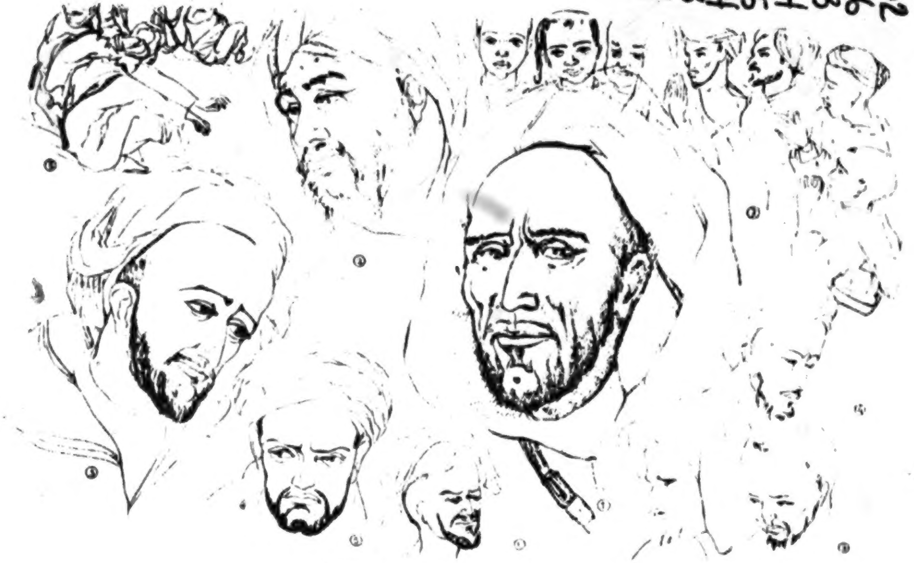
Pl. IV



Faces of Seksawa men

/The complete caption for Pl. IV is given on p. 649./

341
342 Plate III. The house.
(1) Group of "houses at a height" at Z'init'. They are
343 joined. Each independent exit represents the existence of a
353 tigemmi, residence of a "conjugal family," takat. Courtyards,
361 loggias, skillful technique of pointing stone with clay, life of
414 terraces; (2) the "loggia," asqqif, supporting columns in wood,
tannalt, with a curiously Doric capital, a talzzazt; (3) corbeils,
isknan, for keeping fruit, vegetables, or seeds; (4) a door, tiflut,
with "hole for opening inside," timit or anqfer; (5) the lock-pad-
lock, ajakan, and its key, tasarut. The ensemble of the closing
is called lqfel; (6) interior of ground floor at Iguntar. The door
of the stable, agrur, opens at the back. By way of the interior
stairway, taskila, rather rare, one has access to the rooms of
habitation, imeçray.

142 Plate IV: Faces of Seksawa men.
291 (1) The amghar ^{c}Omar u Ali, of the a. Lh'sen, grandson of
302 the caid Lmokhtar; (2) the amghar Ali Chtittihi, of the a. Musa;
516 (3) the amghar Wakrim u Lh'ajj Hfid', of the Idma; (4) the
533 amghar Lh'sen u Abdesselam, of the a. Mh'and. These first four
554 personages are directly linked with those who occupied the front
613 of the stage at the time of the penetration. They are important
634 ikhs chiefs; (5) the moqaddem u Idder, chief of the foqra of Lalla
534 Aziza; (6) the moqaddem Myyah'i, chief of the igurramen of
Ammern, and tambourin player; (7) young men taking part in the
535 ah'wach chorus. Note the positions of the hands, originating
from a very complicated dance ritual; (8) the spectators.

Pl. V

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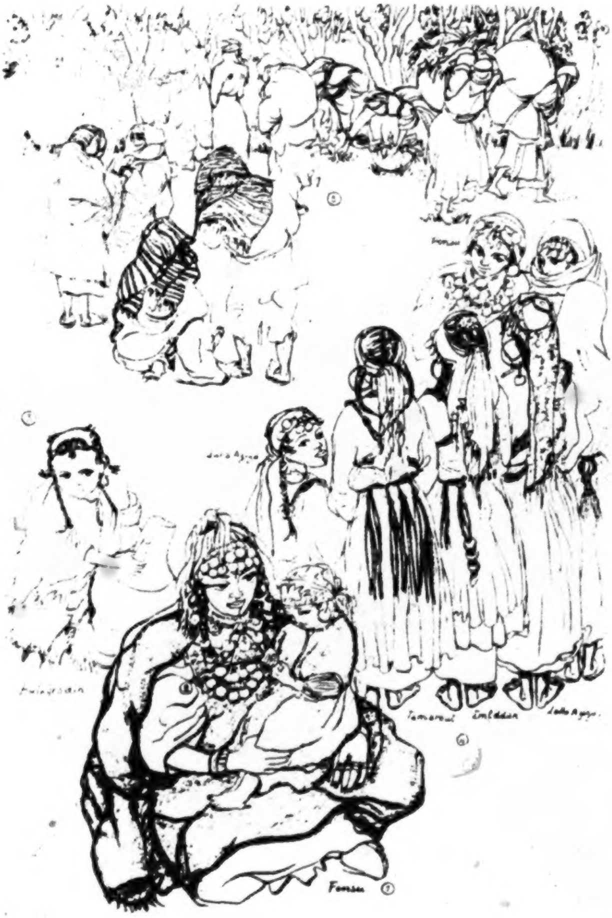
⑤
Fonsu
③
Lalla Ayya
Tamarout
Emlddan
Lalla Ayya.
⑥
Fonsu
⑦

Seksawa women

/The complete caption for Pl. V is given on p. 652./

Pl. VI

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312
487

(Photo by airplane, by I. G. N.)

The ground of Agersili:

/The complete caption for Pl. VI is given on p. 652./

142 Plate V: Seksawa women.
222 (1) Young mother carrying her baby. Note (2) the pectoral,
291 tifilit, and the frontal, tawunza, made from small pieces of
292 silver. This jewelry is most often part of the property of the
301 woman, and of her contribution to the household, jihâz; (3)
302 little girl returning from the spring. The top of the cranium is
415 shaved until the little girl is nubile; (4) ah'wach of young girls:
462 finery of tassels of red silk and of foulards hanging down in the
back; (5) the gathering of wild or subspontaneous plants, for the
854 nourishment of man or livestock, constitutes an important part
857 of the activities of the woman.

133 Plate VI: The ground of Agersili.
241 The winding white line at the bottom of the photograph is
312 the present trail, and the mountainous wrinkle toward the top,
487 the one that ends at Awrir Uluggu. Ravines on the right descend
from the counterforts of the Tabgurt and end, on the left, at a capture, with a waterfall, called Aguni Wanehkir. The two slopes of the central ravine are notched with terraces. One sees distinctly, at the limit of the irrigation toward the bottom of the photograph, the winding dark line of the great left-bank séguia called Targa n-Tsila or T. Umerdul: after having cleared Agersili, it cuts across the trail (last winding line on the left) in order to go to the side of Ad'erd'ur. On the right bank, the two villages of dry stone, Tawrirt and Agerdayan, are almost confused with the surrounding rocks. The smoothed reliefs at the bottom of the photograph are those of the Chaif Aqqiunan, which are joined to those of the Tasila. At Agersili 27 large irrigated quarters are crowded on a section of ravine of less than two km.

Pl. VII

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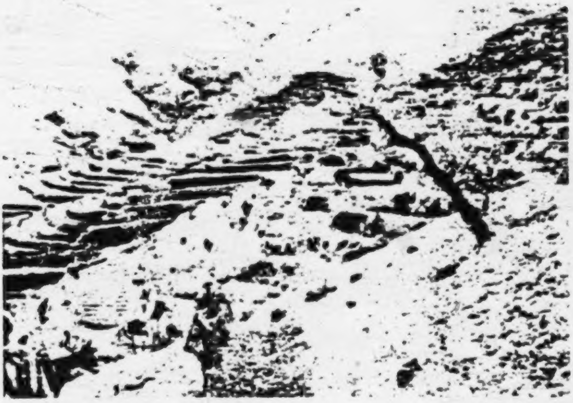
312



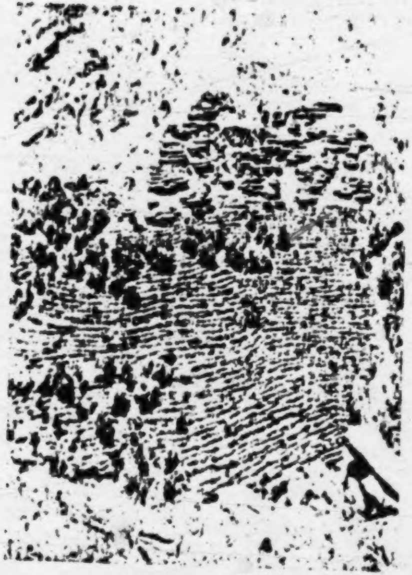
Cl. L. Berque

Terraces at Tasa

The furrows and sheltered beds arranged for the distribution of the water are distinguished on the lower tier.

Pl. VIII

133
361



Cl. Mohammed b. Lahsen

Benches at Usikis (Idma)

133
346
695

Cl. J. Berque

The Uwines timezgida (a. Lh'sen)

/The complete caption for Pl. VIII is given on p. 656./

Pl. IX

241
291
516
778

L. Berque

Tamd'a Ugenni (Iguntar)

133
361
162
619
634
613
778
796

(Cl. L. Berque)

Panorama of the village of the ait Mh'nd

/The complete caption for Pl. IX is given on p. 656./

Plate VIII:

133 /On the left/ Benches at Usikis (Idma).
361 This colossal stairway continues toward the bottom, which
the rocks in the foreground hide. The houses of the village are
[592] glued to the slope. They are agglomerated by familial ensembles.

133 /On the right/ The Uwines timezgida (a. Lh'sen).
346 This "mosque" is a particularly redoubtable place of oaths.
695

241 Plate IX:
291 /At the top/ Tamd'a Ugenni (Iguntar).
516 This "ritual place," consisting of a simple cylinder of stones
778 and branches, plays an important role in the agrarian life.

/At the bottom/ Panorama of the village of the ait Mh'nd.
133 This is the largest agglomeration of the Seksawa: at the
162 same time, this little taqbilt concentrates to a remarkable de-
361 gree of synthesis, the density of habitat (600 grouped inhabitants)
619 and the social organization. One distinguishes in the village
634 some quarters corresponding to the grouped residences of each
613 ikhs, which is an almost unique case. The peak that dominates,
778 the "White Rocks," imellulen, is the site of an annual feast, with
796 anonymous sacred part. Perfection of tiers and horticulture.

Pl. X

201
634
619
782
796

Hecatomb to Lalla Aziza

(J. L. Berque

It is the day of the sacrifice of July, tighersiwin yulyuz. Each victim is offered by a taqbilt. The amghar is the sacrificer. The gesture of the hands of those present is that of invocation.

142
201
291
302
782
794

(J. L. Berque

Invocation to Lalla Aziza

The foqra, after the sacrifice of the victims, make a ddu^{c}a. In chorus they repeat the invocations of the moqaddem, which call for baraka for the partipants.

Pl. XI

133
241
361

Cl. L. Berque

Valley of the asif n-a. Lh'sen

The view was shot from Buteghradin, in the upstream-downstream direction. Note the broadening of the valley between Ighilan in the foreground and Awines in the background. Careful arboriculture, slopes protected by the vegetation, broad and pleasant bed.

133
291
533

Cl. L. Robin

Chorus on the Tichka

Behind the people of the ah'wach one distinguishes the swampy meadow az'mu y-Igenfis, the name of which has been compared with that of the medieval Genfisa.

Pl. XII

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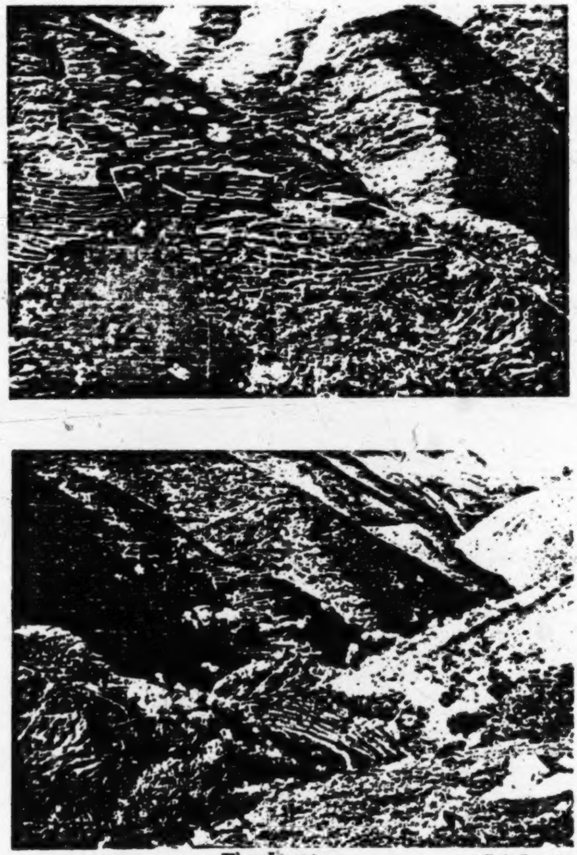


The Iguntar (Cl. L. Berque)

These two photographs, in upper Tagenza, in lower Tannem-
mert, follow from upstream to downstream. To the right of the
[172] village of Tagenza, ruins of an agadir, destroyed by the caid
[712] Lmokhtar. This panorama offers all the elements of the cadre of
[343] life of a high-valley taqbilt: the agglomerations, the irrigated
terraces, in dark; the dry terraces, lighter, themselves dominated
[487] by albur crops. A path goes along the right flank of the valley,
at mid-slope, in a downstream direction.

Pl. XIII

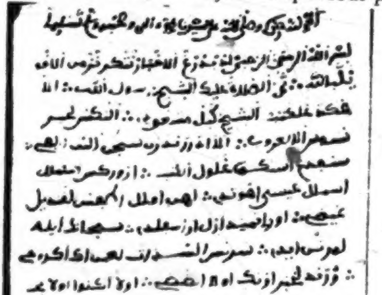
133

The a. Lh'sen high country

Cl. J. Berque

[778] The two valleys of Wanz'id' and Iwulla are separated by the relief of the Ameznir. The important sanctuary of Sidi Musa is found in the rocky mole at the base of the Ameznir. Contrast between the deep valleys and spacious planes that reach about 2,000 meters. In the bottom the tabular limestones of the Dwitan, which bound the Seksawa country on the west.

126
212
217
787

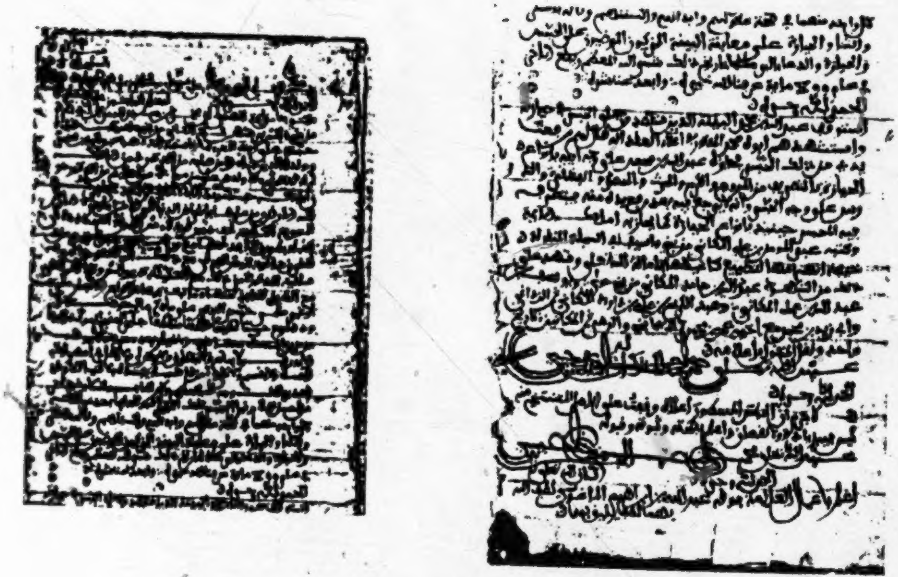


Predictions collected at Tasa, in the archives of the amghar Ah'med Umulid. Chleuh /Shluh/ text, in prophetic style.

1: Berque--661 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

212
695

Pl. XIV

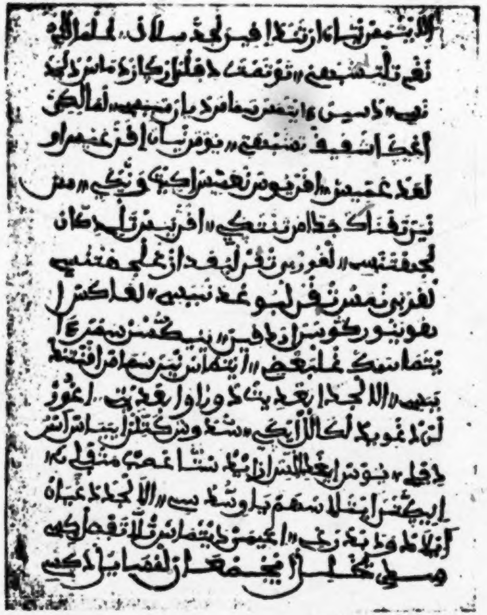


From the plural oath to the notarial act, "lafīf"
Act of 899 Heg. = 1494, collected in Idaw Geryun

PL. XV

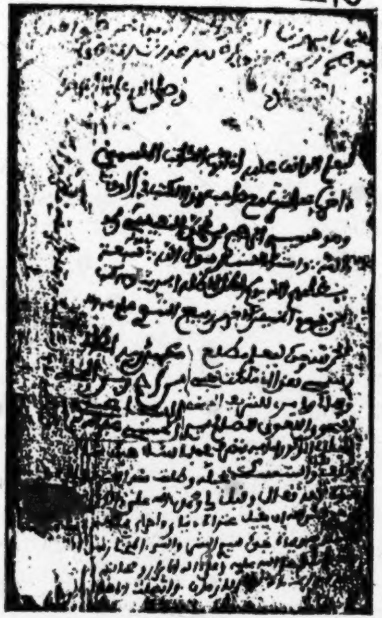
212 1122

212 1119



Juridical text of the Awzal genre

The first line reads: wala aytma-sn-yan ur ten-d iqqin ljad silad gh-lmalikiyya. "no longer that the brothers of someone are excluded (from his succession) by (the existence of) the ancestor except in Malékism."



Act of devotion from a disciple to his sheik, dating from 1194 Heg. 1780, made at the zâwîya of Takerkuzt, and collected on the margin of a book of the zâwîya of the Mez'ud'a.

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[For further information on oaths when used in informal settlements of disputes, see Category 627; when used in formal judicial proceedings, see Category 695.]

[For information on the secular activities of the talebs (t't'olba) or scribes, see Category 212.]

[For further information on the moqaddem as the president of a village council see Category 623; as the president of a canton council see Category 634; as the head of a community of marabouts see Category 792; and as the caretaker of a mosque see Category 794.]

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[For further information on oaths in formal judicial proceedings, see Category 695; as used in a religious context, see Category 782.]

[For information on the non-secular activities of the talebs (t't'olba) or scribes as functionaries in the mosques, see Category 794.]

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[For further information on oaths when used for informal settlement of disputes, see Category 627; as used in a religious context, see Category 782.]

[For information on the sherif (shorfa) nobles who are descendants of the Prophet, see Category 554.]

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[For information on habous endowments of land and other property to religious institutions for the glorification of Allah, see Categories 794 and 423.]

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[Since the Shluh interpret the term taqbilt as both district and tribe, additional information on the tribal composition each of these territorial areas may also be found in Category 634.]

[For further information on the moqaddem as the president of a village council, see Category 622; as the president of a canton council, see Category 634; as the head of a community of marabouts, see Category 792; and as the caretaker of a mosque, see Category 794.]